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BASIC MATERIALS IN MARA:
GRAMMAR, TEXTS AND DICTIONARY

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
Abbreviations	x
PART I: MARA GRAMMAR	
Chapter One: Introduction	
1.1 The Mara People	1
1.2 The Mara Language	2
1.3 Fieldwork	6
1.4 Previous Fieldwork	7
Chapter Two: Segmental Phonology	
2.1 Phonemes	9
2.2 Distributional Restrictions	11
2.3 Clusters	12
2.4 Morphophonemes: w_1 , w_2 , y_1 , y_2 , N	21
2.5 Boundaries and Special Symbols	21
Chapter Three: Phonological Processes	
3.1 General	23
3.2 Reduplication (P-1)	23
3.3 Initial Durative Change (P-2, P-3)	27
3.4 ηa -Insertion (P-4)	31
3.5 Medial Lenition (P-5)	32
3.6 Initial Lenition (P-6)	34
3.7 Treatment of w (P-7 through P-10)	35
3.8 Treatment of y (P-11, P-12)	39
3.9 r-Deletion (P-13), n-Deletion (P-14)	40
3.10 Nasalisation (P-15), Denasalisation (P-16)	41
3.11 Geminate-Contraction (P-17)	44
3.12 b-Deletion (P-18)	45

3.13	Treatment of /d!/, etc. (P-19, P-20)	46
3.14	ɾ-Deletion (P-21)	47
3.15	ñ-Deletion (P-22)	47
3.16	Consonant-Insertion Rules (P-23, P-24, P-25)	47
3.17	Rules Affecting Triple Clusters (P-26, P-27)	49
3.18	Retroflexion (P-28)	49
3.19	V-Assimilation (P-29)	51
3.20	VV-Contraction (P-30)	51
3.21	NC-Contraction (P-31)	53
3.22	Nasal-Merger (P-32)	54
3.23	Interjection-Formation (P-33)	55
3.24	Order of Application	56
 Chapter Four: Nominal Morphology		
4.1	Nouns and Noun Phrases	63
4.2	Possessed Nouns	64
4.3	First and Second Person NP's	66
4.4	Predicate Nominals and Predicate Genitives	66
4.5	Articles (-na, -ni)	68
4.6	Forms in -niyi	70
4.7	Class/Case Prefixes	71
4.8	Semantics of the Noun 'Class' Categories	73
4.9	Irregular 'Class' Agreement	76
4.10	Stem-Internal Changes for Number and Case	77
4.11	Case Suffixes	79
4.12	Use of the Nominative	81
4.13	Use of the Ergative/Instrumental	83
4.14	Use of the Allative/Locative	84
4.15	Use of the Ablative	85
4.16	Use of the Pergressive	86
4.17	Use of the Purposive	87
4.18	Case-Frames for Selected Verbs	88
4.19	Place Names; Suffixes -ñindi and -ñingar	91
4.20	Personal Names	93
4.21	Vocatives	94
4.22	Quantifiers	95
 Chapter Five: Kinship Terminology		
5.1	General	96
5.2	Dyadic Terms	110
5.3	Simple Kin Terms: Basic Stem Morphology	113

5.4	Neutralisation of Possessive Person Category	124
5.5	Categorial Neutralisations	124
5.6	Inflection and Article Forms	126
	Notes	128
 Chapter Six: Pronominal Morphology		
6.1	General	130
6.2	Morphology of the Nominative and Genitive Forms	135
6.3	Morphology of the Ablative Forms	136
6.4	Morphology of the Oblique Forms	137
6.5	Morphology of the Emphatic Forms	137
6.6	Uses of the Nominative and Emphatic Forms	138
6.7	Some Suffixless Pronouns (not Nominative)	139
6.8	Vocatives	139
6.9	Articles	139
 Chapter Seven: Demonstrative Morphology		
7.1	General	141
7.2	Morphology of Demonstrative Pronouns	144
7.3	Use of the Predicative and Nonpredicative Forms	149
7.4	Centripetal and Noncentripetal Forms	152
7.5	Definite Quasi-Demonstrative Pronouns in -yimar	154
7.6	Demonstrative Adverbs (from Nominative Stem)	156
7.7	Demonstrative Adverbs (from Oblique Stem)	158
7.8	Cardinal-Direction Adverbs	161
7.9	Other Demonstrative Forms	165
7.10	Articles	166
 Chapter Eight: Interrogation		
8.1	Yes-No Questions	168
8.2	Other Interrogative Words: General Remarks	168
8.3	ɲani <i>who?</i>	169
8.4	ɲinjani <i>what?</i>	170
8.5	-nguni <i>which?; where is...?</i>	171
8.6	gangu, -ɲangu	173
8.7	Other Interrogative Words: wanguyar, ɲangunirña, wayi, ɲaɲi	174
8.8	Self-Interrogatives: wumbul, wumbuli	175
 Chapter Nine: Overview of the Verbal System		
9.1	Verb-Complexes	177

9.2	The Major Verbal Categories	178
9.3	Aspectual Categories	179
9.4	The Future Indefinite Category	186
9.5	The Evitative Category	187
9.6	The Past Potential	188
9.7	The Imperative, Hortative, and Desiderative	188
9.8	Negative Verbs	191
9.9	Distribution of the Durative and Nondurative Stem-Initials	192
9.10	Stem-Suppletion	195
9.11	3rd vs. Non-3rd Inflectional Endings	197
9.12	Inflectional Suffix Categories	199
9.13	Benefactive <i>ma-</i> , <i>ma!</i> -	202
9.14	Centripetal <i>y₁a-/ŋa-</i>	202
9.15	3Pres <i>-w₁a-</i>	203
9.16	Reflexive/Reciprocal <i>-!ana</i>	205
 Chapter Ten: Pronominal Prefixes		
10.1	General	206
10.2	Inventory of Morphemes	210
10.3	Generative Rules	214
10.4	Phonological and Allomorphic Rules	223
 Chapter Eleven: Verbal Inflectional Morphology		
11.1	General	228
11.2	Analysis of the Suffixal Paradigms	246
11.3	<i>-alunggu!i/-alungguyi</i> (Table 11-1)	255
11.4	<i>-anji/-anjiyi</i> (Table 11-2)	255
11.5	<i>-arŋa!i/-arŋayi</i> (Table 11-3)	256
11.6	<i>-baliŋa!i/-waliŋayi</i> (Table 11-4)	257
11.7	<i>-baruŋi/-wariyi</i> (Table 11-5)	257
11.8	<i>-bawayiŋga!i/-wayiŋgayi</i> (Table 11-6)	258
11.9	<i>-bayŋa!i/-yiŋayi</i> (Table 11-7)	258
11.10	<i>-biliŋa!i/-wiliŋayi</i> (Table 11-8)	259
11.11	<i>-binŋa!i/-winŋayi</i> (Table 11-9)	259
11.12	<i>-buyini/-wuyi</i> (Table 11-10)	259
11.13	<i>-galuni/-aluyi</i> (Table 11-11)	260
11.14	<i>-gandayaruŋi/-andayariyi</i> (Table 11-12)	260
11.15	<i>-ganji/-ayi</i> (Table 11-13)	261
11.16	<i>-ganji/-yagayi</i> (Table 11-14)	262

11.17	-ganjiḷi/-njiyi (Table 11-15)	262
11.18	-gaṛaṛuni/-aṛaṛiyi (Table 11-16)	263
11.19	-guluguluwuni/-guluguluwuyi (Table 11-17)	263
11.20	-gunbuni/-nbuyi (Table 11-18)	263
11.21	-jagayagaḷi/-yagayi (Table 11-19)	264
11.22	-galani/-yalayi (Table 11-20)	265
11.23	-jaḷi/-yiyi (Table 11-21)	265
11.24	-jamaḷi/-yamiyi (Table 11-22)	266
11.25	-jañi/-niṇuyi (Table 11-23)	266
11.26	-jarawuni/-yarawuyi (Table 11-24)	267
11.27	-jaruñi/-yariyi (Table 11-25)	267
11.28	-jinji/-yinjiyi (Table 11-26)	267
11.29	-jujuñi/-jiyi (Table 11-27)	268
11.30	-jujuñi/-ḷarbuyi (Table 11-28)	269
11.31	-ḷini/-yurayi/-aṇa (Table 11-29)	270
11.32	-ḷinmaḷi/-ḷinmiyi (Table 11-30)	271
11.33	-mbuḷmaḷi/-mbuḷmiyi (Table 11-31)	271
11.34	-minani/-nayi (Table 11-32)	272
11.35	-mindini/-miyi (Table 11-33)	272
11.36	-nani/-niyi (Table 11-34)	273
11.37	-niṇaḷi/-niṇayi (Table 11-35)	274
11.38	-niṇaḷi/-yagayi (Table 11-36)	274
11.39	-ñambuni/-ñambuyi (Table 11-37)	275
11.40	-wanani/-wayi (Table 11-38)	275
11.41	How the Rules Work: Some Examples	276
	Note	279
Chapter Twelve: Stem-Formation		
12.1	Compounds	280
12.2	Nominalisations with -manjar	282
12.3	Nominalisations with -maṇḡiri	283
12.4	Adjectival -min, -yirña	283
12.5	Reduplication Nominalisations	284
12.6	<i>having</i> Constructions	285
12.7	-bara <i>relative, countryman</i>	286
12.8	Minor Adverbial Formations: -ya, -yi	287
12.9	Minor Nominal Derivatives: ṇiya-, -yaygi, ṇuN-, -gaña, -ña, -nura	287
Chapter Thirteen: Syntax		
13.1	Negation	289
13.2	Clause-Internal Focus and Word-Order	290

13.3	Types of Subordinated Clause	293
13.4	ga-na Clauses	294
13.5	bigana <i>because</i>	295
13.6	Sequencing: warngu, nunga, guda, wa-ni-nga-yan	296
13.7	Conditionals	298
13.8	Syntax of bur <i>to want</i>	299
13.9	Conjunction: galimba, naba, ga	302
13.10	Some Particles: bada, bugi, galni, jalji, jungu, malana, mandura, mani, mini, nalani, naliga, nariwa, wariya, wumani, wuningi	303
13.11	Mara Equivalents of English 'Higher' Sentences	308

PART II: MARA TEXTS

Introduction	311
Notes on the Myth Texts	313
Text 1 (Anday) I Will Go for Fish	320
Text 2 (Anday) I Caught Fish	320
Text 3 (Anday) I Harpooned Dugong	321
Text 4 (Anday) We Butchered the Dugong	322
Text 5 (Anday) Hunting more Dugong	323
Text 6 (Anday) We Harpooned Turtles	324
Text 7 (Anday) I Sailed Along	328
Text 8 (Anday) They are Coming for a Ceremony	330
Text 9 (Anday) After the Ceremony	331
Text 10 (Anday) I Will Hunt Emus	333
Text 11 (Anday) I Made a Rain Shelter	334
Text 12 (Anday) I Made Spears	336
Text 13 (Anday) I Made a Dugout Canoe	337
Text 14 (Anday) Two Men Fought with Spears	339
Text 15 (Mack Riley) We Have Given Up Spears	341
Text 16 (Mack Riley) We Have Guns, not Spears	342
Text 17 (Mack Riley) They Still have Spears	343
Text 18 (Mack Riley) Message to Tom Riley	344
Text 19 (Tom Riley) Reply to Mack	344
Text 20 (Mack Riley) Dugong, Euro, Kangaroo, Jabiru (Myth)	346
Text 21 (Mack Riley) King Tide, Dugong Hunters (Myth)	348
Text 22 (Mack Riley) Gunabibi Mermaids (Myth)	349
Text 23 (Mack Riley) Whirlwind, Mermaids (Myth)	352
Text 24 (Mack Riley) Taipan (Rainbow Serpent Myth)	357

Text 25 (Mack Riley)	Emu, Dingo (Myth)	359
Text 26 (Mack Riley)	Hunting Kangaroos with Fire	361
Text 27 (Mack Riley)	Hunting Lizards with Fire	362
Text 28 (Mack Riley)	Our Plans for the Future	363
Text 29 (Mack Riley)	A War Party from the North	364
Text 30 (Mack Riley)	An Alawa War Party	367
Text 31 (Mack Riley)	Burials	369
Text 32 (Mack Riley)	Children Speak Mara and English	370
Text 33 (Mack Riley)	I do not Like Grog	371
Text 34 (Mack Riley)	Black-Headed Python (Myth)	372
Text 35 (Mack Riley)	We Cannot Tell You About Rituals	373
Text 36 (Mack Riley)	Bestowals	374
Text 37 (Mack Riley)	Banjo and the Bald Man	376
Text 38 (Mack Riley)	Running Out of Petrol at Sea	377
Text 39 (Mack Riley)	Eaglehawk and Crow (Myth)	379
Text 40 (Johnnie)	Olive Python (Myth)	382
Text 41 (Johnnie)	Gunabibi Mermaids (Myth)	412
Text 42 (Johnnie)	Two Dugong Hunters (Myth)	424

PART III: MARA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Introduction	435
Mara-English Dictionary	437
Lexical Domains: Flora-Fauna, Etc., and (Human) Body Parts	503
English Index	511
Map	3
Bibliography	521

List of Abbreviations

A	Anday (an informant)
Abl	Ablative
All	Allative
Aux	Auxiliary
Ben	Benefactive
Centr	Centripetal
Con	Continuous
Conc	Concrete
D	Durative
Dem	Demonstrative
Desid	Desiderative
Dimin	Diminutive
Du	Dual
Dur	Durative
Epen	Epenthetic
Erg	Ergative
Evit	Evitative
Ex	Exclusive
F	Feminine
Fut	Future
Gr	Grammar
Imp	Imperative

Indef	Indefinite
Infl	Inflectable
Inst	Instrumental
Intr	Intransitive
Inv	Inverse
IS	Intransitive Subject
J	Johnnie (an informant)
Loc	Locative
M	Masculine
MC	Morpheme-Combination Rule
MR	Mack Riley (an informant)
N	an unspecified nasal consonant; noun
ND	Nondurative
Ne	Neuter (noun class)
Neg	Negative
Nom	Nominative
Nsg	Nonsingular
Noncentr	Noncentripetal
Obl	Oblique
P	Phonological Rule
Pa	Past
Part	Particle
Per	Pergressive
Pl	Plural
Pot	Potential
Pr, Pres	Present
Prf	Prefix
Pun	Punctual
Rdp	Reduplication
Recip	Reciprocal
Refl	Reflexive

Sff	Suffix
Syn	Synonym
TO	Transitive Object
Tr	Transitive
TS	Transitive Subject
V	Verb
Var	Variant
3Pres	(see Grammar, 9.15)
'	(indicates elision of morpheme-initial vowel)
:::	(indicates stylistic lengthening)

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MARA GRAMMAR

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Mara People

There are no clearcut 'tribal' entities in the portion of the Northern Territory of Australia where I have done fieldwork (the coast along the south-western part of the Gulf of Carpentaria). Frequently, however, we can say that a particular language was the principal medium of communication within a number of affiliated clans who resided together during a portion of each year (usually the latter half of the dry season, from about August to December). These confederations of clans had no institutionalised corporate identities in ritual, politics, or the exchange of women. Thus 'language group' is a linguistic rather than a social grouping, and in some cases (e.g. where a clan or other unit was strongly bilingual) it is even difficult to demarcate the boundaries among language groups.

With these reservations, we may say that the Mara language was the principal medium of communication among a group of at least three clans (one now extinct) whose clan estates were on and around the lower Limmen Bight River (wiliyuru) and its mouth. The two surviving clans have no special clan names, to my knowledge, and are instead referred to by semimoiety names buḍal and muruṇun. The 'Rileys' are the buḍal group, and the present ritual leader of the muruṇun group is a man named Anday (aṇḍay). A small clan belonging to the mambali semimoiety, for which the clan name wurumaḷa is attested, is apparently extinct. The remaining semimoiety is guyal, but I know of no Mara-speaking guyal clans.

My information concerning clans just north of the Mara is fairly good. At the mouth of the Roper River was a clan called wuḷiñiguḷiñi, whose principal language was reportedly Warndarang (this language is

now entirely extinct but was recorded by me and others prior to 1975). This clan was of the mambali semimoiety, and another clan of this semimoiety was located along the coast just north of the Roper. Along the Phelp River, running north from the Roper not far from the coast, was an important guyal clan called marawalwal (the 'Joshuas').

My information concerning clans to the west (chiefly Alawa-speaking), to the south (speaking Binbin-ga and the extinct and unrecorded Wilangarra), and to the south-east (Yanyula-speaking) is not good since I have had only a few days of contact with these language groups. The exact boundary between the Mara and Yanyula (including Waḍirri) is difficult to establish and it is possible that there may be another Mara-speaking clan in the border area.

Each clan owns a particular estate, though it did not necessarily reside there permanently or even semipermanently. Each semimoiety has at least one major cult totem (olive python and fork-tailed catfish for the mambali, goanna for the guyal, black-headed python and antelope kangaroo for the buḍal, king brown snake for the muruṇun), and each clan has a special responsibility to perform the rituals and public songs associated with the cult totem's travels in their own clan estate. These cult totems are the central figures in the two major semi-public rituals, maṇḍiwa (circumcision) and ḷurgun (mortuary ritual). The text collection in this volume includes narrative accounts of some of these cult totemic myths (e.g. Text 40).

Further information about kinship and the like can be found in Chapter Five.

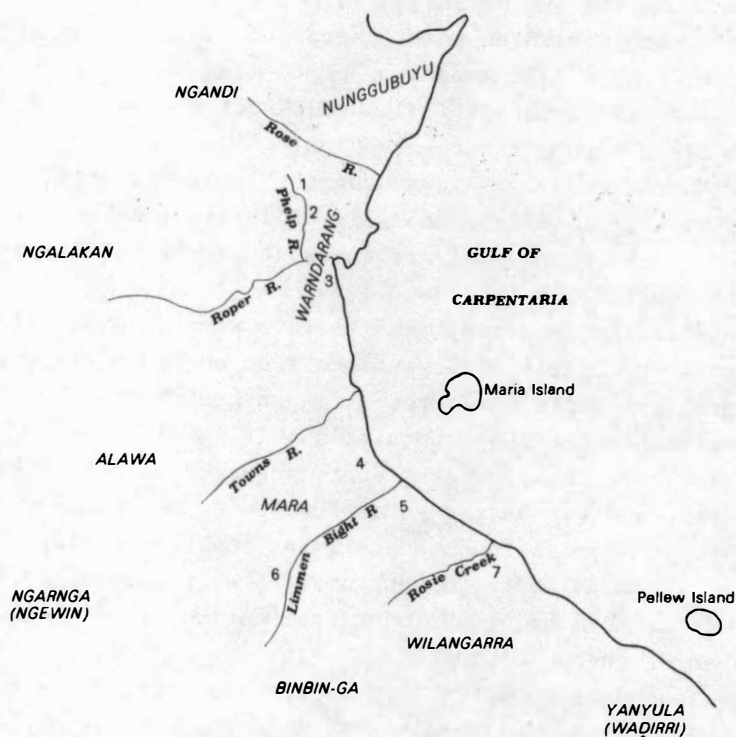
The language groups with which the Mara were in contact in precontact times were, as suggested above, these: the Warndarang along the Roper River and just north of it, the Alawa to the west of the Mara area, the Binbin-ga and Wilangarra to the south, and the Yanyula to the southeast. A simple map showing these language groups is presented here; I should point out, however, that my information as to the location of the Wilangarra is sketchy (I am told that their principal centre was a place called ḍawala, but this has not been located).

The Mara people refer to themselves as maraṇbala (though this is occasionally used as a clan name for the Mara-speaking buḍal group), or less often as mara. The language is referred to as mara (or, more strictly, as n-mara with a Neuter prefix).

1.2. The Mara Language

On the basis of my own work on Mara and Warndarang, and Sharpe's on Alawa (1972), I can confirm that these three are moderately closely

Location of Mara-Speaking Groups



- Key:
1. mambali clan at wanmaṛi, originally Warndarang (e.g. Johnnie)
 2. guyal clan (marawalwal) at maṇajara, Warndarang
 3. mambali clan (wuḷiṇṇiguḷiṇi), originally probably Warndarang
 4. buḍal clan ('Rileys'), Mara
 5. muruṇun clan, Mara (e.g. Anday)
 6. mambali clan, Mara (extinct)
 7. mambali clan, language affiliation uncertain

related genetically and almost certainly form a genetic subgroup. The closest relationships to other subgroups are to the groups to the north and northwest, such as the Ngandi-Nunggubuyu group directly north of Warndarang and the Ngalakan-Ngalkbon- Rembarnga-Gunwinggu group (probably also including some others) to the northwest. It is already apparent that a fair amount of proto-morphology can be reconstructed for various historical levels, but a demonstration of this will be deferred to a future occasion.

Within the Mara-Warndarang-Alawa subgroup, present indications based on preliminary historical analysis of inflectional paradigms suggest that Mara and Warndarang are somewhat closer to each other genetically than either is to Alawa.

It must be stressed, however, that in this part of Australia the languages tend to be highly divergent one from another. In part this is due to migrations which have brought languages originally widely separated from each other into contact, but it is also due to extensive differentiation of recent protolanguages within subgroups. For example, Mara and Warndarang - far from being dialects of each other - are very different in the details of their morphological structure, and although their general structural patterns are similar this may be due as much to diffusional interaction since their split-up as to retention of proto-features.

All of the languages to which Mara is closely related are of the 'prefixing' type, to use the terminology made popular by Capell. This means that all such languages have pronominal prefixes marking the category of subject (and, for transitives, object) in the verb, hence 3Sg + 3Pl *wulgu-* in the verb-form *wulgu-naji* *he saw them*.

Other features which are used by Australianists in typologising include the number of noun-class oppositions and the basic type of verb-complexes. Mara has three basic noun classes (masculine, feminine, and neuter, the ranges of which are specified in 4.8), and human nouns (less often others) also have dual and plural (3+) categories. The most common verb-complex type is an auxiliary structure involving a verb-particle (often CVC) followed by an auxiliary verb of the form Prefix-Root-Suffix, where the prefix is a pronominal marker and the suffix indicates inflectional categories like tense and aspect. This is very oversimplified; for more details see Chapter Nine.

Mara shares with some other languages in the area a number of general structural features which I have found of some theoretical interest. These include the absence of productive participial

formations of any kind, the absence of a syntactically important verbal noun (see, however, 12.2), the absence of a well-defined relative clause construction (see 13.4), the occurrence of a clause-internal focussing device which is also used in clause subordination (13.4), the occurrence of an elaborate morphology for kin terms (Chapter Five), the occurrence of a complex demonstrative system in which the anaphoric/deictic opposition is significant (Chapter Seven), the occurrence of special morphological forms for cardinal-direction terms (7.8), the occurrence of special contrastive forms of independent pronouns (6.6), the occurrence of a modified direct-inverse case scheme in the pronominal-prefix system (Chapter Ten), special conjunction patterns involving pronouns (13.9, end), and a preference for logical particles and direct quotations rather than complex constructions involving higher predicates and subordinated clauses (13.10, 13.11), among other things.

In all of these respects, however, Mara offers its own special twists. Moreover, it has certain unusual features of its own not shared (to my knowledge) with any nearby languages. I would mention in particular the elaborate system of aspectual nuances expressed by a remarkable combination of interacting stem-initial (durative/non-durative) and suffixal (punctual/continuous) oppositions in the verb (9.3). Secondly, I would mention the skewing of the durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition in certain environments to express nonaspectual categories (9.9). In general, the verbal system is one of the most intricate and subtle ones found so far in Australia.

I am unaware of any 'special' languages, such as those reported for the Yanyula and many other languages in Australia used either in the presence of avoidance relatives or to differentiate male from female speech. Actually, I do know of one special avoidance term: *ma|ayara circumcised boy*. This term is used by the sister of a boy who has been circumcised, either addressing or referring to him. The usual term for *circumcised boy* is *wa|ima*, and the girl may use this term to address or refer to a circumcised boy who is not her actual brother. The use of an avoidance term between brother and sister is part of a complex of avoidance behaviour between actual siblings of opposite sex which seems to have been more highly developed among the Mara than among groups just to the north like the Nunggubuyu; it is disregarded when the siblings are very young but comes into force when they become around eight or ten years of age (i.e. about the age when a boy is circumcised).

1.3. Fieldwork

My fieldwork on Aboriginal languages of the area was carried out in 1973-75 and 1976-77, and totalled about three years. Although it is difficult to compute the exact percentage of this period spent on any one language, I would say that the amount of fieldwork spent on Mara would be a little more than three months. This was done chiefly at the very end of the first session and in the first couple of months of the second. Since this was one of the last languages I worked on, I had the benefit of considerable prior experience in fieldwork on nearby languages, which made it possible to arrive at reasonable results in a fairly short time. I should add that, since I was out of the field for a year in 1975-76, it was possible for me to go over the first session's material carefully and thus plan the second session in such a way that efficiency was maximised.

The most important informant was Mack Riley (maŋuji), who was estimated to be about sixty-five in 1975 (and thus became a pensioner). Mack was the principal informant for grammatical elicitation and for vocabulary, and also contributed some texts which are quite interesting linguistically, as well as some maŋdiwa and |urgun songs. Mack was consulted both at the beginning and the end of my work on this language, since he spent much of his time at Numbulwar Mission where I was staying.

Mack's younger brother Tom Riley (ŋawuruŋu) was occasionally consulted and contributed one short text. Their other living brother Will Riley (ŋambayala) did not arrive in Numbulwar until near the end of my work on the language and was consulted only once or twice. The oldest brother, George, died at Borroloola around the end of 1975 and although I met him during a visit there earlier that year he was too ill to work with me.

Another important informant was Anday (aŋday), of the muruŋun semimoiety. He was normally resident at Hodgson Downs, a cattle station south of the Roper River some distance inland. My work with this man was concentrated into a one-week period at Ngukurr (Roper River settlement) in 1974 when I happened to be there and when Anday came up to attend the rituals following the death of Isaac Joshua (who had been my Warndarang informant). I knew rather little Mara at that point, and concentrated on recording and tentatively transcribing a number of short texts which are presented in this volume (the transcriptions were later revised in consultation with Mack Riley).

The other important informant was Johnnie (ŋaŋuru). This man, who must have been in his late sixties in 1975, was actually a Warndarang

man in the sense that his clan (a mambali clan whose centre is wanmaṛi, near the Phelp River) originally spoke Warndarang. He told me his father had spoken to him in Warndarang but that he could no longer speak the language, and instead spoke Mara and Nunggubuyu. I would say that Johnnie's Nunggubuyu was quite excellent, and that his Mara was very good though not perfect. However, some differences between his Mara and that of Mack and Anday may reflect genuine dialectal differences.

Johnnie was not used a great deal in grammatical or lexical elicitations, though some such material was obtained from him (for example, since I had worked for years on Nunggubuyu and since Johnnie knew both Nunggubuyu and Mara, I used Johnnie quite a bit to correlate Mara flora-fauna terms with Nunggubuyu ones in order to help establish species identifications). The principal contribution of Johnnie to my Mara research was his singing of mambali songs associated with the maṇḍiwa and ḷurgun rituals as well as the jargun (a public performance associated with the gunabibi ritual), and his splendid texts about cult totems which are presented here. These are probably the finest such texts I have collected in any of the languages I have worked on, and bring out the relationship between the myths and the songs themselves quite nicely. I should add that I also obtained several interesting texts from Johnnie in the Nunggubuyu language and these have been published elsewhere (Heath 1980b).

I was quite fortunate to be able to find and work with informants of this calibre. Had research on this language been delayed for five years or longer it is very unlikely that grammatical or textual material approaching this in quality could have been obtained.

My Mara tapes are on deposit at the Institute, on open access, and can be consulted by other scholars. The texts published here are principally on my field tapes 17, 19, 40 and 41.

1.4. Previous Research

Very little first-hand linguistic or ethnographic material on the Mara has been published. The ethnographic sources are Spencer and Gillen (1904), especially pp. 76-78, 87-88, and 117, and Spencer (1914), especially pp. 60-64, 208, and 253-256. The latter work, which included material obtained after the first was published, is not entirely consistent with the first. Most of the relevant passages in both works deal with the semimoieté organisation.

To my knowledge, the other linguists who have worked on Mara are Arthur Capell, Kenneth Hale, and Margaret Sharpe (formerly Margaret Cunningham). Hale and Sharpe spent about a week on the language, and Capell's work was also very brief. Capell published a few grammatical notes in a general article on Arnhem Land languages (1942:31-33), and some of that material needs correction. Sharpe (1976) includes some information about Mara auxiliary verbs, but again some of this material needs correction. Hale has not published on Mara but a considerable amount of raw fieldnote material, along with tapes, has been deposited in the A.I.A.S. library in Canberra, as well as in the language archive in Bloomington, Indiana. Some unpublished material by Capell and Sharpe is also to be found in the Institute library.

Heath (1978a) discusses patterns of linguistic diffusion in the area, but chiefly deals with languages north of Mara.

CHAPTER TWO

SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

2.1. Phonemes

The basic phonemes are shown in Table 2-1. Parenthesised items are marginal to the system. The phonemic inventory, and the phonological system generally, are similar to those of Warndarang and Alawa.

In all three languages there is some question whether homorganic nasal-stop sequences like *mb* should be treated as unit phonemes or as clusters. Since there is no phonetic difference between unit *mb* (i.e. ^m*b*) and cluster *mb* (i.e. *m* plus *b*), the only relevant evidence is distributional in nature. This evidence is conflicting; there are some environments where these homorganic sequences are the only clusters permitted (so that they behave as units), but others where these sequences do not differ from other clusters and still others where no clusters (including these) occur. Consequently we have a borderline case and it is not productive to waste ink and mental energy worrying about whether *mb* is a unit or a cluster.

Interdentals *ɟ*, *ɲ*, *ʎ* are marginal to the system. They occur only in nouns, almost all being flora-fauna terms. Most or all of these are probably loans either from Nunggubuyu to the north (via Warndarang) or from Yanyula to the southeast. Both Nunggubuyu and Yanyula have many words with interdentals.

The Mara words with *ɟ* are these: *alangarbuɾa* *chestnut rail* (bird), *ɟariba* *trepang*, *ɟugul* *wattle* sp., *ɟuɟaguɟayi* *oyster-catcher* (bird), *jawaɟuma* *fish* sp., *magandaŋu* *shellfish* sp., and *ɲubaɟura* *afternoon* (there are several other words for *afternoon* including *yawuryawur*). The two instances of *ɲ* are *ɲamur* *water rat*, and *ɲanga* *ray* sp. The examples of *ʎ* are *ʎanambur* *paperbark* sp. (variant *yanambur*), *wumiʎara* *potato* sp., and *jibiʎawuna* *whistle duck*.

TABLE 2-1

Phonemes

A. Vowels

	front	back
high	i	u
mid	(e)	(o)
low	a	

B. Consonants

	stops	nasals	laterals	rhotics	semivowels
bilabial	b	m			
interdental	(ɖ)	(ɳ)	(ɭ)		
apicoalveolar	d	n	l	r (flap)	
retroflexed	ɖ	ɳ	ɭ	ɻ (glide)	
laminoalveolar	j	ɲ			y
velar	g	ŋ			w

The vowel *e* occurs in only two nouns, both insect terms: *ɾenbur* *paper wasp* and *ɾeywuy* *sandfly*. Note that both begin with *ɾ* and involve closed syllables. However, *e* cannot be regarded as a predictable allophone of *i* or *a* since there are examples of *i* and *a* in similar environments: *ɾadbur* *camp*, *ɾalyi* *eel*, *ɾambi* *together*, *ɾilgara* *vine sp.*, *ɾirbaɾirba* *tern sp.*, etc.

The vowel *o* occurs only in *yo! yes!* This is an interjection found in most languages in the area, and in local English creole. It is possible that *yo!* has recently spread into the language from creole or some other source.

The phonetics of the consonants are normal for the area. The symbol *ɾ* represents a retroflexed glide sound like American English *r*. On the other hand, *r* stands for an apicoalveolar flap like Spanish *r* (but not *rr*). Retroflexed consonants *ɭ*, *ɳ*, and *ɖ* are pronounced with the tongue curled back slightly, and the most noticeable auditory cue is the *ɾ*-colouring of the onglide from a preceding vowel. Hence *ɭ* is very clearly retroflexed in intervocalic position as in *baɭa*, but when word-initial after a pause (as in *ɭiw*) it is not possible to hear the

distinction between it and apicoalveolar l. Similarly, apicoalveolar and retroflexed consonants cannot be distinguished after consonants (other than semivowels). In these cases there is thus no phonetic contrast audible to the linguist, and it is not clear whether there is any articulatory difference.

Word-initial apicals, except for the nominal prefix n-, are written as retroflexed (hence |iw instead of *liw) since whenever they are preceded by words ending in vowels the retroflexion can be heard. Even when the consonant is an underlying apicoalveolar (and shows up as such when a prefix is added), it is retroflexed word-initially, hence ŋi-ja-ri *son* (cf. ŋa-ni-ja-ri with prefix ŋa-). After consonants, apicals are written as apicoalveolar (e.g. d in *walday bereaved father*) except when there is some reason to think of them as underlying retroflexed consonants (as in reduplicated *ɖug-ɖug to sprout*).

The vowels are straightforward phonetically. There are no phonemic long vowels, although the first vowel in a sequence CVCV(C) is often phonetically lengthened, as in *ɖuŋal spear*. There is a form of stylistic lengthening, chiefly of the word-final vowel, in narratives, hence *wa|bu-ri::* from *wa|bu-ri downward*. Neither lengthening process has phonemic significance.

2.2. Distributional Restrictions

Interdental ɭ, ɳ, and ɠ occur only prevocally (examples given in 2.1). Moreover, the only two examples of ɳ involve stem-initial (usually also word-initial) position.

As indicated in 2.1, surface word-initial apicoalveolars are not permitted; underlying apicoalveolars in this position are retroflexed by a phonological rule. The exception is that FSg or Neuter Nominative prefix n- is apicoalveolar. This is always followed by a consonant, and the n- may approach syllabic status when preceded by a pause: *n-gumbi flesh*. When preceded by a word ending in a vowel, the n- is pronounced as part of the preceding syllable, as in *n-ga-na n-gumbi the meat* (syllabified as *n-ga-nan-gu-mbi*).

Flap r does not occur word-initially, though glide ɾ is common in this position.

Vowels e, i, o, u do not occur word-initially. A few words (and noun stems) begin with a (see dictionary under 'A').

Examples of word-final consonants: *|u|bab juvenile euro*, *wambigud plant sp.*, *ŋawaɖ hawk sp.*, *ŋaɾug curlew*, *ŋaɖij hibiscus*, *-argul other*, *ɖiŋga|ɖiŋga| vine sp.*, *ba|gan mangrove sp.*, *baɖaŋ humpy*, *ba|giñ salty*,

guḷuruṇ *didjeridu*, -agur *child*, jagaṛ *saliva*, duwaw *koel (bird)*, and -ḍaway *word*. I know of no instances of word-final m, though m does occur at the end of verb-particles like ñim *to camp*. Such verb-particles are normally not pronounced alone, but rather with a following Aux, hence ñim+gu-ganji *he was camping* and so forth.

Examples of word-final vowels: bara *north-west wind*, balwayi *big*, balubalu *pelican*.

All consonants occur intervocalically, though since the only two cases of interdental ŋ noted involve the first segment of a noun stem (e.g. ŋaŋga *ray sp.*) in these instances the only intervocalic cases are forms with MSg Oblique prefix ŋa- (ŋa-ŋaŋga, etc.).

2.3. Clusters

In this section we deal with restrictions on clusters of vowels and clusters of consonants.

Vowel-clusters are ordinarily not permitted, and there is a phonological rule deleting one of two adjacent underlying vowels. However, a handful of flora-fauna terms beginning with a fail to contract when MSg Oblique prefix ŋa- is preposed. Thus from a|a|aa|a|a *suckerfish* we get Oblique ŋa-a|a|aa|a|a. This also happens to be the only stem which has an internal aa cluster (two syllabic peaks). Certain stems beginning with a do show contraction (e.g. -argul *other* in MSg Oblique ŋa-'rgul and -agur *child* in ŋa-'gur).

Word-initial consonant clusters are uncommon, except that homorganic nasal-stop sequences like mb and ŋg are fairly common. Examples: mbagar *honeycomb*, verb-particle mbul *to load up*. Most examples involve noun stems; see dictionary entries beginning with mb, nd, ŋḍ, nj, and ŋg. The important verb-particle meaning *to get up* (and often used in the sense *to set off*) was definitely pronounced ŋḍuṇ by Mack Riley, but was pronounced ḍuṇ by Johnnie and Anday.

The only other word-initial clusters involve nominal prefix n- before a stem (which always begins in a consonant since no stem beginning with a can take this prefix). Almost any consonant can follow this n-, but in the case of apical sonorants like ɾ and n there is usually an epenthetic -ŋa- inserted in the middle by a phonological rule, so that /n-ɾuru/ becomes n-ŋa-ɾuru *rib section*.

As already noted, the n- prefix is often pronounced as part of the preceding word or is partly syllabic by itself, so it is somewhat misleading to speak of these as word-initial clusters.

There are a few other stem-initial (not word-initial) consonant clusters. The cluster in question is ŋg, and the stems are

demonstrative and interrogative-pronoun stems. These are always preceded by nonzero prefixes: *gi-ngara here*, *ga-nguni where?*, etc.

Word-final consonant clusters are of the form LC where L is a liquid (*l*, *ɺ*, *r*, *ɾ*) and C is a noncoronal (i.e. labial, laminoalveolar, or velar) stop or nasal. The ones actually attested are *rb*, *rñ*, *rg*, and *lg*, as in *gurb-gurb stone edge*, *murñmurñ bubbles*, *ɳirgɳirg chestnut rail (bird)*, and *wajaɺg mud*. The absence of some others like *rj* which appear to be phonologically acceptable is probably accidental, and is due to the comparative rarity of word-final stops generally. There are only about ten noun stems ending in *g* or *j*, and two or three in *b*, so it is not surprising that few nouns end in clusters of the types *Lb*, *Lj*, or *Lg*.

If we look at verb-particles, we find that CVLC is a common canonical shape, and a broader variety of LC clusters is found. Among others, we may mention these examples: *gurb to cut with stone edge*, *baɾj to wag tail*, *waɾj to get*, *wirñ to graze*, *guɾñ to have an itch*, *jaɺg to get bogged*, *biɾg to clap boomerangs*, *biɺg to be weak*, *ɺurg to go up aloft*, *ñiɺɳ to be soaking*, and *yaɾɳ to split up*. There are at least twenty such verb-particles, but all final LC clusters attested are exemplified in this partial list.

We now move on to word-medial consonant clusters. These involve two or sometimes three consonants. The triple clusters are of two types: (a) a liquid plus a homorganic nasal-stop sequence like *ɾmb*, or (b) one of the acceptable word-final LC clusters plus another consonant, like *rgm*.

Examples of the first type include the following ones which are attested within a stem: *ɾmb* in *biɾmbir louse eggs*, *rmb* in *burmbiyin herring* and *garmbagarmba wattle sp.*, *ɾng* in *jirgɳiɳ clitoris* and *waɾɳgu until*, *ɺng* in *ɳuɺɳgun honey bee sp.* and *buɺɳgun extinguished fire*. This is a complete list of the relevant stems.

This type can also occur, across a morpheme boundary, when nominal prefixes *wur-* (Dual) or *wul-* (Plural) precede a stem beginning in a nasal-stop sequence: *wur-mbaɳawaɳa two old women*, etc. There is also the reduplication *mbul-mbul* from *mbul to load*.

The second type of triple cluster is not common within a stem, though we may cite a few examples: *wurgmalan fire*, *guralgmaninja kookaburra*, and *ɳurgman breastbone*. There is historical evidence that the first two of these are to be segmented etymologically as **wurg-malan* and **guralg-maninja*, respectively, although these segmentations cannot be synchronically justified.

The other ostensibly stem-internal examples of this type of cluster involve obvious frozen reduplications, as in these examples: *ba|gba|gururu mudlark*, *mur̃mur̃ bubbles*, *ṇargṇarg duck sp.* (onomatopoeic), *ṇirṇir chestnut rail bird* (onomatopoeic), and *warṇwarṇ crow* (onomatopoeic). In the case of *yirṇmayirṇ-min loose* the segmentation *yirṇ-ma-yirṇ-min* is also possible so the *rgm* cluster may not be intramorphemic synchronically (and is certainly not so historically).

Many examples of this type occur across morpheme boundaries when a stem ending in LC is followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant, or when a verb-particle ending in LC is followed by an Aux. For example, the noun stems ending in LC mentioned above can be followed by case suffixes like Ablative *-jani* (underlying *-y₁ani*), Allative/Locative *-ñu(r)* (underlying *-y₂u(r)*), or Purposive *-ni*. Verb-particles ending in LC can be followed by Aux's beginning in *ṇ*, *n*, *b*, *g*, *j* (the last three from underlying *w₂*, *w₁*, *y₁*). More importantly, most CVLC verb-particles occur in the reduplicated form CVLC-CVLC, creating many triple clusters, hence *wirṇ to jump* becomes *wirṇ-wirṇ*, etc. In all of these intermorphemic triple clusters, the middle of the three consonants (an underlying stop or nasal) is subject to phonological changes, notably from stop to corresponding nasal or vice versa. For details see the next chapter (especially section 3.10).

We now consider word-internal double consonant clusters, which are much more common and varied than these triple clusters just described. We will deal with these on the basis of the major class of each unit (e.g. liquid-stop clusters, nasal-stop clusters, etc.).

The liquid-stop and liquid-nasal clusters attested are displayed in Tables 2-2 and 2-3. Parenthesised clusters are found only across morpheme boundaries, while --- marks a nonexistent cluster. In general, it can be assumed that a cluster found within a morpheme can also be found across a boundary, or at least that if such a cluster does occur across a boundary in underlying forms it will not be reshaped.

Examples of the clusters in Table 2-2: *ba|ba river*, *bi|bar neck*, *ṇarbaḍa yam sp.*, *maṇbaṇba wood bits*, *gulḍuru bonefish*, *maḍa feather*, *ḍilḍil* (frozen redup.) *feathered stick*, *ḍima|ḍima|* (frozen redup.) (*cloud*) *to appear*, *gambir-ḍi my daughter's son*, *ḍamaṇ-ḍamaṇ* from *ḍamaṇ to warm up*, *gulji grinding stone*, *wa|ja dugong and turtles*, *murji hand*, *gaṇjir python sp.*, *alguwa|gu shellfish sp.*, *ba|gan mangrove sp.*, *-argul other*, *gaṇgunja night-heron*. The absence of clusters with *ḍ* is due to the general rarity of this consonant (however, we will see below that *ṇḍ* is recorded). Note that clusters with *d* or *ḍ* are restricted and

TABLE 2-2
Liquid-Stop Clusters

	l	ɭ	r	ɾ
b	lb	ɭb	rb	ɾb
ɖ	---	---	---	---
d	ld	---	rd	---
ɖ	(lɖ)	(ɭɖ)	(rɖ)	(ɾɖ)
j	lj	ɭj	rj	ɾj
g	lg	ɭg	rg	ɾg

TABLE 2-3
Liquid-Nasal Clusters

	l	ɭ	r	ɾ
m	lm	ɭm	rm	ɾm
n	---	---	---	---
ɳ	(lɳ)	---	---	---
ɲ	(lɲ)	ɭɲ	rɲ	ɾɲ
ŋ	lŋ	ɭŋ	rŋ	(ɾŋ)

uncommon (ld and rd are shown, but I have only two instances of the former and one of the latter). On the other hand, clusters with labial b, laminoalveolar j, and velar g are common.

The basic pattern is also found in Table 2-3, where the second consonant is a nasal rather than a stop. I have not bothered to show the rare phoneme ɳ, which occurs only stem-initially. Clusters like /ln/ are common across boundaries in underlying forms but the n is lost by a phonological rule, hence /wul-nirwi/ becomes wul-irwi *our* (Pl). Examples of the attested clusters in Table 2-3: balmaŋa *hat*, mbiɭmur *grub sp.*, ɳarmaɭ *armpit*, baɾmunu *goanna sp.*, wul-ɳiriri

small ones, ñilñiluna (frozen redup.) *trevally fish*, wuļñin *genital cover*, burñal *to be rotten*, gaṛñirimba *big crowd*, ɖalɣunji *frilled lizard*, buļɣu *ashes*, -arɣali *to scratch*, and ɣabaṛ-ɣabaṛ from ɣabaṛ *to be sick*. It is possible that rɣ occurs across a morpheme boundary, e.g. in the combination of Dual wur- with a noun like ɣinin *finch sp.*, but my informant (Mack) did not like such combinations (preferring, e.g. wuruja ɣinin with the independent numeral wuruja *two*).

It remains to indicate the range of liquid-semivowel and liquid-liquid clusters attested. These are shown in Table 2-4.

TABLE 2-4
Liquid-Semivowel and Liquid-Liquid Clusters

	l	ɭ	r	ɾ
y	ly	ɭy	ry	(ɾy)
w	lw	ɭw	rw	(ɾw)
l	---	---	---	---
ɭ	---	---	(rɭ)	---
r	---	---	---	---
ɾ	(lɾ)	---	(rɾ)	---

Examples: biriɭilyi *parrot sp.*, baɭya *male*, balya *male*, wurya *fish sp.*, jaṛ+ya-'-jujuñi *he was dragging it this way*, yulway *stringybark*, yaɭwar *empty-handed*, garwiṛi *dog*, ɣabaṛ+wala-ma *they got sick*, ɭar-ɭar from ɭar *to cut up*, ɾal-ɾal from ɾal *to hook on*, wur-ɾambi *together* (Dual). Clusters /lɭ/, /ɭɭ/ are simplified to l, ɭ by contraction rules. Clusters *rɭ and *rɾ would probably be all right but no relevant combinations are attested.

We now move on to clusters beginning with a nasal. In Tables 2-5 and 2-6 we present the attested nasal-stop and nasal-nasal clusters.

Examples for Table 2-5: bambal *sea-sponge*, bulanba *senior (wife)*, buɣbilibuɣbili *cluster of stars*, biñbinjaɭa (partial frozen redup.) *bat*, jawuɣbuɣ (partial frozen redup.) *short*, alaɣdarbuṛa *chestnut rail (bird)*, bandiyan *king brown snake*, ɖum-ɖum from ɖum (*waves*) *to break*, ɖinɖin (frozen redup.) *to shake*, baɣɖij *kidney*, ɖañ-ɖañ from ɖañ *to slice*, miɖalaɣɖalaɣ (frozen redup.) *darter*, ɣa-ɭuɭbam-jani from the *juvenile euro*, binja *hair*, buruwaɣji *wattle sp.*, juɣjuɣ (frozen redup.) *to suck*, ñim+gu-ganji *he camped out*, baɭingama *kangaroo sp.*, baɣgiba

TABLE 2-5
Nasal-Stop Clusters

	m	n	ŋ	ɲ	ŋ
b	mb	nb	ŋb	(ɲb)	(ŋb)
ɖ	---	nd	---	---	---
d	---	nd	---	---	---
ɗ	(mɗ)	(nɗ)	ŋɗ	(ɲɗ)	(ŋɗ)
j	(mj)	nj	ŋj	---	(ŋj)
g	(mg)	ng	ŋg	ɲg	ŋg

TABLE 2-6
Nasal-Nasal Clusters

	m	n	ŋ	ɲ	ŋ
m	---	nm	ŋm	ɲm	(ŋm)
n	---	---	---	---	---
ŋ	(mŋ)	---	---	(ɲŋ)	(ŋŋ)
ɲ	(mɲ)	(nɲ)	ŋɲ	---	(ŋɲ)
ŋ	(mŋ)	(nŋ)	ŋŋ	(ɲŋ)	---

fat turtle, *maɭbiŋgari dugong harpooner*, *balangar river junction*.
When /ɲj/ occurs in base forms it is merged into nj on the surface.

Examples for Table 2-6: *badbanma midriff*, *baŋmira tree sp.*,
giŋmuɭgiŋmuɭ sleepy cod, *miŋiŋ-miŋiŋ* from *miŋiŋ* to *flick out tongue*,
ɲim+ŋa-ganji we camped out, *ɖaŋ+ŋa-jujuɲi* we sliced it, *ɖaŋ+ŋa-'ɲi*
we hit it, *ɲim-ɲim* from *ɲim* to *camp*, *n-ɲiyin* name, *jaŋɲin* bloodwood,
ɲiŋɲiŋ (frozen redup.) sharp, *ɲim+ŋa-ganji* I camped out, *mun+ŋa-nbuni*
I was leaning forward, *waŋŋu* black plum, *ɖaŋ+ŋa-jujuɲi* I sliced it.
The clusters /ŋŋ/ and /ŋɲ/ often, but not always, become gŋ and gɲ by
a denasalisation rule, hence *ɖaŋ+ŋa-'ɲi* alongside *ɖaŋ+ŋa-'ɲi* we hit it.
When not word-initial (i.e. in combinations not involving prefix n-),
/nɲ/ is reduced to ɲ.

It can be seen from Table 2-5 in particular that, aside from the close-knit homorganic sequences *nd* and *ŋd* (cf. the once-attested, virtually homorganic sequence *nd*), apicals are uncommon as the second member of clusters though they are common as the first members. On the other hand, the other series (labial, laminoalveolar, velar) are especially common as the second members.

Clusters of a nasal plus a liquid or semivowel do not normally occur except in verb-particle reduplications. In other positions, nasal-liquid clusters are usually broken up by insertion of *-ŋa-* (*n-ŋa-ruru rib section* from */n-ruru/*), while nasal-semivowel clusters require that the semivowel be hardened to a stop (*ŋa-ba!gan-jani* from *the mangrove* with suffix *-y!ani*). Neither the *ŋa*-Insertion nor Hardening rules apply between the two segments of a verb-particle reduplication.

The attested nasal-liquid clusters in such reduplications are *ŋl* in *!uŋ-!uŋ* from *!uŋ to swell up*, and *ŋl* in *!uŋ-!uŋ* from *!uŋ to coil*. The clusters */n!/* and */ŋr/* occur in base forms but are reduced to *n* and *ŋ*, respectively: *!un-ud* from *!ud to get stuck* (intermediate */!un-!ud/*), *raŋ-aŋ* from *raŋ to hit*. Other clusters like **ŋr* seem all right but there are no relevant examples (e.g. there are no verb-particles beginning in *r* and ending in *ŋ*, hence no reduplication of the form **rVŋ-rVŋ*).

Nasal-semivowel clusters, which occur chiefly in these reduplications, are found when the verb-particle begins with *w* or *y* and ends in a nasal or a stop (since a stop in this position undergoes a nasalisation rule). For example, from *wij to suck honey* we get *wiŋ-wij*, while from *waŋan to be lost* we get *waŋan-waŋan*. Other examples: *wiŋ-wiŋ* from *wiŋ to rest*, *yaŋ-yaŋ* from *yaŋ to wait for*, *yiriŋ-yirij* from *yirij to pick up*, and *yiriŋ-yirig* from *yirig to move*. There happen to be no reduplicative examples of **ny*, but I can mention *n-yuliba bushland* with nominal prefix *n-* before a noun beginning with *y*. The clusters **my* and **mw* seem to be unattested; this is partly because of the absence of **wVm* and **yVm* verb particles, but also because in cases like *yib to conceal* the first *b* in the reduplication is deleted and thus cannot become nasalised to *m* (*yi-yib*).

Stop-stop clusters, which are not terribly common, are listed in Table 2-7, while the even rarer stop-nasal type is dealt with in Table 2-8.

TABLE 2-7
Stop-Stop Clusters

	b	d	ɖ	j	g
b	---	db	ɖb	jb	gb
ɖ	---	---	---	---	---
d	---	---	---	---	---
ɖ	---	---	---	(jɖ)	(gɖ)
j	(bj)	dj	ɖj	---	(gj)
g	(bg)	(dg)	ɖg	jg	---

TABLE 2-8
Stop-Nasal Clusters

	b	d	ɖ	j	g
m	---	(dm)	(ɖm)	(jm)	(gm)
n	(bn)	(dn)	(ɖn)	(jn)	(gn)
ɳ	(bɳ)	(dɳ)	(ɖɳ)	(jɳ)	(gɳ)
ɲ	(bɲ)	(dɲ)	(ɖɲ)	(jɲ)	(gɲ)
ŋ	(bŋ)	(dŋ)	(ɖŋ)	(jŋ)	gŋ

Examples of Table 2-7: *jadba* to cut down, *ɖaɖbu* dry land, *ɖajbiɖajbi* grasshopper, *bugbana* swamp pheasant, *ɖaj-ɖaj* from *ɖaj* to sit down, *ɖagɖag* (frozen redup.) to clap tapsticks, *jaɭab+ja-ʼ-ɭini* he paddled this way, *bidja* dingo, *garuɖji* frog sp., *ɳa-ɳaɳug-jani* from the curlew, *jaɭab+g-aɳa* he paddled, *gunjadgunjad* (frozen redup.) shellfish sp., *baɖgala* dog, *jirɳujga* tree sp. Clusters /dɖ/ and /ɖɖ/ are reduced to surface d and ɖ, respectively. Clusters beginning in b are rare since in verb-particle reduplications final b is lost; thus *bɖ is not attested at all, while bj and bg are found only at the + boundary between a verb-particle and the following Aux (and, in the case of bj, optionally in *ɳa-ɭuɭbab-jani* or *ɳa-ɭuɭbam-jani* from the juvenile euro).

A complete list of stems with dj (phonetically a kind of fortis j):
bidja dingo, *garadji spinifex wax*, *ṇadjiṇadji stone edge*, *madjur flying fox*, *mudju coolibah*, *wadjuṇḍu goanna*, *widjalala crimson finch*.

As Table 2-8 shows, many stop-nasal clusters occur over boundaries but only gṇ is found stem-internally: *wugṇan myrtle* (only nonreduplicative example). All the remaining clusters shown are rare, and moreover except for those beginning with g they are unstable in that the stop is usually nasalised, hence /bṇ/ → mṇ and so forth.

The examples with m as second element are primarily forms with adjectival suffix -min, as in *gad-min skin-and-bones*, *jigid-min crooked penis!* (swearword), *bij-min big-eyed*, and *wag-min black*. The examples with n as second element involve Purposive -ni added to the small number of nouns ending in a stop: *!u!bab juvenile euro*, *wambigud plant sp.*, *ṇawaḍ hawk sp.*, *jijug hare-wallaby*, *ṇaḍij hibiscus*. Examples with ṇ involve verb-particles ending in a stop with following Aux beginning with lInDu ṇa- or another similar pronominal prefix; likewise the examples with ṇ involve verb-particles followed by lSg ṇa- at the beginning of the Aux. Examples with ñ involve the stop-final nouns just mentioned followed by Allative/Locative -y₂u(r), whose y₂ becomes ñ after a stop. Hence from *jijug hare-wallaby* we get Purposive ṇa-jijug-ni and Allative/Locative ṇa-jijug-ñu(r).

Clusters of the type stop-liquid are not attested on the surface, though they occur in base-forms. The only exception is the curious noun *jabṛari herb sp.* When an underlying stop-liquid cluster occurs at the boundary in a verb-particle reduplication, there are various rules which make sure that no surface stop-liquid cluster results. These include a rule deleting b in a bC cluster at such a boundary, various other cluster-contraction rules, and a rule nasalising stops to nasals in this environment.

For the same reasons there are no surface stop-semivowel clusters (the b-Deletion, Nasalisation, and other rules apply to stops before semivowels as well as before liquids).

The only remaining clusters to consider are those beginning with a semivowel y or w. Such clusters are rare within a morpheme; we can cite only *ṇalaymaryi soon*, *ḍuymanji potato sp.*, *mayṇu ochre*, *jawjaw* (frozen redup.) *water lily stem*, *!aw!aw* (frozen redup.) *other side*, *!iwma!iw-min* (*!iw-ma-!iw-min) *crooked, zigzagging*, and *-mbiyawyaw floodplain*. The last few examples (those with wC clusters) are frozen reduplications. Disregarding these, we have examples of only ym (two) and yṇ (one).

Other wC and yC clusters occur at boundaries of various sorts. Since there are no rules deleting or altering the w or y, nor changing the C (except that geminated /ww/ and /yy/ are reduced to w and y), a wide range of wC and yC clusters can occur in these combinations. For example, from *baw to come out of water* we get wb in reduplicated *baw-baw* and various other clusters in Aux combinations like *baw+ŋa-!ini I came out*, *baw+ŋi-!ini you came out*, *baw+ya-'-!indu he is coming out this way*, etc. Likewise for verb-particles ending in y like *ɖay to flee*.

2.4. Morphophonemes: w₁, w₂, y₁, y₂, N

As will be explained in the next chapter, in some prefixes and suffixes it is necessary to distinguish two kinds of w and two kinds of y. In these morphemes, w₁ becomes g and w₂ becomes b when preceded by a morpheme in the same word (or verb-complex) ending in a stop or nasal. Similarly, y₁ becomes j while y₂ becomes ñ. There are also some instances of w and y which do not change (hence *yirig to twitch* reduplicates as *yiriŋ-yirig*, not **yiriŋ-jirig* or **yiriŋ-ñirig* or the like), but these instances are morphologically definable. By building restrictions into the rules converting w and y into stops and nasals, it is possible to regard y and w at the beginning of verb-particles (like *yirig*) as simply unspecified for the y₁/y₂ or w₁/w₂ oppositions.

The morphophoneme N, an unspecified nasal, occurs only in Gentilic prefix *ŋuN-*, which occurs only in a handful of clan terms and the like borrowed from languages to the north. Examples: *ŋumbuṛindi Nunggubuyu people* (i.e. people from *wuṛindi* swamp), borrowed from the Nunggubuyu language. The other apparent case of N (i.e. of a nasal which always assimilates in point of articulation to the following consonant) is dealt with in 10.2; it would appear that this can be identified as underlying n.

2.5. Boundaries and Special Symbols

In addition to the ordinary word-boundary #, it will be seen in the following chapter that there are several types of boundaries within words (and verb-complexes). These types can be defined by the way in which phonological rules operate on underlying combinations of phonemes separated by the boundaries. In the notation, only two such boundaries will be recognised: - (ordinary word-internal morpheme boundary) and + (boundary between a verb-particle and the following Aux). Both types occur in *ŋad+gu-!ini he ran*. It would also be desirable to have a

special symbol for the boundary between the two segments of a verb-particle reduplication, like /*ṇad-ṇad*/ → *ṇan-ad* from *ṇad* *to run*, but to avoid notational complication I have simply used the - symbol here.

Word-internal morpheme boundaries are usually indicated in my transcriptions. However, in morphologically complex pronominal prefixes added to verbs (e.g. 3Sg + 1Sg *ṇa-n-gu-*), and in the inflected verb forms which follow them (e.g. *-wan-a-ni gave*), morpheme boundaries are usually omitted in this grammar and in the texts, hence *ṇangu-wanani he gave (it) to me*. Of course, in those chapters where the internal structure of the prefixes or of the verb forms is under discussion the boundaries will be indicated. All boundaries in nominal morphology will be shown.

The symbol :::: indicates stylistic lengthening; *ṇaw-aṇa we went* can appear as *ṇaw-aṇa::::* in texts. The symbol ' indicates that a morpheme-initial vowel (which always happens to be a) has been elided, hence */ṇa-arṇa|i/ → ṇa-'rṇa|i I scratched him*.

CHAPTER THREE

PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

3.1. General

In this chapter we consider phonological alternations, and describe them in terms of rewrite rules operating on underlying representations. The writer has qualms about the theoretical adequacy of this descriptive technique, but it is used since it is well-known and since in most respects it is notationally convenient.

Some of the alternations can be handled in a variety of ways, depending on how the base forms are represented, how the various rules are ordered, etc. I will generally state one alternative formally, but may mention other possibilities and in such cases I may have no strong preference for the first alternative.

The order of application of the rules, which is not entirely in agreement with the numbering system used, is discussed at the end of this chapter.

Certain minor alternations occurring in specialised or frozen affix-combinations are not dealt with in this chapter, rather in the appropriate morphological chapter. The most relevant references are to 10.4 (discussing pronominal prefixes preposed to verbs) and 11.2 (analysing verbal suffixal paradigms).

3.2. Reduplication (P-1)

Verbs and nouns can be reduplicated by the rule which will be labelled P-1 here (see 4.10 for nouns, 9.3 for verbs). In the case of verbs, in the Aux construction with a verb-particle followed by an inflected verbal Aux, the verb-particle is the stem which gets reduplicated. Therefore an inflected verb can be reduplicated by P-1 only when there is no preceding verb-particle (an inflectable verb

which is always used as an Aux with preceding verb-particle can never be reduplicated by P-1). Hence in *raṇ+bala-ganji-!ana* *they fought* it is the verb-particle *raṇ* which reduplicates (*raṇ-aṇ+bala-ganji-!ana*), while in *wili-ganji* *they took him* the inflected verb *-ganji* is reduplicated: *wili-ganj-aji* (for *nj* → *j* see P-31).

It should be noted that there is a second reduplication rule P-2 (next section) applying to certain inflectable verbs, regardless of whether they are preceded by verb-particles. This reduplication is functionally part of the system of 'initial durative change', which for other inflectable stems is marked by another morphophonemic change such as Durative Hardening P-3.

Nominal reduplication by P-1 is somewhat restricted in scope. Certain human nouns form a (3+) plural by reduplication: *jawulba* *old person* + *jawu-yawulba*; *njiwa* *widow* + *njiwa-njiwa*. However, not all human nouns reduplicate in this fashion. Some show stem-suppletion (*gayi* *other* has a 3+ plural *wayara* *others*), the few which take Sg suffix *-mar* simply drop it (*gaṛiyi-mar* *man* + *gaṛiyi*), and others show no change. In the latter case the Sg/Du/Pl opposition is expressed only by the preceding class/case prefix, hence *-mbaḍawaḍa* *old woman* + *wul-mbaḍawaḍa*.

Reduplication is also applied to a handful of topographic terms to mark multiple plurality (indefinite large number). Examples: *ṇargu-ṇargu* *billabongs*, *!u!ga-!u!ga* *islands*.

Locative cardinal-direction adverbs ending in *a* are often reduplicated with little change in meaning: *garga!a* and *garga-'rga!a* *far in the west*. Allative and Ablative forms of these adverbs are not subject to reduplication.

A nominal derivational construction translatable *having (lots of) X* is formed from noun stems (X) by reduplication plus addition of Pergressive case suffix *-ya/-ña*. Hence from *-giriya* *woman* we get *giri-giriya-ya* *having a woman (i.e. married man)*, and from *-murji* *hand* we get *murji-murji-ya* *scorpion*.

As noted above, when a verb complex includes a verb-particle, as is usually the case, the latter (rather than the inflected stem) gets reduplicated. Another example of this is *ṇaṇarg+u-mindini* *he snored* + *ṇaṇarg-ṇaṇarg+u-mindini* *he snored and snored*. Reduplication normally indicates repetition or substantial prolongation, hence *always*, *frequently*, *constantly*, *repeatedly*.

In those tenses where aspect (Punctual/Continuous) is distinguished in inflectional suffixes, generally only the Continuous form can occur in a reduplication. The only exception is that a few CVC verb-particles

which take -|ini/-yurayi *to go* as their Aux, or in one instance -jinji/-yinjiyi as the Aux, can be reduplicated in the Past Punctual form (-aŋa for *to go*, -yaŋa for the other; these are the only two verbs which have a Past Punctual suffix -ŋa). A very common example is mal-mal+w-aŋa *he went up from mal to go up*, as in Texts 25.1 and 34.2. Another is gil-gil+w-aŋa *it crawled* with verb-particle gil. The example involving the other Aux is bay-bay+wala-yaŋa (Text 21.3) *they (trees) stood up with bay to stand*. The exact aspectual nuance in these forms is difficult to pin down, but it appears that the nuance added by the reduplication is an intensive one (in some sense) rather than a genuinely aspectual (e.g. repetitive) one. With the Past Continuous form reduplication does indicate repetition or prolongation: mal-mal+u-|ini *he kept going up*, etc.

Inflected verbs which are capable of being used without preceding verb-particles can in some cases be reduplicated. Examples: -anj-anji from -anji *to sit*, -ba-wayi-wayiŋga|i from -ba-wayiŋga|i *to hit with thrown object*, -gal-aluni from -galuni *to have*, -jara-yarawuni from -jarawuni *to take (dog) hunting*, -ja|i-ya|i from -ja|i *to eat*, -|ini-|ini from -|ini *to go*, -mina-mi-nani from -mi-nani *to see*, -ganda-'ndayaruñi from -gandayaruñi *speared*. The forms shown are Past Continuous, but reduplication can also apply to some other forms.

Verbal reduplication is most common in the Past Continuous and Present (positive) forms. It is only moderately common in the Future (positive). Reduplication can occur in negative forms, usually with the sense 'never', hence ganagu ŋa-jara-yarawuyi *I never take it (dog) hunting*. Reduplicated imperatives are not attested.

As far as the form of the reduplication is concerned, it is basically initial CVCV-, where either C may be a cluster. Many examples are given above. In the few instances where the stem to be reduplicated is CVC, the reduplication is initial CVC-, hence from ŋa-gay *I will take it* we get ŋa-gay-gay.

The one exception to the above rule is that verb-particle reduplication is full. Hence ŋaŋarg *to snore* reduplicates as ŋaŋarg-ŋaŋarg, while ɾaŋ *to hit* reduplicates as /ɾaŋ-ɾaŋ/ → ɾaŋ-aŋ.

This last example shows that the reduplication is, in some instances, subject to modification by later phonological rules. These include CC-reduction rules such as /ŋɾ/ → ŋ in this example. It is especially important to point out that if the post-reduplicative segment begins with a vowel a VV-Contraction rule applies, so that from -anji *to sit* we get /-anji-anji/ → -anji-anji.

In the case of reduplications of inflected verbs, the reduplication may include part or all of an inflectional suffix. Hence in the preceding example *-anji to sit* (past Continuous form) is really *-a-nji* with root *-a-* followed by an inflectional suffix; cf. *-ganji (-ga-nji) to take*, etc. Note that the reduplicative segment for *-anji* is */-anji-/*, including the suffix. However, Reflexive/Reciprocal *-!ana* (which is added to an already-inflected verb form) cannot be included in a reduplication; from *-gay will take* we get */-gay-!ana/* + *-ga-!ana will take each other*, but this reduplicates as *-gay-gay-!ana* rather than **ga!a-ga-!ana* or **-gay!a-gay-!ana*.

Nominal suffixes (marking case) cannot be included in a reduplication, but this does not need to be stated as a specific exclusion since all reduplicable noun stems contain at least two syllables, so the (bisyllabic) reduplicative segment could not include the suffix under any conditions.

Prefixes are not included in the reduplication, except for noninitial prefixes (following the pronominal prefix) which function as markers of the durative stem-initial. Thus in *na-ganji I took it* there is only a pronominal prefix, and this is not included in the reduplicative segment in *na-ganj-aji/na-ganji-anji/*. Prefixes which precede the pronominal prefix, such as Centripetal *y!a-/na-*, are of course likewise excluded from the reduplication. However, in *na-minani* (actually *na-mi-na-ni*) *I saw him* there is a noninitial durative prefix *-mi-* preceding the root *-na-* *to see*, and in the corresponding reduplication the reduplicative segment includes *-mi-*: *na-mina-minani I kept seeing him*.

There are some complications to this, however. In two verbs subject to the main reduplication rule (P-1), the durative stem-initial is in fact a reduplicative segment produced by the other reduplication rule (P-2), so a kind of double reduplication results. The relevant verbs are *-bawayinga!i/-wayingayi to hit with throw object* (root *-wayinga-*, durative *-ba-wayinga-*) and *-wanani/-wayi to give to* (root *-wa-*, durative *-waC-wa-* with C representing the consonant following *-wa-*). The reduplication of *-ba-wayinga-* is *-ba-wayi-wayinga-*, and here it appears that the P-2 reduplicative segment *-ba-* is disregarded by the P-1 reduplication (which adds *-wayi-*). This can be taken care of notationally either by specifying that P-1 disregards a P-2 reduplicative segment and begins with the root, or by ordering P-2 after P-1 (so that when P-1 applies there is no P-2 segment).

On the other hand, *-waC-wa-* from *-wanani/-wayi to give* reduplicates as *-waCwa-waC-wa-*, as in */-wajwa-waj-wa-ju/* + *-waja-waj-a-ju* (one of the Present forms) from *-waj-a-ju*. Here the P-1 reduplicative segment

-waja- is to the left of, and includes, the P-2 reduplicative segment -waj-, so P-1 must follow P-2.

One possible analysis, then, is to have P-1 follow P-2 in all cases, with the provision that in the case of -bawayinga|i/-wayingayi the P-2 segment is not included in the P-1 reduplication. For this verb we would then go from /-wayinga-/ to /-ba-wayinga-/ by P-2, then to /-ba-wayi-wayinga-/ by P-1 with the reduplication beginning with the root and disregarding -ba-. For -wanani/-wayi the P-1 segment does include the P-2 segment, hence /-wa-ju/ becoming /-waj-wa-ju/ by P-2 and then /-wajwa-waj-wa-ju/ by P-1 (ultimately -waja-waj-a-ju with deletion of the w's).

The other possibility is to use the local ordering analysis, whereby P-1 precedes P-2 in the case of -bawayinga|i/-wayingayi but follows it in the case of -wanani/-wayi. The choice between the two analyses is a subjective one, but the latter analysis (local ordering) is the one which will be formalised here.

Epenthetic -ŋa- inserted by rule P-4 (cf. below) is not included in P-1 reduplication: /n-|u|ga/ → n-ŋa-|u|ga *island*, and this reduplicates as n-ŋa-|u|ga-|u|ga *many islands*. This detail can be accounted for either by a restriction on the P-1 rule, or by ordering P-4 after P-1; I prefer the latter analysis.

P-1 (Main Reduplication Rule)

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Rdp} &\rightarrow \text{VPa} // \text{ } - \text{VPa} \\ C_1V_1C_2 & // \text{ } - C_1V_1C_2 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ -|ana \end{array} \right. \\ (C_1)V_1C_2V_2 & // \text{ } - (C_1)V_1C_2V_2 \end{aligned}$$

where VPa is a verb-particle; C_1 is the initial segment of a nominal, verbal, or cardinal-direction stem ('stem' here excludes prefixes, except for durative - including reduplicative - prefixes before inflected verb roots); C_1 and C_2 are single consonants or clusters; -|ana is the Reflexive/Reciprocal suffix.

3.3. Initial Durative Change (P-2, P-3)

The majority of inflectable verb stems, whether used as independent verbs or as Aux's (or both), show an opposition between what I will call 'durative' and 'nondurative' stem-initials. This must be sharply distinguished from the suffixal categories, which include marking for aspect in some tenses (the terms 'punctual' and 'continuous' are used

as aspect labels for these suffixal categories). Naturally, there is some correlation between the durative stem-initial and the suffixal continuous, and between the nondurative stem-initial and the suffixal punctual. However, the correlation is far from absolute, and the following combinations occur: nondurative punctual, nondurative continuous, and durative continuous (the durative punctual does not occur).

In some cases the durative stem-initial (formally and semantically the marked member of the opposition) is indicated by a special prefix. Thus in *-minani/-nayi* (root: *-na-*) *to see* we find a prefix *-mi-* in the durative. (Inflectable verbs are cited in the durative Past Continuous form, or if two forms are shown by the durative Past Continuous followed by the Past Potential, which is always nondurative. Morpheme breaks are often omitted.)

Other inflectable verbs which show such prefixes - or what appear at first to be prefixes - are these: *-ba-wayiŋga|i/-wayiŋgayi* *to hit with thrown object*, *-jaga-yaga|i/-yagayi*, *-ju-juñi/-jiyi*, *-ga-nji|i/-njiyi*, *-gu-nbuni/-nbuyi*, and *wan-ani/-wayi* *to give* (stems not glossed are Aux's). In the case of one other Aux, *-nani/-niyi*, there is an extended form used in the Present form (Present₃ *-naja-naja*, etc.) but not in the Past Continuous, so one could say that the durative stem-initial for this stem is more restricted in its distribution.

Some of these 'prefixes' appear, however, to be really reduplicative segments, although they cannot be accounted for in most cases by the Main Reduplication Rule P-1. The reduplicative analysis is strongly supported by the fact that the 'prefix' varies from one inflected form to another. Hence for *to give* we find, alongside durative Past Continuous */-wan-(w)ani-/* + *-wan-ani*, such forms as Present₃ */-waj-(w)aju/* + *-waj-aju* and durative Future *-way-way*. For *-ju-juñi/-jiyi* (Aux) we get Present Negative *-ji-jiyi*, durative Future *-ju-ju*, etc.

Clearly, the reduplication rule needed for some of these examples is formally independent of the Main Reduplication Rule P-1. Aside from the fact that there are formal differences (notably in the occurrence of monosyllabic - not bisyllabic - reduplications in cases like *-ju-juñi*), there is the more important fact that *-ba-wayiŋga|i* (where *-ba-* is produced by CV-reduplication plus Hardening P-3, cf. below) shows a P-1 reduplication *-ba-wayi-wayiŋga|i*, so that there are two overt reduplicative segments.

Of the list of verbs shown above with 'prefixes' in the durative, reduplication seems clearly at hand in *-ba-wayiŋga|i/-wayiŋgayi*,

-jaga-yaga!i/-yagayi, -ju-juñi/-jiyi, and -wan-ani/-wayi, as well as in the case of the less regular verb -nani/-niyi in the Present (-naja-naja, etc.). In the first two examples reduplication is accompanied by Hardening P-3 ($w \rightarrow b$, $y \rightarrow j$), to which we now turn.

Hardening by itself is by far the most common form of initial durative change. The conversions are these: $y \rightarrow j$, $w \rightarrow b$, and $\emptyset \rightarrow g$. Examples: -baruñi/-wariyi to *defecate*, -biliŋa!i/-wiliŋayi, -buyini/-wuyi, -jarawuni/-yarawuyi to *take (dog) hunting*, -jinji/-yinjiyi, -galuni/-aluyi to *have*, -gandayaruñi/-andayariyi to *spear*, -gaŋaŋuni/-aŋaŋiyi. There are sixteen stems which form the durative in this fashion - about half the total number of inflectable stems. The stems which do not undergo Hardening include some which cannot do so for phonological reasons (i.e. those beginning in a stop, nasal, or liquid: -ju-juñi/-jiyi, -mindini/-miyi to *do that*, allomorph -!ini in -!ini/-yurayi to *go*, etc.), but also some which theoretically should have been able to form a hardened stem-initial like -alungu!i/-alunguyi to *wait for*.

Two stems mentioned above as having durative 'prefixes', -ga-nji!i/-njiyi and -gu-nbuni/-nbuyi, could conceivably be analysed as underlying /-anji!i/ and /-unbuni/, etc., so that the initial g in the durative can be taken as hardened from \emptyset . We could then rewrite the forms as -ganji!i/-(a)njiyi and -gunbuni/-(u)nbuyi. In the first example, however, this is not possible, because forms like 3Sg Past Potential wu-njiyi must reflect /w₁u-njiyi/ rather than /w₁u-anjiyi/, which would have produced the incorrect surface form *w-anjiyi (since in all other combinations /ua/ \rightarrow a). In the second example, it might be possible to take the Past Potential as -unbuyi, but only if a rule were formulated to the effect that /Vu/ \rightarrow V, since in every surface form the presumed underlying /u/ would have to be deleted. Since there are no other cases of morpheme-initial u, there would be no specific counterexample to such a rule, but there is certainly no other evidence for it. It seems, then, that we will have to consider -ga-nji!i/-njiyi and -gu-nbuni/-nbuyi as showing durative prefixes (-ga-, -gu-) which are not directly generated by phonological rules applied to the non-durative form.

We may briefly mention that in some paradigms the durative/nondurative opposition (or a modified approximation thereto) is expressed by stem-suppletion: -bayŋa!i/-yiŋayi, -!ini/-yurayi to *go*, -jañi/-niŋuyi to *tell*, -jujuñi/-!arbuyi, -niŋa!i/-yagayi, -anji/-anjiyi (Present₃ -wu!u) to *sit*, -ganji/-yagayi to *take*. The distribution of the two stems differs from one paradigm to another, and in some cases

the suppletive opposition is supplemented by hardened/unhardened and/or simple/reduplicated stem-initial variation in one of the two stems. Thus in the case of -jañi/-niṇuyi the Past Punctual is -yi, which is related to the root -ja- in durative Past Continuous -jañi (cf. nondurative Past Continuous -yañi); taking /-yV-/ as basic we have hardened -jV-.

The stems which show no durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition are: -alungu!i/-alunguyi *to wait for*, -arṇa!i/-arṇayi *to scratch*, -guluguluwuni/-guluguluwuyi *to wait for (dugong/turtle) to surface*, -!inma!i/-!inmiyi, -mbu!ma!i/-mbu!miyi *to do it*, -mindini/-miyi *to do that*, -niṇa!i/-niṇayi, and -ñambuni/-ñambuyi *to swear at*.

For the purpose of this chapter we will formulate only the two phonologically based durative formations, Reduplication and Hardening. In formulating the Reduplication rule, the chief problem is determining the conditions under which the CV-, CVC-, and CVCV- reduplicative segments occur. The CV- type is found with -ba-wayiṇga!i/-wayiṇgayi and -ju-juñi/-jiyi. The CVC- type is found only in forms of -wan-ani/-wayi *to give*, most clearly in Present Negative (durative) -way-wayi, but also in durative Future -way-way. In the remaining reduplicated forms of this paradigm, such as durative Past Continuous -wan-ani, it is possible to take the reduplication as CVC- again, hence /-wani-wani/ → -wan-ani, although one could also formulate a plausible derivation /-wani-wani/ → /-wani-ani/ → -wan-ani starting from a bisyllabic reduplication. In both derivations an irregular w-Deletion rule is needed; in the latter derivation an extra step /ia/ → a, is also needed, but this rule is independently justified. Simply by analogy to -way-wayi and -way-way, I will take /-wan-wani/ as the correct base form, and so on for the remainder of this paradigm.

The CVCV- type is found with -jaga-yaga!i/-yagayi, and in Present₃ -naja-naja and some other forms of -nani/-niyi. I can see no hope of a simple phonological basis for the CV-/CVC-/CVCV- differentiation in these paradigms.

P-2 (Durative Reduplication)

for some stems, to mark the durative

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{cases} C_1V_1- & // & \text{---} & - C_1V_1 \\ C_1V_1C_2- & // & \text{---} & - C_1V_1C_2 \\ C_1V_1C_2V_2- & // & \text{---} & - C_1V_1C_2V_2 \end{cases}$$

where the choice between the three types depends on the stem.

The Hardening rule is straightforward and can be formulated as follows:

P-3 (Durative Hardening)

to mark the durative for some stems

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \rightarrow g \\ w \rightarrow b \\ y \rightarrow j \end{array} \right\} // - ___ V$$

3.4. *ŋa*-Insertion (P-4)

A special rule is needed to account for the occurrence of a prefix *-ŋa-* in nominal morphology in phonologically specifiable environments. There is only one nominal (or any other) prefix of the form C-, namely *n-*, used in the Nominative form of FSg and Ne (Neuter) nouns. Examples of *n-* are *n-ɖula* *leg* and *n-ñiɣin* *name*. Contrast Oblique *ñā-yula* (for *ɖ/y* see P-5), *ñā-ñiɣin*.

The morpheme *-ŋa-* is inserted automatically between *n-* and a stem beginning in an apical sonorant (*n, ŋ, l, r* - no nouns happen to begin with *l* or *r*). Hence *n-ŋa-narjaɭaŋa* *wife's mother*, *n-ŋa-ŋiriri* *small ones*, *n-ŋa-luɭga* *island*, *n-ŋa-ruru* *kidney section*. That the *-ŋa-* is not part of the stem is shown by its absence from Oblique forms, hence *ya-narjaɭaŋa*, *ñā-ŋiriri*, *ñā-luɭga*, *ñā-ruru*.

Aside from *n-*, other nominal prefixes are all CV-, CVC-, or CVCV- (*ŋa-*, *ñā-*, *ya-*, *wur-*, *wul-*, *wiri-*, *wili-*). These do not co-occur with *-ŋa-*.

Some 'kin terms' are formally dyadic predicative expressions like *ŋiri-mayguɭa* *the two of us are husband and wife*, though they can function as Sg nouns (this is the usual way to say *my husband* and *my wife*). In the latter use, such expressions generally avoid nominal affixes, so that one can say *ŋiri-mayguɭa wu-lini* *we are husband and wife, she went* in the sense *my wife went*. However, nominal affixes are occasionally added, so one can say *n-ŋiri-mayguɭa* *my wife* with FSg prefix *n-*. In this unproductive construction, *-ŋa-* is not inserted, although it is used with formally nominal kin terms (*n-ŋa-narjaɭaŋa* *wife's mother*). Hence it is necessary to prevent *ŋa*-Insertion from applying, and one way to do this is to specify that the rule applies only when *n-* is directly followed by a noun stem (with no intervening pronominal prefix).

Aside from this exception, there are a couple of nouns beginning with *r* before which *ŋa*-Insertion is optional: *ɾirmul* *thin* (*n-ɾirmul* or

n-ŋa-ɾirmul) and ɾugalara *long, tall* (n-ɾugalara or n-ŋa-ɾugalara). Contrast n-ŋa-ɾuru (never *n-ɾuru) *kidney section*. The stems before which the rule is optional are adjective-type nouns semantically and occur after n- only occasionally.

In the one case I know of where a noun stem begins in nd, ŋa-Insertion fails to apply: n-daju-mar *your younger sister*. The stem is -ndaju- rather than *-daju-, as is shown by Oblique ya-ndaju-mar, etc. The Nominative is thus /n-ndaju-mar/, with the second /n/ being deleted by Nasal-Cluster Contraction P-27. It would seem that P-27 precedes ŋa-Insertion, so that the latter rule is blocked by the fact that the n- at that stage is followed by d rather than n (i.e. by something other than an apical sonorant). An alternative would be to formulate ŋa-Insertion so that it did not apply before a consonant cluster. Alternatively, one could adopt the view that homorganic nasal-stop sequences like nd are unit phonemes (prenasalised stops), and exclude such sounds from the class of (true) sonorants before which ŋa-Insertion applies.

P-4 (ŋa-Insertion)

$$\emptyset \rightarrow -\eta a- \quad // \quad \#C - ___ - \quad C$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{apical} \\ +\text{sonorant} \end{array} \right]$$

where the sonorant is the first segment of a noun stem;
optional for some stems beginning with ɾ.

3.5. Medial Lenition (P-5)

By 'lenition' I will refer to one or more of the following rules converting a stop into a continuant or zero; j → y, ɟ → y, b → w, g → ∅, g → w. Lenition is thus the opposite of Hardening P-3. In the case of g, the lenited form is ∅ before a, w before u (there are no examples with i) so far as Medial Lenition P-5 is concerned; cf. the next section for Initial Lenition where g always becomes w.

Some nouns beginning with stops undergo Medial Lenition when preceded by a prefix (or reduplicative segment) ending in a vowel. Hence from jawulba *old person* we get MSg Oblique ŋa-yawulba, Pl Nominative wul-jawu-yawulba (reduplicated), and Pl Oblique wili-yawu-yawulba, although for this particular stem lenition is optional. Other examples: n-ɟula *leg* and Oblique ña-yula; n-bi!bar *neck* and Oblique ña-wi!bar; n-ga!ŋar *anus* and Oblique ña-'!ŋar from ña-a!ŋar/; gudar *old* and Pl Nominative guda-wudar.

It is not possible to predict which nouns lenite and which do not; indeed, in many cases informants disagree or the same informant fluctuates. Thus *galgalgaṛa strong* was never lenited in my material (hence *ṇa-galgalgaṛa I am strong*), but in Hale's material (from a different informant) it was regularly lenited (*ṇa-'lgaṛa*).

In general, the more common nouns tend to lenite to a greater extent than infrequently encountered nouns. Terms for particular flora and fauna species seem never to undergo lenition, although some general terms like *ḍabaliya tree, wood* are subject to the rule (Oblique *ṇa-yabaliya*). Another generalisation is that Neuter nouns (which include almost all body-part terms along with a few topographic terms) are frequently lenited, though there are exceptions. Another point is that forms of kin terms used with second and third person EGO ('possessor') tend to be more readily lenited than the same terms in the first person form, so that *bijaja my mother's father* resists lenition (Oblique *ṇa-bijaja*) although the obviously related forms *bija-mar your mother's father* and *bija-ṇanja his/her/their mother's father* regularly undergo it (*ṇa-wija-mar, ṇa-wija-ṇanja*).

Nouns which undergo lenition are shown in dictionary entries in both the simple (Nominative) and lenited (Oblique) forms. Nouns beginning with stops which remain unlenited are generally shown only in the Nominative, and in this case it can be assumed that the stop remains invariant.

A similar lenition applies to the cardinal-direction term *gargaḷa far in the west* in its reduplication *garga-'rgaḷa*, but does not affect other such stems (*guyma* and *guyma-guyma far in the north*).

Lenition by the present rule (P-5) does not affect verb-particle reduplications, so that *ḍira to tie up* reduplicates as *ḍira-ḍira* and so forth. On the other hand, in CVCV- reduplications (by P-1) of inflectable verb stems, lenition always applies to initial stops: from *-gandayaruṇi to spear* we get *-ganda-'ndayaruṇi*; from *-jaḷi to eat* we get *-jaḷi-yaḷi*; from *-galuni to have* we get *-gal-aluni*.

Note, however, that such lenition applies only after reduplicative segments, and does not apply after a pronominal prefix ending in a vowel (or anything else): *ṇa-gandayaruṇi I speared him* (never **ṇa-'ndayaruṇi*). Thus the conditions on Medial Lenition differ substantially from nominal to verbal morphology.

P-5 (Medial Lenition)

b → w	}	//	{	V - ____
j → y				for some noun and cardinal-direction stems
ɟ → y				- CVCV - ____
ga → a				for inflectable verb stems when -CVCV-
gu → wu				is a reduplicative segment

3.6. Initial Lenition (P-6)

Word-initial lenition occurs in a number of situations. First, demonstrative and cardinal-direction adverbs undergo a shift $g \rightarrow w$, and in one case perhaps $b \rightarrow w$, in the Allative and Ablative (but not Locative) forms. In the case of demonstrative adverbs the initial morpheme is *ga-* or *gi-*, which is related to Neuter morpheme *-ga-/gi-* also found in demonstratives. In the Allative and Ablative this becomes *wa-/wi-*. Hence *gi-ngara* and *gi-ña here* but *wi-ngara-yu(r) to here* and *wi-ngara-yani from here*, also *ga-na-ña there (distant)* but *wa-ni-ña-yu(r) to there* and *wa-ni-ña-yani from there*. As for cardinal-direction adverbs, note *garga|i in the west* but *warga|i(r) westward* and *warga|i-yana from the west*; perhaps also *bayi in the south* but *waybu-ri southward* and *wa-yana from the south* (though there are also additional irregular changes in the stems here). From *garaja above*; *inland* we get *waraja-ri upward* and *waraji-yana from above*, and also some additional lenited forms such as *waraja-maryi along the top* where lenition is not expected (cf. unlenited *garga|a-maryi along in the west*). (I treat *garaja* as part of the cardinal-direction system.)

A second instance of word-initial lenition is in vocatives of some kin terms. The following examples are shown in the first person 'possessor' form (*my/our...*) with the corresponding vocative after the slash: *gangu|-ɟi/wangu|-i sister's daughter's son*, *ɟalɲa-ɟi/yalɲa-li (woman's) son*, *ɟiliɲa-ɟi/yiliɲa sister's son's son*. Some other kin terms begin with stops but do not undergo lenition in the vocative: *bijaja/bijaja mother's father*.

A third, completely isolated instance of initial lenition is that the noun whose Nominative form is *balba river* not only undergoes Medial Lenition in Oblique *ɲa-walba*, but forms prefixless Pergressive *walba-ya along the river* for expected **balba-ya*. No other noun shows such lenition in the Pergressive; thus, while *n-guruɲaran beach* lenites by P-5 in Oblique *ña-wuruɲaran*, note Pergressive *guruɲara-ña*.

Taken together, the instances of lenition mentioned so far in this section include $g \rightarrow w$, $ɖ \rightarrow y$, and $b \rightarrow w$. This is a subset of the larger set of lenitions seen in P-5, which also includes $j \rightarrow y$ and has a second alternative for g , $g \rightarrow \emptyset$. Note that whereas in P-5 $g \rightarrow w$ before u but $g \rightarrow \emptyset$ before a , in the word-initial types we have $g \rightarrow w$ before a or i (there are no examples involving u). Perhaps this is because Mara tends to avoid word-initial vowels, although there are a handful of words (mostly uncommon fauna terms) which can begin with a .

P-6 (Initial Lenition)

$$a. \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} g \rightarrow w \\ (b \rightarrow w) \end{array} \right\} // \text{ --- } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ i \end{array} \right\} -$$

in Allative and Ablative demonstrative adverbs and cardinal-direction adverbs (and in a few other forms in the case of *garaja* above).

$$b. \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} g \rightarrow w \\ ɖ \rightarrow y \end{array} \right\} // \text{ --- }$$

in vocative forms of certain kin terms

$$c. \quad b \rightarrow w // \text{ --- } alba\text{-}ya$$

(i.e. in the Pergressive of *balba* river).

3.7. Treatment of w (P-7 through P-10)

There is one noun stem, *alandarbuɾa* or *walandarbuɾa* *chestnut rail* (*bird*), which shows fluctuation between initial *wa* and *a*. This is an uncommon word (the synonym *jaraɖadbuwa* is more common), and is considered by some Mara speakers to be a Yanyula word properly speaking although they do use it from time to time. The occurrence of interdental $ɖ$, which is marginal to the Mara consonantal inventory but common in Yanyula, supports this view.

Aside from this instance, word-initial w in nouns (and other non-verbal word-classes) is stable. However, in verbs there are several rules affecting w .

At the beginning of an inflectable Aux there are two relevant alternations, $w \sim g$ and $w \sim b$. I use the morphophonemic representation w_1 for the former, w_2 for the latter. I posit a w -Hardening rule P-7 (below), converting w_1 into g and w_2 into b . The actual morphemes affected are mainly pronominal prefixes like 3Sg (and 3Sg \rightarrow 3Sg) w_1u -

and 3Pl w_2ala- , but there is also a prefix, 3Pres w_1a- , preposed to 3rd and 3rd + 3rd prefixes in the Present (and Evitative).

Given alternations $w \sim g$ and $w \sim b$, readers will undoubtedly wonder why g and b were not taken as underlying with a lenition rule then collapsing them into surface w under specified conditions. This is indeed the 'optimal' solution in terms of notational simplicity since it eliminates the w_1/w_2 morphophonemic opposition. My reason for taking the semivowel as basic is simply that it occurs in a much more general phonological environment than does the stop. The stop, g or b , occurs only when the morpheme is preceded by a verb-particle ending in a nasal or stop. The semivowel, w , occurs initially in the verb complex (i.e. when there is no verb-particle present), after vowels, and after sonorants (although in the last case it is deleted under some conditions by another rule to be mentioned later in this section). The minor notational savings in taking g and b as underlying seem to be overridden by the considerable discrepancy between them and the semivowel in surface distribution.

Examples of $w_1 \rightarrow g$ and $w_2 \rightarrow b$ are: $/\text{ra}\eta + w_1u - a\eta i/ \rightarrow \text{ra}\eta + g - a\eta i$ *he hit him*, $/\text{ra}\eta + w_2ala - \text{ganji} - \text{!ana}/ \rightarrow \text{ra}\eta + bala - \text{ganji} - \text{!ana}$ *they hit each other*, and $/\text{ra}\eta + w_1a - w_2ala - \text{ganja} - \text{!ana}/ \rightarrow \text{ra}\eta + ga - 'la - \text{ganja} - \text{!ana}$ *they are hitting each other*. Examples of $/w_1u - /$ in unhardened form are $wu - \text{!ini}$ *he went*, $\text{!ira} + wu - \text{jinji}$ *he was tied up*, and $mal - mal + w - a\eta a$ (from $/mal - mal + w_1u - a\eta a/$) *he went up*. Similar examples with 3Pl $/w_2ala - /$ instead of 3Sg $/w_1u - /$ are $wala - \text{!ini}$ *they went*, $\text{!ira} + wala - \text{jinji}$ *they were tied up*, and $mal - mal + wala - 'a$ *they went up*.

The rule applies only at the + boundary between a verb-particle and the first prefix in the following Aux. The rule does not apply in verb-particle reduplications, hence $w\eta an$ *to get lost* reduplicates as $w\eta an - w\eta an$, not $*w\eta an - ba\eta an$ or $*w\eta an - ga\eta an$. Note also the FSg/Neuter form $n - wag - min$ of $wag - min$ *black*, showing that the prefix $n -$ does not trigger w -Hardening. There are no nominal or verbal suffixes beginning with w , so we cannot tell whether the rule would apply there.

The only morphemes beginning with w_1 are 3Sg or 3Sg + 3Sg $w_1u -$, and 3Pres $w_1a -$. Other 3rd and 3rd + 3rd prefixes begin with w_2 , hence 3Du $w_2ari -$, 3Du + 3Sg $w_2iri -$, etc. The 3rd and 3rd + 3rd prefixes (but not 3Pres $w_1a -$) are also used for 2nd and 2nd + 3rd imperatives.

P-7 (w -Hardening)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} w_1 \rightarrow g \\ w_2 \rightarrow b \end{array} \right\} // \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{stop} \\ \text{nasal} \end{array} \right\} + \text{---}$$

The next rule affecting w is a deletion rule zeroing w_1 but not w_2 under certain conditions. In the case of 3Pres w_1a- , the semivowel is always deleted after a liquid or semivowel, hence $\dot{y}ay+a-'la-ma$ *they are fleeing*, contrast retention of w_2 in $\dot{y}ay+wala-ma$ *they fled*. An example with a liquid is $war+a-'la-ganja$ *they are singing*. In the case of the other morpheme with w_1 , 3Sg and 3Sg + 3Sg w_1u- , deletion occurs except when the /u/ gets deleted by VV-Contraction P-30 (specifically, by the subrule /ua/ \rightarrow a). Hence we get deletion in uncontracted $\dot{y}ay+u-ma$ *he fled* and $war+u-gay$ *he will sing*, but note retention of the semivowel in contracted $mal+w-a\eta a$ *he went up* from /mal+w₁u-a η a/.

The only sensible way I can think of to formulate this restriction on the deletion rule is to take advantage of the fact that in $mal+w-a\eta a$ the semivowel is immediately followed by a morpheme break (after VV-Contraction has applied). In this view, 3Pres w_1a- is never prevented from losing its semivowel, precisely because it never loses the following vowel by VV-Contraction.

P-8 (w_1 -Deletion)

$$w_1 \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Liquid} \\ \text{Semivowel} \end{array} \right\} + \text{--- V-}$$

Like P-7, P-8 fails to apply except at the + boundary directly after a verb-particle and before an inflected Aux. It does not apply in verb-particle reduplications like $war-war$ from war to *dance*.

There are two other deletion rules applying to w . Intervocalic w -Deletion P-9 applies to w_1 or w_2 at the beginning of a verbal prefix when this in turn is preceded by another prefix within the inflected verb (all such prefixes end in vowels). The morphemes which can precede pronominal prefixes are Centripetal $y_1a-/ \eta a-$ and 3Pres w_1a- . When both prefixes co-occur the Centripetal prefix precedes, hence / $y a-w_1 a-$ / or / $\eta a-w_1 a-$ /. and the deletion rule applies to the /- $w_1 a-$ /, hence for example / $y a-w_1 a-$ / \rightarrow / $y a-a-$ / by P-9 and then $\rightarrow y a-'$ by VV-Contraction. However, since /- $w_1 a-$ / has no direct or indirect phonological manifestation on the surface here it might be that $y_1a-/ \eta a-$ simply does not co-occur with $-w_1 a-$, both occurring in the same slot. Where both are expected, in this view, $y_1a-/ \eta a-$ takes precedence and $-w_1 a-$ is omitted.

In support of this view, it can be noted that the choice between y_1a- and $\eta a-$ as Centripetal allomorph is normally determined by the following morpheme, so that 3Sg $-w_1 u-$ takes y_1a- and 3Pl $-w_2 a-$

takes $\eta a-$. If the 3Sg Present Centripetal form, phonetically $y_1 a-$, is analysed as underlying $-y_1 a-w_1 a-w_1 u-$, and if 3Pl Present Centripetal $\eta a-$ is analysed as $/\eta a-w_1 a-w_2 a-$, then we would have the odd spectacle of the $y_1 a-/ \eta a-$ allomorphic rule being determined by a morpheme at one remove, rather than by the immediately following morpheme. This would not be an unheard-of phenomenon, but nevertheless would be sufficiently unusual to warrant caution in positing underlying $/-w_1 a-/$ in these combinations.

In short, it is not clear whether $-w_1 a-$ can occur in base forms after $y_1 a-/ \eta a-$, but if it does we must allow Intervocalic w-Deletion P-9 to apply to it. Other examples of P-9 involve third person pronominal prefixes like 3Sg $-w_1 u-$ and 3Pl $-w_2 a-$ when preceded by Centripetal $ya-/ \eta a-$ or 3Pres $-w_1 a-$ or both, as in examples shown in the preceding paragraph.

P-9 (Intervocalic w-Deletion)

$$w \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad X - \underline{\quad}$$

where X is a prefix, and where the w is the first segment of another prefix (not a reduplicative segment) within an inflected verb.

Note that the rule does not apply at the + boundary just after a verb particle: $\dot{d}ira+wu-juju\ddot{n}i$ *he was tying it up*. The rule likewise fails to apply to w at the beginning of the inflectable stem itself (or a reduplicative segment preceding it), hence $-waji$ *gave* and $-waj-aju$ *gives* never lose their initial w although they are regularly preceded by prefixes ending in a vowel ($wu-waji$ *he gave it to him*, etc.).

However, the form $-waj-aju$ just cited is an example of the final rule in this section. Reduplications (by P-2) of this verb include Present₃ $-waj-aju$, Present₁₋₂ $-waj-ajini$, Past Continuous $-wan-ani$ (cf. unreduplicated $-wani$), Future $-way-way$ (cf. unreduplicated $-way$), and Present Negative $-way-wayi$. As observed in 3.3, some of these reduplications are clearly CVC- and the others can be taken as CVC- as well. For present purposes we are interested in the deletion of w in the postreduplicative segment in several of these forms. Note that deletion occurs after j and n, but not after y.

P-10 (Postconsonantal w-Deletion)

$$w \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad - C_1 VC_2 - \underline{\quad}$$

where C_2 is a stop or nasal and $-C_1 VC_2-$ is a reduplicative segment before an inflected verb stem.

The rule does not apply to verb-particle reduplications: *waṇaṇ-waṇan* from *waṇan* to *get lost*. The rule as stated will apply only to selected forms of *-wan-ani/-wayi* to *give*, since this is the only stem beginning with *w* which has a CVC reduplication (as opposed to CVCV or CV).

3.8. Treatment of *y* (P-11, P-12)

The major rule applying to *y* is somewhat parallel to *w*-Hardening and will be referred to here as *y*-Hardening P-11. As in the case with *w*, the hardened variants occur after a verb-particle ending in a stop or nasal, the unhardened variant elsewhere (including initial position). Also as with *w*, there are two alternations, in this case *y-j* and *y-ñ*, which are symbolised as y_1 and y_2 , respectively.

The examples of $y \rightarrow j$ (y_1) involve Ablative suffix *-yani/-yana* (the latter allomorph is used after place names) after noun stems, and Centripetal allomorph *ya-* after verb particles. Examples:

/ña-guruṇaran-yani/ → *ña-wuruṇaran-jani* from the beach,
/ja!ab+ya-w₁u-!ini/ → *ja!ab+ja-'-!ini* he came paddling.

The examples of $y \rightarrow \tilde{n}$ (y_2) involve Allative/Locative *-yu(r)* and Progressive *-ya*. Examples: */ṇa-waja!g-yu(r)/* → *ṇa-waja!g-ñu(r)* to the mud, *waja!g-ña* through the mud.

One could argue that \tilde{n} and *j* are really underlying, with *y* derived therefore by a lenition rule. As in the case of *w ~ g* and *w ~ b* (3.7), I have taken the semivowel as basic because of its much wider distribution.

y-Hardening does not normally apply in verb-particle reduplications like *yiriṇ-yirig* from *yirig* to *twitch*, although occasionally this can be pronounced *yiriṇ-jirig* with $y \rightarrow j$. The hardened variant here was rejected as incorrect by my main informant although at one point he pronounced the form that way.

The rule does not apply to noun stems after FSg or Neuter Nominative prefix *n-*, hence *n-yagu!ar* coward.

P-11 (*y*-Hardening)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} y_1 \rightarrow j \\ y_2 \rightarrow \tilde{n} \end{array} \right\} // \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Stop} \\ \text{Nasal} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \\ - \end{array} \right\} \text{ ---}$$

where *-* is the boundary between a noun stem and a suffix.

There is a minor rule deleting *y* before *!* in combinations of inflected verbs with Reflexive/Reciprocal *-!ana*. In the most common combinations, involving Future verb forms ending in *y*, deletion is regular: /*raŋ+w₂ala-gay-!ana*/ → *raŋ+bala-ga-!ana* *they will hit each other*. Curiously, a verb form with *-CVC-* reduplication (by P-1 or P-2) seems to resist *y*-Deletion here. Thus, despite /*w₂ala-way-!ana*/ → *wala-wa-!ana* *they will give (it) to each other*, note CVC reduplication *wala-way-way-!ana* *they will keep giving (it) to each other*. It seems that the occurrence of the *y* on the surface in the reduplicative segment reinforces (as it were) the *y* in the second segment; this seems understandable but is difficult to handle in the generative phonological framework.

P-12 (*y*-Deletion)

$y \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad X - \dots \text{---} - !ana$

where *-!ana* is the Reflexive/Reciprocal suffix and
X does not end in a *-CVC-* reduplication.

3.9. *r*-Deletion (P-13), *n*-Deletion (P-14)

There are two rules which simplify underlying clusters where *n* follows an apical sonorant (*l*, *l̥*, *r*, *r̥*, *n*, *ŋ*). In one combination, /*rn*/ → *n* (P-13), while in the remaining cases the *n* is deleted.

The only case where P-13 applies is in combinations of a pronominal prefix like 3Pl → 3Pl *w₂ulumbur-*, ending in *r*, with a following *n* at the beginning of an inflectable verb stem. An example is *wulumbu-naji* *they saw them*.

P-13 (*r*-Deletion)

$r \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad \text{---} - n$

where the *n* is at the beginning of an inflectable verb stem.

The more common rule P-14 deletes *n* in other combinations when it is preceded by an apical sonorant. This applies, for example, in verb complexes when the verb particle ends in an apical sonorant and the following Aux begins with a pronominal prefix whose initial segment is *n*. Examples involving pronominal prefix /*niwi-*/ (1ExPl, or 1ExPl → 2Sg/3Sg): *ba!+iwi-jañi* *we wrote it*, *ba!+iwi-!ini* *we sneaked along*, *bur+iwi-biliŋanji* *we like it*, *jaŋ+iwi-jujuñi* *we pulled it*, *maŋ+iwi-niŋa!i* *we adhered to it*, and *ɖiwan+iwi-nbuni* *we fell into the fire*. Deletion does not apply after semivowels: *ɖay+ŋiwi-ma* *we fled*.

A few nouns (or stems capable of functioning as nouns) begin with *n*, including several kin terms like *ni-ba-ri* (*my/our*) *sister's son*. My main informant would not accept combinations of these stems with *Du wur-* or *PL wul-*, so I cannot tell whether *n*-Deletion P-14 applies here. (The informant used *Sg* prefixes, with an accompanying *Pl* pronoun or demonstrative to indicate plurality.) However, the form *-nirwi* *our*(*ExPl*) can be used as a noun, and *wul-irwi* *our bunch* (*our relatives*) is attested in texts; note that the *n* is deleted after *l*.

The other situation where *n*-Deletion applies is in forms with Purposive case suffix *-ni* after a noun stem ending in an apical sonorant: *ña-maɣu-ri* *for the eye*, *ña-ɭirjal-i* *for the mangroves*, etc.

The rule does not apply to retroflexed *ɳ*, as can be seen in *wul-ɳiriri* *the children*. It does not apply directly to *n* following an apical stop (*d*, *ɖ*), as can be seen from *ɳad+niri-ɭini* *we ran*, although if the stop undergoes Nasalisation P-15 (as is usually the case) we get */ɳad+niri-ɭini/* → */ɳan+niri-ɭini/* → *ɳan+iri-ɭini*. The last step can be taken as an instance of *n*-Deletion (or, alternatively, as one of Geminate-Contraction P-17).

P-14 (*n*-Deletion)

$$n \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+apical \\ +sonorant] \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} + \\ - \end{array} \right\} \text{---}$$

There is another way to handle *n*-Deletion - reanalysing it as an assimilation rule, so that */bal+niwi-jañi/* → */bal+liwi-jañi/* → *bal+liwi-jañi* *we wrote it*, the last step accounted for by an independently-justified Geminate-Contraction rule P-17. In support of this analysis, it should be noted that in very slow, syllable-by-syllable pronunciation (as when pronouncing a word, for the sixty-seventh time, to a linguist), a form like *bal+liwi-jañi* usually comes out as *bal--li--wi--ja--ñi*. However, it is dangerous to use such artificially slow speech phenomena as evidence bearing on underlying or intermediate phonological representations, so this fact by itself is not conclusive.

3.10. Nasalisation (P-15), Denasalisation (P-16)

Stops are frequently nasalised when followed by either a sonorant (nasal, liquid, semivowel), or a nominal case suffix.

Many examples are provided by verb-particle reduplication: *mad* *to mix* → *man-mad*, *ɭurg* *to be aloft in tree fork* → *ɭurn-ɭurg*, *miɖ* *to level out lumps* → *miɳ-miɖ*, *ɳaɾj* *to carve* → *ɳaɾñ-ɳaɾj*, *yiriɣ* *to twitch* → *yiriɳ-yiriɣ*, *mug* *to forget* → *muɳ-mug*, *waɭad* (*sky*) *to clear* →

wa|an-wa|ad, yaḍ to wait + yaṇ-yaḍ. The rule is obligatory for monosyllabic verb particles, and usual for bisyllabic ones, though in the latter case there are sporadic counterexamples: ḡambud to drown + ḡambud-ḡambud or ḡambun-ḡambud.

The rule comes close to being obligatory at the boundary between a verb particle and the following Aux. Thus /ḡad+ḡa-|ini/ usually becomes ḡan+ḡa-|ini I ran, though forms like ḡad+ḡa-|ini are occasionally attested.

The rule applies only sporadically to forms with adjectival suffix -min. The rule does operate in gaṛñ-min clean from gaṛj, and apparently in ḡuliñ-min red (related to ḡuliji blood). However, note gad-min skin-and-bones, gidmagid-min rough-skinned, etc.

Since nouns ending in stops are scarce, the rule does not apply very often in nominal morphology. However, there are a few such stems including |u|bab juvenile euro, ḡaḍij hibiscus, gaṛagaṛag darter (duck), and waja|g mud. The suffixes which can follow nouns (shown in surface allomorphs after γ -Hardening) are: Allative/Locative -ñu(r), Pergressive -ña, Ablative -jani, and Purposive -ni. Nouns ending in b and j generally (but not obligatorily) undergo Nasalisation before all of these suffixes: ḡa-|u|bam-ñu(r), ḡa-|u|bam-jani, ḡa-|u|bam-ni, ḡa-ḡaḍi-ñu(r), ḡa-ḡaḍiñ-jani, ḡaḍi-ña, etc. Nouns ending in g occasionally do the same: ḡa-waja|ḡ-jani (but ḡa-waja|g-jani is more common).

It would simplify the statement of the rule if these nominal examples, like the others, could be thought of as instances of Nasalisation before sonorants. Yet it appears that in the nominal examples we get Nasalisation before Ablative -jani just as regularly as before the three others (which begin in nasals). There are two alternatives open to us: first, say that Nasalisation applies before all case suffixes, regardless of their initial consonant; secondly, note that -jani can be thought of as derived from /-y₁ani/ (cf. 3.8), so we could order Nasalisation before γ -Hardening and thus save the generalisation that Nasalisation occurs only before sonorants (γ is a sonorant, j is not).

The trouble with the latter solution is that there is an important counterexample. When Centripetal y₁a- directly follows a verb particle ending in a stop, it becomes ja- by γ -Hardening but the stop is not nasalised: /ja|ab+y₁a-w₁u-|ini/ → ja|ab+ja-|ini he came paddling. If we claim that in the nominal examples Nasalisation precedes γ -Hardening, then we have to recognise the opposite order for the two

rules in the verbal type $ja|ab+ja-|-|ini$, since γ -Hardening bleeds Nasalisation here. To avoid this ordering problem, we have the option of slightly complicating the Nasalisation rule, and there are two ways to do this. By building in a special restriction preventing Nasalisation from applying before Centripetal γ_1a- (though it does apply in all other combinations involving γ), we can dispense with ordering Nasalisation relative to γ -Hardening in $ja|ab+ja-|-|ini$, freeing ourselves to assert that Nasalisation precedes γ -Hardening (on the basis of Ablative forms like $\eta a-|u|bam-jani$ from the *juvenile euro*). Or, by allowing Nasalisation to apply to stops at the end of noun stems before any nonzero case suffix (not just those beginning with sonorants), we can account for $\eta a-|u|bam-jani$ without ordering Nasalisation relative to γ -Hardening, and then on the basis of $ja|ab+ja-|-|ini$ we could conclude that γ -Hardening precedes (bleeds) Nasalisation. This is just another example of how the precise form in which we notationally represent phonological processes crucially affects rule ordering.

I will adopt the position that Nasalisation applies at the end of noun stems before all nonzero case suffixes.

P-15 (Nasalisation)

$$\text{Stop} + [+nasal] \quad // \quad \text{---} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} + \\ - \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Sonorant} \\ \text{Case Suffix} \end{array} \right\}$$

with exceptions as noted above.

The nasal η (but not other nasals) is denasalised and thus becomes a stop g under certain conditions when followed by a nasal; this is thus a dissimilation rule. Though not obligatory, the rule applies very frequently when a verb particle ending in η is followed by an Aux beginning with a nasal: $\eta a\eta$ to *hit* forms $\eta ag+\eta a-'\eta i$ *I hit him*, $\eta ag+\eta ang-a\eta i$ *he hit me*, etc. Unaffected variants like $\eta a\eta+\eta ang-a\eta i$ are attested but uncommon.

It was noted above that Nasalisation applies less frequently to final g in noun stems than to final b or j . Thus $waja|g$ *mud* and $garagarag$ *darter* are less likely to become $waja|\eta-$ and $garagara\eta-$ than $|u|bab$ *juvenile euro* and $\eta a\eta ij$ *hibiscus* are to become $|u|bam-$ and $\eta a\eta i\eta-$ before case suffixes. The thought occurs that if Denasalisation is allowed to follow Nasalisation, we can account for this without building any special restrictions into the Nasalisation rule. A form like $\eta a-garagarag-\eta u(r)$ to the *darters* could be thought of as having a derivation $/\eta a-garagarag-\eta u(r)/ \rightarrow / \eta a-garagara\eta-\eta u(r)/ \rightarrow \eta a-garagarag-\eta u(r)$, with Nasalisation reversed by Denasalisation. However, it does

not appear that Denasalisation applies to noun stems ending in underlying η , so that $mi\dot{d}ala\eta\dot{d}ala\eta$ (a synonym of $garagarag$) shows Allative/Locative $\eta a-mi\dot{d}ala\eta\dot{d}ala\eta-\tilde{n}u(r)$, etc. To insure that the surface contrast between g in $-garagarag-$ and η in $-mi\dot{d}ala\eta\dot{d}ala\eta-$ in such case forms is accounted for, we cannot allow them to be neutralised (as $/\eta/$) at any intermediate level in derivations. It thus seems best to suggest that Nasalisation itself applies less frequently to $/g/$ than to other stops.

P-16 (Denasalisation)

$\eta \rightarrow g \quad // \quad ___ + \text{Nasal}$

This formulation restricts the rule to the $+$ boundary just before the Aux, so that it does not apply between a noun stem and a case suffix ($\eta a-mi\dot{d}ala\eta\dot{d}ala\eta-\tilde{n}u(r)$). It is not clear whether the rule could apply between the two parts of a verb particle reduplication (CVC-CVC, etc.), since no relevant examples occur.

3.11. Geminate-Contraction (P-17)

In this section we deal with the contraction of clusters consisting of two identical consonants, and also of two kinds of clusters where the two consonants differ only in one minor feature which is not distinctive in the relevant positions.

Examples of contraction of true geminate clusters: $/jaj-jaj/ \rightarrow ja-jaj$ (reduplication of jaj to *chase*); $/jaj+y_1a-w_1u-ja\tilde{n}i/ \rightarrow /jaj+ja-w_1u-ja\tilde{n}i/$ (y -Hardening) $\rightarrow jaj+a-ja\tilde{n}i$ *he chased it this way*; $/\eta a-\eta a\dot{d}ij-y_1ani/ \rightarrow / \eta a-\eta a\dot{d}ij-jani/ \rightarrow \eta a-\eta a\dot{d}i-jani$ *from the hibiscus*.

The second situation is the contraction of $/n\tilde{n}/$ to \tilde{n} , as in $/\tilde{n}a-guru\eta aran-y_2ur/ \rightarrow / \tilde{n}a-guru\eta aran-\tilde{n}ur/$ (y -Hardening) $\rightarrow \tilde{n}a-wuru\eta ara-\tilde{n}ur$ *to the beach*. This contraction is optional; moreover, it does not apply to word-initial position (i.e. to forms like $n-\tilde{n}a\dot{d}in$ *skin* with Neuter prefix $n-$).

Finally, C_1C_2 clusters (other than $r\dot{r}$) where the two consonants differ only in retroflexion are contracted to C_1 (retroflexion would not be distinguishable for C_2 in this position anyway). Examples involve $/l\dot{l}/ \rightarrow l$, $/d\dot{d}/ \rightarrow d$, $/l\dot{l}/ \rightarrow l$, and $/n\dot{n}/ \rightarrow n$. Hence $/wangu\dot{l}-li/ \rightarrow wangu\dot{l}-i$ *sister's daughter's son* (vocative); $/\dot{d}ud-\dot{d}ud/ \rightarrow \dot{d}ud-ud$ (reduplication of $\dot{d}ud$ to *find*); $/wul-\dot{l}irgi\dot{j}in/ \rightarrow wul-irgi\dot{j}in$ *experts*; $/\eta ad-\eta ad/ \rightarrow / \eta an-\eta ad/$ (Nasalisation) $\rightarrow \eta an-ad$ (reduplication of ηad to *run*). An exception is $n-\eta agur$ *female child* (see 3.16), where gemination is often heard on the surface; this shows that contraction does not apply to word-initial clusters.

In these C_1C_2 clusters, clearly C_2 is deleted; in the /nñ/ type, the first C is deleted; in geminate clusters we cannot tell which of the two C's is deleted. In formulating the rule I will arbitrarily delete the second C in the latter case.

P-17 (Geminate-Contraction)

- a. $C_1 \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad XC_1 \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} - \\ + \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \text{ ---}$
 b. $n \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad V \text{ ---} - \tilde{n}$
 c. $C_2 \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad V(C)C_1 \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} - \\ + \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \text{ ---}$

where C_1 and C_2 are consonants (other than rhotics)
 differing only in the feature of retroflexion;
 X contains a vowel but no word-boundary.

For transcriptional purposes I will depart from the analysis shown in part (a), where (as just noted) it is not clear whether the first or second of the geminate consonants is deleted. The transcription will be designed to make the morphemes in question maximally easy to identify.

Contractions in part (a) operating at the + boundary will be transcribed as though the second consonant were deleted; this makes the verb particle easier to identify, as in *jaj+a-'-jañi* *he chased it* (the alternative transcription is *ja+ja-'-jañi*, which disguises the verb particle *jaj*). At the - boundary, on the other hand, the transcription will show the first consonant as having been deleted. Examples involving this boundary involve noun stems, most of which are nonmonosyllabic and thus fairly easy to identify even without their final consonant, as in *ṇa-ṇaḍi-jani* *from the hibiscus* (noun stem *ṇaḍij*).

Alternative analyses for parts (b) and (c) of the rule are available, allowing them to be merged with part (a). The first step would be to set up rules converting /nñ/ into /ññ/ and converting clusters like /l|/ into geminates like /ll/ by having the second consonant assimilate in the feature [\pm retroflexed] to the first consonant. Then part (a) of the rule, slightly revised so that word-initial clusters are not affected, can account for the contractions.

3.12. b-Deletion (P-18)

In verb particle reduplications, but not elsewhere, $b \rightarrow \emptyset$ before a consonant over the boundary. Examples: *ṇaya-ṇayab* from *ṇayab to be*

quiet, ya-yab from yab to steal, ɖa-ɖab from ɖab to wrap up, ja!a-ja!ab from ja!ab to paddle, ju-jub from jub to go down, etc. Deletion does not occur when the b is 'protected' by a preceding consonant (which must be a liquid due to constraints on clusters), hence gurb-gurb from gurb to cut with stone edge.

The rule never applies at other boundaries. In ja!ab+gu-!ini *he paddled* we see preservation of b before a consonant over the + boundary following a verb particle. In ɲa-!u!bab-jani *from the juvenile euro* (or, more often, ɲa-!u!bam-jani) from stem !u!bab we see preservation (or nasalisation) at the end of a noun stem before a case suffix.

P-18 (b-Deletion)

$$b \rightarrow \emptyset // \text{---} - C$$

where - is the boundary between the two parts
of a verb particle reduplication.

3.13. Treatment of /d!/, etc. (P-19, P-20)

Consider the following verb particle reduplications (remembering that these are normally full-stem reduplications): !aga-!agaɖ from !agaɖ to strip off (bark) from, !ara-!arad from !arad to fall into hole, !ɲi-!ɲid from !ɲid to finally do it, !un-ud from !ud to get stuck. The first three examples, which involve CVCVC roots, show /ɖ!/ → ! and /d!/ → ! (i.e. an apical stop is deleted before !). There are no underlying combinations of d or ɖ with l, r, or ɾ, so it is technically possible to generalise the deletion of d or ɖ to position before any liquid.

The fourth example, however, shows /d!/ → n. Since !ud is the only CVC root in the sample, it would seem that this is the way /d!/ is handled in CVC-CVC reduplications. The most reasonable derivation here is /d!/ → /n!/ → n, where the first step is Nasalisation P-15 and the second is a rule deleting ! after n (this latter rule is not otherwise attested, but there are no counterexamples to it either).

P-19 (Apical-Stop Deletion)

$$\left. \begin{matrix} d \\ \mathfrak{d} \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset // \text{CVCV} \text{---} - !$$

where CVCVC is a reduplicative segment.

P-20 (j-Deletion)

$$j \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad n - \underline{\quad}$$

3.14. r-Deletion (P-21)

This rule, not to be confused with r-Deletion P-13, is a minor rule accounting for the shift / ηr / \rightarrow η in the one combination attested - the reduplication $r\eta\eta$ - $a\eta$ of $r\eta\eta$ to *hit*.

P-21 (r-Deletion)

$$r \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad \eta - \underline{\quad}$$

3.15. ñ-Deletion (P-22)

A single example is attested where ñ is deleted in a (nominal) CVCV- reduplication. The example is $\tilde{n}a\dot{q}-a\dot{q}i-\tilde{n}a$ *having (lots of) skin* a derivative of $\tilde{n}a\dot{q}in$ *skin* whose base form is / $\tilde{n}a\dot{q}i-\tilde{n}a\dot{q}in$ - ya /, cf. *giri-giriya-ya having a woman* from *giriya woman*.

P-22 (ñ-Deletion)

$$\tilde{n} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad Rdp - \underline{\quad}a\dot{q}in$$

where $\tilde{n}a\dot{q}in$ is the noun meaning *skin*.

Following P-22, the intermediate form / $\tilde{n}a\dot{q}i-a\dot{q}in$ - ya / undergoes VV-Contraction to become / $\tilde{n}a\dot{q}-a\dot{q}in$ - ya /; the conversion of / ny / to ñ is handled by γ -Hardening P-11 and Geminate-Contraction P-17.

3.16. Consonant-Insertion Rules (P-23, P-24, P-25)

There are three rules inserting a consonant at the beginning of a noun stem which otherwise begins with *a*. Two such rules apply to the noun *-agur child* in different constructions; the other applies to *alawa* (*tribal name*). Of the other stems beginning in *a*, the stem *-argul other* occurs only after vowels (never word-initially), while the remainder are a handful of fauna terms like $a|alaa|ala$ *suckerfish* which can occur word-initially or after vowels (they are not attested, for example, with Du Nominative *wur*-).

The first rule converts *-agur* into *wagur* in the vocative form.

P-23 (w-Insertion)

$$\emptyset \rightarrow w \quad // \quad \# \underline{\quad}agur$$

where *-agur* is the noun *child* and is in the vocative.

Aside from the vocative, -agur becomes ṇagur word-initially (in the MSg Nominative form with zero prefix) and after FSg Nominative prefix n-, hence in the latter instance n-ṇagur. Actually, it cannot be determined for sure whether the inserted nasal is n or ṇ, since in prefixless ṇagur it is possible for n → ṇ by Retroflexion P-28 (cf. below), while it is not possible to hear the difference between n-ṇagur and n-nagur.

In forms with Du Nominative wur- and Pl Nominative wul- (wur-agur, wul-ag-agur) it is possible that the root has the shape /-nagur/ at some intermediate point, since we can account for /rn/ → r and /ln/ → l here by n-Deletion P-14. However, there seems no point in allowing /-agur/ to become /-nagur/ in these forms, since the addition of the nasal would be vacuous (i.e. it would be reversed by n-Deletion). In the corresponding Oblique forms wir-agur and wil-ag-agur we cannot allow the form /-nagur/ at any stage, since this would produce the incorrect *wiri-nagur (or *wiri-nagur), etc. This is because the prefixes here are /wiri-/ and /wili-/, ending in vowels, and n-Deletion cannot apply except when /n/ is immediately after a suitable consonant. The forms wir-agur and wil-ag-agur are correctly produced from /wiri-agur/ and /wili-agu-agur/ by VV-Contraction P-30.

The reduplication of -agur is /-agu-agur/ → -ag-agur, as just exemplified. When Pl wul- or wili- are omitted, the insertion rule applies and we get ṇag-agur.

P-24 (n-Insertion)

∅ → Nasal // #(C-) ____agur
[+apical]

where -agur is the noun *child* in a nonvocative form.

The noun designating the Alawa language and tribe is pronounced alawa (Pl reduplication ala-'lawā) word-initially and after vowels, but becomes -galawa after a consonant: n-galawa *Alawa language; Alawa woman*, wur-galawa *two Alawas*, wul-gala-'lawā *Alawas*. Contrast alawa *Alawa man* (Nominative), ṇa-alawa *Alawa man* (Oblique), /wili-ala-alawa/ → wil-ala-'lawā *Alawas* (Oblique), etc.

P-25 (g-Insertion)

∅ → g // C - ____alawa

where -alawa is the noun *Alawa*.

3.17. Rules Affecting Triple Clusters (P-26, P-27)

There are two rules, applying to only a restricted set of morphological combinations, involving triple CCC clusters arising at morpheme-boundaries.

The morpheme *-ngara* *here* shows its simple form in combinations like MSg *ŋi-ngara he is here*. However, when Du *wir-* or Pl *wul-* are added, we get a cluster /*rŋg*/ or /*lŋg*/ which does not meet the canonical requirements for triple clusters in Mara and must thus be altered. What happens is that the *n* is velarised to *ŋ*, so that the resulting cluster (*rŋg* or *lŋg*) consists of a liquid plus a homorganic nasal-stop sequence, which satisfies the surface canons. Hence *wir-ngara* (Du) and *wil-ngara* (Pl) *they are here*.

P-26 (Nasal-Assimilation)

$n \rightarrow \eta \quad // \quad \text{Liquid} - ___ g$

The other rule applies to underlying triple clusters of the type *n-ng*, *n-mb*, etc., with nominal prefix *n-* followed by a noun stem beginning with a homorganic nasal-stop sequence. Examples: *n-biyawyaw* from *-mbiyawyaw floodplain*; *n-daju-mar* from *-ndaju-mar your sister*; *n-galin* from *-ŋgalin blade end of spear shaft*. In each case the initial cluster in the stem is seen in Oblique forms (*ŋa-mbiyawyaw*, *ya-ndaju-mar*, *ŋa-ŋgalin*). So far as I know, there are no other morphological combinations where two nasals come together before another consonant.

P-27 (Nasal-Cluster Contraction)

$\text{Nasal} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad // \quad n - ___ C$

3.18. Retroflexion (P-28)

The retroflexed consonants *ŋ*, *ɭ*, *ɖ*, *ɽ* occur freely in word-initial position and Aux-initial position (i.e. after # or +). Single apico-alveolar consonants *n*, *l*, *d*, *r* do not occur in this position. There are no actual initial/medial alternations *ɭ~l*, *ɖ~d*, or *ɽ~r*, since stems which show these initial consonants keep them retroflexed in all positions, so that from *ɭirga blue-tongued lizard* we get Oblique *ŋa-ɭirga* (not **ŋa-lirga*), etc. However, in the case of *ŋ~n* we do find some alternations which force us to posit underlying /*n*/, which occurs without change medially but is retroflexed to *ŋ* initially.

The most common examples are pronominal stems, whether independent or prefixed. Compare 2Sg *ŋiya-ra you*, *ŋiya your* (MSg Nominative),

n-ŋa-niya *your* (FSg Nominative), ŋi-!ini *you went*, wari+ŋi-!ini *you returned*, ŋa-ni-!ini *you came*. Note that we get ŋiya- or ŋi- initially or after +, -niya- or -ni- medially.

The only nouns which show the ŋ~n alternation are a few kin terms: -ni-ja- *son*, -ni-ba- *nephew*, and -narja!a(ŋa) *mother-in-law*. Compare, for example, ŋi-ja-ri (*my/our*) *son* with its Oblique form ŋa-ni-ja-ri. Aside from these kin terms, nouns beginning with ŋ initially keep the nasal retroflexed medially: ŋaɖi *frog sp.*, Oblique ŋa-ŋaɖi.

An important exception to Retroflexion is that the nominal prefix n-, as in n-gamiñ-mar *the woman*, is not retroflexed. Since this is always followed by a consonant, whereas cases of /n/ → ŋ by Retroflexion are always prevocalic, there is a phonological basis for this discrepancy.

A related exception is that the stem -ndaju- *younger sibling* (the only stem which begins with nd) is not affected, so that the prefixless MSg Nominative is ndaju- (e.g. ndaju-mar *your younger brother*). This is phonetically identical to the form with FSg prefix n-, for example /n-ndaju-mar/ → n-daju-mar *your younger sister*. This further suggests that Retroflexion is inapplicable to an initial consonant cluster (which, incidentally, supports the position that nd is not a unit phoneme).

In the infrequent construction n-ŋiri-maygu!a *my wife*, where FSg n- is allowed to precede a formally predicative expression (ŋiri-maygu!a *she and I are married*), cf. 3.4, it is not clear whether Retroflexion has applied to the initial nasal of -niri- since nn and nŋ do not contrast phonetically (n and ŋ are distinguishable only on the basis of their onsets, which are disguised by a preceding consonant other than a semivowel). In all other cases where n- precedes n or ŋ, the syllable -ŋa- is interposed between them by P-4. I will write n-ŋiri-maygu!a showing retroflexion of the nasal, since in Oblique ya-ŋiri-maygu!a we get Retroflexion. It seems, then, that in this grammatically marginal construction, the predicative expression ŋiri-maygu!a is preceded by either a word-boundary # or a + boundary, hence strictly speaking n#ŋiri-maygu!a, ya#ŋiri-maygu!a, etc.

P-28 (Retroflexion)

$$n \rightarrow \text{ŋ} \quad // \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \# \\ + \end{array} \right\} \text{ — } V$$

3.19. V-Assimilation (P-29)

This rule deals with certain alternations in pronominal prefixes when they are themselves preceded by a prefix (Centripetal y_1a- / $\eta a-$, or 3Pres w_1a-). Consider, for example, 3Pl \rightarrow 3Pl $w_2ulumbur-$ and its prefixed variants y_1a- 'lambur- and w_1a- 'lambur-. We can get, for example, from $/y_1a-w_2ulumbur-/$ to $/y_1a-'lumbur-/$ by other rules, but we need a rule assimilating the second surface vowel (the third underlying vowel) from $/u/$ to a . This is an example of progressive assimilation.

Actually, we could take $w_2ulumbur-$ as $w_2ulVmbur-$, where V is a vowel which assimilates to the quality of the preceding vowel after the other rules have applied. However, I prefer to take the base as $w_2ulumbur-$ since this is morphologically unmarked and more common than the others (hence would be analogically basic in historical reshaping, etc.).

The rule applies only to $/u/$ when preceded by $/aL/$, where $/L/$ is a liquid $/l, r/$. It does not apply to $/i/$, hence 3Du w_2ari- and its Centripetal form $\eta a-$ 'ri-/ $\eta a-w_2ari-/$. It does not apply across a consonant cluster $/Lg/$, hence 3Sg \rightarrow 3Pl w_2ulgu- forms Present w_1a- 'lgu-.

Actually, because the number of relevant pronominal prefixes is small, there are other ways of defining the phonological conditions for the assimilation. Specifically, since the forms overtly affected involve only trisyllabic pronominal prefixes ($w_2alambur-$, $w_2arambur-$), and all such prefixes, one could specify the conditions under which the rule applies in syllabic terms.

However, since some mention is going to have to be made of the preceding consonant (since, for example, Centripetal $\eta a-$ plus 2Pl -nuwu- yields $\eta a-nuwu$, without assimilation, showing that the rule does not apply across a nasal), I prefer to say that $/u/ \rightarrow a$ 'after an aL sequence.

P-29 (V-Assimilation)

$u \rightarrow a \quad // \quad a - \text{Liquid} \underline{\hspace{1cm}}$

where the liquid is in a pronominal prefix.

3.20. VV-Contraction (P-30)

Surface vowel clusters are generally contracted to a single vowel. The exceptions are a handful of nouns beginning with a which can be preceded by the prefix $\eta a-$ (MSg Oblique) without contraction:

ŋa-a|alaa|ala *suckerfish*. This particular stem also has an internal vowel cluster; I know of no others which do. Such surface aa clusters are pronounced with two syllabic prominences, although there is no clear break between them (certainly no glottal stop).

In other cases, including forms involving the noun stems -agur *child* and -argul *other*, contraction occurs. In contraction, as expected /aa/ → a, as in ŋa-'rgul *other* (MSg Oblique). There happen to be no examples of the contractions /ii/ → i and /uu/ → u.

In the clusters /ai/ and /au/ the initial vowel quality is found on the surface. These combinations occur only as the result of P-9 in pronominal prefixes when preceded by a prefix (Centripetal y₁a-/ŋa- or third person Present prefix w₁a-). Examples: /y₁a-w₁u-/ → /ya-u-/ → ya-'- (3Sg Centripetal), /ya-w₂iri-/ → /ya-iri-/ → ya-'ri- (3Pl → 3Sg Centripetal). The ' symbol indicates that a morpheme-initial vowel has been deleted by this rule.

In the cluster /ua/ the final vowel predominates. This combination occurs when a pronominal prefix like 3Sg (or 3Sg → 3Sg) w₁u- precedes an inflected verb form beginning in a, as in /w₁u-andayari/ → w-andayari *he speared him*. Note also -ag-agur, reduplication of -agur *child*.

In the case of /ia/ there is a difference depending on whether the i belongs to a monosyllabic morpheme or to a longer one. 2Sg (and 2Sg → 3Sg) pronominal prefix /ni-/ , the only relevant monosyllabic prefix, combines with following /a/ to produce /ni-'/, as in ni-'ndayari *you speared him*. On the other hand, bisyllabic prefixes like 3Du → 3Sg w₂iri- lose the /i/ when followed by a vowel, hence wir-andayari *they (Du) speared him*. Other prefixes which behave like this are 3Du (intransitive) w₂ari-, 1ExPl /niwi-/ , and 1ExPl → 3Sg /niri-/ . Note also /ñadi-ñadin-ya/ → /ñadi-aḍin-ya/ → ñaḍ-aḍi-ña *having (lots of) skin*.

The clusters /ui/ and /iu/ do not occur at any stage.

P-30 (VV-Contraction)

- a. V → Ø // a - ____
- b. u → Ø // ____ - a
- c. i → Ø // $\begin{Bmatrix} + \\ - \end{Bmatrix}$ CVC ____ - a
- d. a → Ø // $\begin{Bmatrix} + \\ - \end{Bmatrix}$ Ci - ____

Basically, then, /a/ predominates when it comes into contact with a dissimilar vowel. The exception (part d) applies only when a is

preceded by 2Sg (or 2Sg → 3Sg) /ni-/. A functional explanation is available for this exception; if /ni-a/ became /n-a/ it would be indistinguishable from /na-a/ → /na-'/ with 1InDu (and 1InDu → 3Sg) /na-/ in otherwise identical combinations. Thus part (d) of P-30 permits surface distinctions between *ni-'ndayari you speared him* and *na-'ndayari you and I speared him*, etc.

If P-30 applies more than once to a given word, it should apply from right to left rather than vice-versa. Consider /wari+y₁a-w₂iri-ay/ *they (Du) will bring it back* with wari *take back*, Centripetal allomorph y₁a-, 3Du → 3Sg -w₂iri-, and Future Aux -ay. If the rule applied left to right, then after the rule deleting w₂ the P-30 rule would apply first to the /y₁a-iri-/ segment rather than to the /-iri-ay/ segment, and would convert the former into /y₁a-'ri-/. Turning now to the /-'ri-ay/ segment, we see that the first morpheme is now monosyllabic (since ' is merely an elision marker used for readers' convenience), so /ia/ should become i by part (c) of the rule. In fact, the correct form is not *wari+ya-'ri-' as this derivation would give, rather wari+ya-'r-ay with /ia/ → a by part (d) of the rule. Consequently, /-w₂iri-/ must still be bisyllabic at the time when the /-w₂iri-ay/ segment is affected by P-30, and we conclude that the rule must move from right to left.

3.21. NC-Contraction (P-31)

This is a rule reducing nj to j and ɲɔ to ɔ in certain verb-forms. Firstly, note that it applies in reduplications of forms with verbal Aux root -ga- followed by a suffix beginning in nj, hence -ga-nji becoming /-ganji-ga-nji/ → /-ganji-a-nji/ → /ganj-a-nji/ → -ganj-aji. Only the last step is of concern to us here. Note that in cases where VV-Contraction (e.g. /ia/ → a in this derivation) does not apply, NC-Contraction likewise fails to apply, so that -ji-nja *eats* (from a different Aux) reduplicates as -jinja-yi-nja (not *-jinja-yi-ja). However, there is one verb which does not apply NC-Contraction even after VV-Contraction. This is the Aux *to sit* (Past Continuous -a-nji), which shows a reduplicated Past Continuous form /-anj-a-nji/ → -anj-a-nji (not *-anj-a-ji). I will treat this verb as an exceptional one.

More examples of NC-Contraction are seen in the choice between surface allomorphs -nji and -ji, and between allomorphs -ɲɔ and -ɔ, in certain inflected verb forms in the Present₁₋₂ and Present₃ categories (as well as certain formal derivatives thereof). Present₁₋₂

-nji is seen in the following forms: -arŋa-nji *scratches*, -baŋa-nji *heads for*, -mbuŋma-nji *does it*, -ma-nji *does that*, and the Aux's -ba-nji, -biŋa-nji, -biŋa-nji, -buyi-nji, -jaga-yaga-nji, -jama-nji, -ŋinma-nji, and -niŋa-nji. A few paradigms which are otherwise similar to these show Present₁₋₂ -ji, hence -aluŋgu-j *waits for*, -ba-wayiŋga-j *throws at*, and Aux -ganji-j (unrelated to -ga-nji mentioned above).

Finally, there is a similar alternation between Present₃ -ŋdu and -du (and hence Present₁₋₂ -ŋdi-yi and -di-yi, and so on for other derivatives of the Present₃ form). Examples: -guluguluwu-ŋdu *waits for dugong/turtle to surface*, -jarawu-ŋdu *takes dogs hunting*, -galu-ŋdu *has*, but -ŋambu-du *swears at*, -gunbu-du (Aux). These roots otherwise have identical paradigms.

The common feature in all instances of NC-Deletion is that the nj or ŋd (i.e. a homorganic nasal-stop sequence) is preceded by an NCV sequence where N is a nasal and C is a stop. In the case of -ganj-a-j (reduplication of -ga-nji) this structural description is attained only after other rules (notably VV-Contraction supply); in other cases the structural description is already met by the base form. The reduplication -anj-a-nji from -a-nji remains an exception to the rule.

P-31 (NC-Contraction)

N + Ø // NCV ____ CV

where N is a nasal and C is a stop; the rule applies only to inflected verb forms; it does not apply to forms of -a-nji *to sit*.

Historically, -a-nji is probably a recent development from *-wa-nji (cf. Present₃ -wu-ŋu with -wV- root), and consequently reduplicated -anj-a-nji may reflect a fairly recent prototype *-wanji-wanji, where of course NC-Contraction could not apply.

3.22 Nasal-Merger (P-32)

There is no distinction on the surface between nj and ñj, though both occur in base forms across boundaries. For example, Ablative -yŋani (-jani after stop or nasal) can follow nouns ending in n or ñ, and in both events the result is nj (a sound which is closer to phonetic [nj] than to [ñj], though the latter is possible as a nondistinctive variant after i-vowels). Examples: ŋa-ŋajin-jani *from the canoe* (ŋajin), wil-amin-jani *from the women* (-gamiñ). The nasals ŋ, m, and (usually) ŋ are unaffected.

However, in verbal inflectional morphology there are some rather frozen alternations suggesting limited merger of η (as well as \tilde{n}) with n before j . For example, the root which usually shows up as *-wayingga-* to throw at has an imperative form *-wayin-ji*, which looks as though it is produced by truncating the final CV of the root and adding *-ji*. The derivation would thus be $/\text{-wayingga-ji}/ \rightarrow / \text{-wayin-ji}/ \rightarrow \text{-wayin-ji}$, where the second step requires $/\eta j/ \rightarrow nj$. This seems the most sensible synchronic analysis, although historically the root may really be $*\text{-wayiN-}$ with assimilating nasal (i.e. *-wayingga-* itself may contain a morpheme $*\text{-ga-}$ at the end, to which $*N$ assimilates and thus becomes η). The other examples of $/\eta j/ \rightarrow nj$ involve Present₃ allomorph $-\eta u$, from which is formed Desiderative $-n-ji$ (cf. Desiderative $-m-i$ from Present₃ allomorph $-ma$). Although the phonology of these Desiderative forms is somewhat obscure, it looks as though $-n-$ in $-n-ji$ is the nasal in $-\eta u$, which has been assimilated to the following j .

We may state the rule as follows:

P-32 (Nasal-Merger)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \tilde{n} \\ \eta \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow n \quad // \quad \text{---} \quad j$$

in the case of $/\eta j/$, applies only when $/\eta j/$ is in an inflected verb form and j is at the beginning of a suffix.

3.23 Interjection-Formation (P-33)

By 'interjection' here I mean any word used as a call or shout and pronounced loudly. This may be a noun (including a vocative), verb, etc., and is not restricted to a small set of forms which are always used in this fashion.

Aside from a general increase in the force with which the word is pronounced, there is one phonologically interesting development. If the word ends in a or u , a final semivowel y is typically added. A final consonant is sometimes omitted. Thus from $(n\text{-})\eta aru$ *woman who has had a son or daughter die* we get $\eta aruy!$ (vocative). (This was the usual way by which the informant Mack Riley addressed his wife.) Similarly, from *bijaja mother's father* we get *bijajay!* (vocative).

A verbal example is $\eta a\eta +ga\text{'}la\text{-}ganjay!$ *They are fighting!* from $\eta a\eta +ga\text{'}la\text{-}ganja$.

Words ending in a consonant cannot get this semivowel unless the consonant is deleted. Thus contrast vocative *garur!* *hey you two!*

with *garuwuy!* (from *garuwu*) *hey you* (P1)!

P-33 (Interjection-Formation)

$$\left. \begin{array}{c} \emptyset \\ c \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow y \quad // \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} a \\ u \end{array} \right\} \text{ — } \#$$

in interjections.

Some textual examples: *ñirwi-ñay!* (*It is*) *us!* in Text 41.11;
ña-wa!jay! dugong! in Text 42.9, *gaṛiyi-ma::y!* (from *gaṛiyi-mar* with
 final consonant omitted) *man!* in Text 42.10.

3.24. Order of Application

Our procedure will be to take each rule P-m (where m is an integer) described above and see how it interacts with the following rules (P-m+1, P-m+2, etc.). In this way each pair of rules can be considered. Note that the numbering system used for the rules is based on the order of their presentation above, and since this was based partly on topical groupings the relative order of application of the rules is not identical.

P-1 (Main Reduplication Rule) is ordered after P-2 (Durative Reduplication), clearly in the case of forms of *-wanani/-wayi to give*. In the other case where both rules apply, namely in forms of *-bawayiṅga!i/-wayiṅgayi*, it is possible to order P-1 again after P-2 (in which case the P-1 reduplication must be specified as following, rather than preceding, the P-2 reduplicative segment in terms of linear order), or else P-2 follows P-1 (this simplifies the statement of the P-1 rule but diverges from the order of P-1 after P-2 seen in the other paradigm). Examples of this interaction are given in 3.2.

P-1 precedes (feeds) P-5, Medial Lenition. From *jawulba old man* we get P1 *jawu-yawulba*, where the fifth segment has undergone /j/ → y by P-5. Note that reduplication creates a postvocalic environment for this consonant, enabling P-5 to apply. In cases like P1 Oblique *wili-yawu-yawulba*, where there are two instances of /j/ → y, either order of application will account for the surface form.

P-1 precedes P-15 (Nasalisation). In the case of /*jaj-jaj+ṅa-jañi/+ ja-jañ+ṅa-jañi* *I kept chasing him*, the reverse order would produce the incorrect **jañ-jañ+ṅa-jañi*. In this instance P-1 bleeds P-15 with respect to the reduplicative segment /*jaj-*/, though not with respect to the root /*-jaj+*/ itself. On the other hand, in *muṅ-mug*, reduplication of *mug* *to forget*, P-1 feeds P-15; in the reverse order we would get **mug-mug*.

P-1 similarly precedes P-16 (Denasalisation), bleeding it in *biŋ-biŋ+ŋa-jañi* *I kept finishing them* from /biŋ-biŋ+ŋa-jañi/. The reverse order would give *biŋ-biŋ+ŋa-jañi.

P-1 precedes P-17, Geminate-Contraction. An example is *ja-jaj*, reduplication of *jaj* to *chase*. This is a case of feeding order.

Rules P-18 through P-22 (b-Deletion, Apical-Stop Deletion, j-Deletion, ɾ-Deletion, ñ-Deletion) are all minor rules simplifying consonant clusters created by verb-particle reduplications (P-1). They thus follow, and are fed by, P-1. See 3.13-3.16 for examples.

P-1 precedes and bleeds w-Insertion P-23 and n-Insertion P-24, both of which insert an initial consonant in forms of *-agur child*. P-23 turns this into *wagur* in the vocative; the Pl vocative is *wag-agur* from /wagu-agur/, not *wagu-wagur from /wagu-wagur/, so P-1 should precede P-23. Similarly, P-24 accounts for *ŋagur* (MSg Nominative), and the Pl of this, *ŋag-agur* from /ŋagu-agur/, shows that P-1 must precede P-24.

P-1 precedes and feeds VV-Contraction P-30, as in /-anji-anji/ → -anj-anji, reduplication of -anji.

P-1 precedes and feeds P-31, NC-Contraction, in *-ganj-aja* from /-ganja-ganja/, reduplication of *-ganja takes*. Here, though, Medial Lenition P-5 (g → Ø, hence /-ganja-anja/) must intervene, so the ordering relationship between P-1 and P-25 is indirect and need not be specifically stated.

I am unable to determine the ordering relationship between P-1 and Retroflexion P-28. If a kin-term like *ŋija-ɾi* from /nija-ɾi/ had a reduplication, we could see that P-1 preceded P-28 (*ŋija-niia-ɾi) or followed it (*ŋija-ŋija-ɾi). However, my informant would neither produce nor accept reduplications of relevant stems.

I am unable to determine the ordering of P-1 with respect to g-Insertion P-25. The relevant example is *wul-gala-'lawa the Alawas*, but here P-25 could precede P-1 or follow it with the same result. In the first case we would have /wul-gala-galawa/ at one point, but this can become /wul-gala-alawa/ by another rule, Medial Lenition P-5, so this derivation is possible. Of course, if P-25 follows P-1 we get the same output, though the intermediate form is /wul-ala-alawa/.

So much for P-1. It seems reasonable to order P-2 (Durative Reduplication) before Durative Hardening P-3, since in cases like *-ba-wayiŋga|i kept hitting with thrown object* the most convenient derivation is /-wayiŋga|i/ → /-wa-wayiŋga|i/ (P-2) → -ba-wayiŋga|i (P-3). However, this is not essential since one can also posit a derivation /-wayiŋga|i/ → /-bayingga|i/ (P-3) → /-ba-bayingga|i/ (P-2) →

-ba-wayiŋga|i (P-5, Medial Lenition). Only the subjective preference for shorter derivations supports ordering P-2 before P-3; there is no definite evidence for this.

P-2 must precede P-5 (Medial Lenition) if the second derivation for -ba-wayiŋga|i just mentioned is accepted; otherwise the two do not interact. This would be feeding order.

P-2 precedes and feeds P-10, Postconsonantal w-Deletion, since P-10 applies only to reduplications (by P-2) of -wan-ani *to give*, hence /-wan-wani/ → -wan-ani.

P-2 appears to precede P-12, γ-Deletion, since the latter fails to apply in some reduplicated examples although it does apply in corresponding simple forms: /-way-|ana/ → -wa-|ana *will give each other* and reduplicated /-way-way-|ana/ → -way-way-|ana. It was suggested in 3.8 that what is really going on here is that the reduplicative segment -way- reinforces the following stem -way-, thus encouraging it not to undergo a rule deleting one of its segments. Admittedly, this is a tentative explanation and is not entirely consistent with other aspects of the behaviour of reduplications. At any rate, from the formal viewpoint we must order P-2 before P-12 and recognise that this is a bleeding relationship.

P-2 precedes P-33, Interjection-Lengthening, bleeding it. For example, from ɖira+wu-ju *he will tie it* we get reduplicated (durative) ɖira+wu-ju-ju and interjection form ɖira+wu-ju-juy! If P-2 followed P-32 we would get *ɖira+wu-juy-juy!

P-3, Durative Hardening, precedes P-5 (Medial Lenition) if P-3 also precedes P-2 (Durative Reduplication), hence /-wayiŋga|i/ → /-bayingga|i/(P-3) → /-ba-bayingga|i/(P-2) → -ba-wayiŋga|i (P-5). However, note that the two rules are separated by P-2 in this derivation, so no direct ordering relation needs to be stated. Moreover, this is only one of two possible derivations; in the other (which has one step less) P-3 follows P-2 and is unordered with respect to P-5.

P-4, ŋa-Insertion, has an unclear relationship to Retroflexion P-28. The syllable -ŋa- is inserted between the prefix n- and a stem beginning with n, hence n-ŋa-narja|aŋa *mother-in-law*. The question is whether, had P-4 not applied (introducing -ŋa-), we would have gotten *n-narja|aŋa or *n-ŋarja|aŋa. However, there is no certain way of telling (anyway, nn and nŋ are not phonetically distinguishable), though we can guess that the form would have been *n-narja|aŋa since Retroflexion normally applies only after word boundaries or the + boundary. In this event P-4 and P-28 cannot be relatively ordered.

P-4 precedes P-24 n-Insertion, since P-24 counterfeeds it in the case of /n-agur/ → n-ṇagur *girl*. If P-24 applied after the n was introduced we would have gotten *n-ṇa-ṇagur.

P-5, Medial Lenition, includes an operation /g/ → Ø. In this specific case, P-5 must precede P-30 (VV-Contraction), hence /-galuni/ → /-galu-galuni/(P-1) → /-galu-aluni/(P-5) → -gal-aluni (P-30) *kept it*.

P-7, w-Hardening, precedes (bleeds) P-12, Nasalisation. Thus biḍ *to carry on shoulder* plus 3Sg + 3Sg prefix w₁u- gives biḍ+gu-, with w₁ → g by P-7. Were it not for this rule, ḍ would have been nasalised to ṇ since it occurs before a sonorant, cf. /waḷad-waḷad/ → waḷan-waḷad reduplication of waḷad (*sky*) *to clear up*.

P-7 precedes (feeds) Geminate-Contraction P-17. In *there was a rainbow* /bug+w₁u-nani/ → /bug+gu-nani/(P-7) → bug+u-nani (P-17) we see that when w₁ → g after another g, the geminate cluster is simplified by P-17.

P-8 (w₁-Deletion) and P-17 (Geminate-Contraction) interact only in the sense that they overlap, so that in the case of /ḍiw+w₁u-/ → ḍiw+u- with ḍiw *to fly* and 3Sg w₁u-, one rule or the other must apply. Technically, then, we have mutual bleeding relationship, but the ordering is indeterminate.

Intervocalic w-Deletion P-9 precedes and feeds VV-Contraction P-30. Hence Centripetal y₁a- plus 3Sg -w₁u- gives /y₁a-w₁u-/ → /y₁a-u-/ → y₁a-'-.

y-Hardening P-11 precedes (bleeds) Nasalisation P-15, just as w-Hardening P-7 does. The relevant example is /jaḷab+y₁a-/ *to paddle* plus Centripetal y₁a-) → jaḷab+ja-. If P-15 had applied before P-7, we would have gotten *jaḷam+ja- since the stop /b/ would have been followed by a sonorant.

P-11 also precedes (feeds) Geminate-Contraction P-17, as in /jaj+y₁a-/ → /jaj+ja-/P-11) → jaj+a- (P-17) with jaj *to chase* and Centripetal allomorph y₁a-.

It appears that P-11 cannot be ordered relative to Denasalisation P-16 since in the few cases where we might expect interaction, P-16 does not apply: ṇa-miḍalaṇḍalaṇ-ṇur *to the darter (ducks)* with Allative/Locative -ṇur from /-y₂ur/. Note that the stem-final ṇ does not denasalise to g.

P-11 precedes and feeds Nasal-Merger P-32, as in /wili-gamiñ-y₁ani/ /wil-amiñ-jani/(P-11 and others) → wil-amin-jani (P-32) *from the women*.

r-Deletion P-13 and n-Deletion P-14 are complementary rules which reduce the /rn/ cluster in different environments. Their complementary relationship can be captured by formulating both in such a way that

there is no overlap. Or, as has been done above, we can formulate a limited r-Deletion rule P-13, followed by a more 'general' n-Deletion rule P-14, so that P-13 bleeds P-14. The opposite is also technically possible but a bit more awkward notationally, since it is easier to order the more restricted rule first. At any rate, I do not think that much should be made of this presumed ordering relationship since we get very different results from formulations of the rules differing only slightly in complexity.

n-Deletion P-14 cannot be clearly ordered with respect to Nasalisation P-15. In cases like / η ad+ni-!ini/ \rightarrow / η an+ni-!ini/(P-15) \rightarrow η an+i-!ini *you ran*, it looks as though P-14 applies in the final step and hence follows P-15, but the last step can also be handled by Geminate-Contraction P-17, so it is not certain that P-14 follows P-15.

Because P-14 and P-17 (Geminate-Contraction) overlap in examples like that just given, the two rules bleed each other in a sense - if one applies the other is not needed. However, it cannot be determined which precedes the other.

It might appear that Nasalisation P-15 should precede Denasalisation P-16, but this cannot be fully demonstrated; cf. 3.10 for discussion.

P-15 (Nasalisation) follows Apical-Stop Deletion P-19 ($d! \rightarrow !$, $\eta! \rightarrow !$) as this rule is formulated above, since P-19 deletes a stop which would otherwise have become nasalised. However, it would be possible to rewrite P-19 in such a way that / $n!$ / $\rightarrow !$ and / $\eta!$ / $\rightarrow !$, there being no counterexamples, and in this way P-15 would precede P-19, hence / $d!$ / \rightarrow / $n!$ /(P-15) $\rightarrow !$ (P-19), etc. Or, if P-19 were formulated so as to contract / $d!$ /, / $\eta!$ /, / $n!$ /, and / $\eta!$ / to ! (i.e. deletion of apical stop or nasal) the two rules could not be relatively ordered. Hence it is best not to make firm conclusions about the ordering relationship here.

P-15 certainly precedes P-20, !-Deletion, as in /!ud-!ud/ \rightarrow /!un-!ud/(P-15) \rightarrow !un-ud (P-20), reduplication of !ud *to get stuck*. The order here is feeding.

P-15 precedes and feeds Geminate-Contraction P-17 in / η ad+ni-/ \rightarrow / η an+ni-/(P-15) \rightarrow η an+i- (P-17), with η ad *to run* and 2Sg /ni-/.

Denasalisation P-16 precedes and bleeds Geminate-Contraction P-17 in / η an+ η a-/ \rightarrow η ag+ η a- (P-16), with η an *to hit* and 1Sg + 3Sg η a-. Note that P-17 would have applied to / $\eta\eta$ / but cannot apply to / $\eta\eta$ /, the output of P-16.

Geminate-Contraction P-17 and Nasal-Cluster Contraction P-27 interact in the sense that they overlap, so that one or the other must

apply. The relevant example is /*ḡḡuḡ-ḡḡuḡ*/ → *ḡḡuḡ-ḡuḡ* (also transcribable as *ḡḡu-ḡḡuḡ*), reduplication of *ḡḡuḡ* to *get up*.

g-Insertion P-19 precedes VV-Contraction P-30, in this example: /*wili-ala/alawa*/ → (unchanged, P-19) → *wil-ala-'lawa* (P-30), *Alawas* (Oblique). If P-19 followed P-30, the former would have applied nonvacuously, producing **wil-gala-'lawa*. Note that as VV-Contraction applies to the first vowel cluster of /*wili-ala-alawa*/ it deletes the /i/, so that the following /a/ is directly preceded by the consonant /l/. Since P-19 applies in this environment, as in Nominative Pl *wul-gala-'lawa*, it is necessary to order P-19 before P-30, so that P-19 is unable to apply to this form. This is an example of counterfeeding.

V-Assimilation P-29 follows VV-Contraction P-30, as in /*w₁a-w₂ulumbur-*/ → /*w₁a-ulumbur-*/(P-9) → /*w₁a-'lumbur-*/(P-30) → *w₁a-'lambur-* (P-29), with 3Pres *w₁a-* and 3Pl → 3Pl *-w₂ulumbur-*. This is a case of feeding.

The ordering relations just described are shown in Table 3-1. Pairs of rules connected by lines operate in such a way that the rule higher up on the table precedes the rule lower down. The table does not specify problematic ordering relationships discussed above, such as that of P-1 and P-2.

TABLE 3-1
Order of Phonological Rules

P-1	Main Reduplication Rule
P-2	Durative Reduplication
P-4	ŋa-Insertion
P-5	Medial Lenition
P-7	w-Hardening
P-9	Intervocalic w-Deletion
P-10	Postconsonantal w-Deletion
P-11	y-Hardening
P-12	y-Deletion
P-15	Nasalisation
P-16	Denasalisation
P-17	Geminate-Contraction
P-18	b-Deletion
P-19	Apical-Stop Deletion
P-20	!-Deletion
P-21	r-Deletion
P-22	ñ-Deletion
P-23	w-Insertion
P-24	n-Insertion
P-30	VV-Contraction
P-29	V-Assimilation
P-31	nj-Contraction
P-32	Nasal-Delaminalisation
P-33	Interjection-Formation

CHAPTER FOUR

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

4.1. Nouns and Noun Phrases

The category 'noun' can be defined by the prefix- and suffix-paradigms presented in this chapter, which differ in important respects from those of personal pronouns (Chapter Six) and demonstrative pronouns (Chapter Seven). All of these are clearly distinguishable from inflectable verb stems. Word class distinctions are thus rather sharp in Mara.

There is, however, no clearly definable category 'adverb'. Demonstrative (and cardinal-direction) adverbs are essentially a kind of defective noun, and take at least a portion of the usual nominal affixal apparatus. Some temporal adverbs like *ḡibuḡibuna tomorrow; next day* usually show up in a single affixless form, but occasionally show nominal prefixes (*n-ḡibuḡibuna*).

A few high frequency 'adverbs' like *miḡi now* (indicating immediacy) and *baḡa later* never take nominal affixes and must therefore be described as particles. The category of particles also includes some 'logical' elements such as *biḡana because*.

There is no clear distinction between adjectival and nonadjectival nouns, though such a distinction is fairly sharp in Nunggubuyu to the north (in the intervening language, Warndarang, the facts are not entirely clear). In Mara, such nouns as kin terms, locative demonstrative adverbs, and nonhuman nouns can be used in predicate nominal constructions with intransitive pronominal prefixes: with 1Sg *ḡa-* we get *ḡa-muḡi-mar I am your father's father*, *ḡa-ḡi-ngara I am here*, and *ḡa-guruḡaḡbuḡgu I am Python* (in myth), from *muḡi-mar your father's father*, *ḡi-ngara here*, and *guruḡaḡbuḡgu olive python*. (In Nunggubuyu, only certain 'adjectival' nouns can occur in this construction.)

A noun phrase (NP) consists of a noun plus, optionally, one or more adjuncts. One simple NP type is a noun preceded by an article (stem -na for Nominative, -ni for Oblique), as in *na-na gaṛiyi-mar the man* (Ergative *na-ni na-'ṛiyi-mar*). Articles are not used without a following noun (or demonstrative pronoun), and textual examples which appear to have an article before a pause represent false starts.

Additional adjuncts such as a demonstrative pronoun or another noun (in adjectival function) may be integrated into the NP or may be treated as appositional NP's, and in the latter event may be separated from the nuclear noun by a pause or even by intervening constituents. For example, with *ṇanga-ya-ra that*, we can form *na-na ṇanga-ya-ra gaṛiyi-mar that man* (this is the most common word order), or perhaps something like *na-na ṇanga-ya-ra, na-na gaṛiyi-mar that one, the man*. With *balwayi big* we get *na-na gaṛiyi-mar balwayi the big man* or perhaps *na-na gaṛiyi-mar, na-na balwayi the man, the big one*. A noun in adjectival (modifying) function is more likely to follow than to precede the nuclear noun, but there is no fixed rule about this.

Articles, demonstrative pronouns, and modifying nouns agree in class/case prefixation with the nuclear noun. For example, contrast Nominative *na-na ṇanga-ya-ra gaṛiyi-mar that man* with Allative/Locative *na-ni na-ri-ya na-'ṛiyi-mar-yu(r) to that man*. Here the nuclear noun *gaṛiyi-mar* takes Oblique prefix *na-*, and the preceding article and demonstrative pronoun go into their Oblique forms (expressed by a complicated mixture of prefix- and/or stem-changes). The nuclear noun also has Allative/Locative suffix *-yu(r)*. The article *na-ni* cannot take case suffixes, while the demonstrative pronoun optionally agrees in case suffixation, so that in the above example *na-ri-ya* optionally becomes *na-ri-ya-yu(r)*. If the demonstrative adverb is formally appositional (separated from the nuclear noun by a pause, for example), case-agreement approaches becoming obligatory.

The Allative/Locative form of *na-na gaṛiyi-mar balwayi the big man* is *na-ni na-'ṛiyi-mar-yu(r) na-balwayi-yu(r) to the big man*. As the example suggests, the modifying noun normally agrees both in class/case prefix and in case suffix with the nuclear noun.

4.2. Possessed Nouns

The simplest form of possessed NP is of the type *n-na-ṛadbur n-jawuru his camp*. This contains *-ṛadbur camp* with its usual Neuter

Nominative prefix *n-* (*-ŋa-* is inserted by phonological rule P-4). This is followed by *-jawuru his/her/its* (3Sg Genitive pronoun), with class/case prefix *n-* to agree with the modified noun. The Allative/Locative (*to his camp*) is *ñā-ṛadbur-yu(r) ñā-yawuru-yu(r)*, with both elements shifting into Neuter Oblique prefixed form (*ñā-*) and both taking Allative/Locative case suffix *-yu(r)*. Note that Genitive pronouns are syntactically like nouns (especially nouns like *balwayi big* used chiefly as modifiers). The article may be used: *n-ga-na n-ŋa-ṛadbur n-jawuru his camp*. The Genitive pronoun occasionally precedes the modified noun, in which case the article is often omitted (*n-jawuru n-ŋa-ṛadbur*), but more often the Genitive pronoun follows.

If the pronominal possessed construction is expanded by adding a noun representing the possessor, the latter occurs in the suffixless Oblique form (there being no special Genitive inflection for nouns; the suffixless Oblique form is also used for Ergative and Instrumental), hence *ŋa-'ṛiyi-mar n-ŋa-ṛadbur n-jawuru the man's camp*. The Genitive pronoun is usually retained, as shown in this example. The possessor noun (here *ŋa-'ṛiyi-mar*) may precede or follow the possessed noun; in the former case there is a tendency to omit the article referring to the modified noun (to my knowledge the possessor noun cannot take an article of its own).

If a possessor noun is present the Genitive pronoun is optionally omitted as in *ŋa-'ṛiyi-mar n-ŋa-ṛadbur the man's camp*, but retention is usual in careful speech.

For certain inalienable nouns the possessive pronoun can be in the same case category as the possessed noun (e.g. Nominative *you* as an alternative to Genitive *your* when the possessed noun is Nominative). This is most notable in the case of kin terms. Thus *your mother* can be expressed as *ṇiya-ra n-bibi* (with 2Sg Nominative *ṇiya-ra you*), simply as *n-bibi* with or without an article, or as *ṇiya n-garña* with 2Sg Genitive *ṇiya*. (The stem for *mother* is normally *-bibī* for 2nd person possessor, but when a Genitive pronoun is explicitly added the 3rd person form, here *-garña*, must be used - see 5.4.)

The other common inalienable nouns are body-part terms, and these are treated similarly, but in this case it is more natural for the possessor and possessed nouns to be treated as formal appositives since the possessed noun designates an actual part of the possessor. Example: *ṇiya-ra n-murji ṽiri+ṇi-ma you had a pain in your hand* (*n-murji*), where the final constituent means *you had a pain* and this is preceded by the body part term and the 2Sg Nominative pronoun *ṇiya-ra*. This type is syntactically unstable, however, since the

body-part term is often reduced to a kind of compounding initial (and may lose its class/case prefix, hence *ṇiya-ra murji ṇiri+ṇi-ma*), see 12.1.

4.3. First and Second Person NP's

Occasionally we find a combination like *ṇiwi-yawu-yawulba we old people* used as a NP, as in the sentence *ṇiwi-yawu-yawulba ṇiwi-ṇini we old people went*. The prefix here is lExPl *ṇiwi-* which is also used as an intransitive pronominal prefix with verbs (as in *ṇiwi-ṇini we went*). Here, however, *ṇiwi-yawu-yawulba* is not predicative (**we are old people*), though the same form could be used in another context with this meaning (see 4.4). The lExPl prefix is used simply to indicate who *old people* refers to, and the resulting noun *ṇiwi-yawu-yawulba we old people* functions like an ordinary noun in the overall sentence.

In English one can say *we old people* and *you old people* but not *they old people*. The latter is replaced by *(the) old people*, with no pronominal element. Similarly, in Mara one does not say **wa-'la-yawu-yawulba* with 3Pl Present prefix-complex *wa-'la-* (as in *wa-'la-ṇindu they are going*). Instead, one must use the regular nominal class/case prefix, e.g. Pl *wul-* in *wul-jawu-yawulba old people*.

From another point of view, we could say that all nouns are specified for pronominal category (including person). The prefixes for first and second person happen to be identical to the corresponding prefixes used with intransitive verbs (and in predicate nominal constructions, see 4.4). On the other hand, third person nouns (the vast majority of nouns) have pronominal prefixes (specifying gender, and partially specifying case) - that is, what I am calling class/case prefixes - which are formally distinct from the corresponding prefixes used with intransitive verbs.

Articles are not used with first or second person NP's.

4.4. Predicate Nominals and Predicate Genitives

The predicate nominal construction involves a subject NP (which may be expressed by only a pronominal element) and a predicative noun. The latter is often, but not always, what would be considered an adjective in English.

When the subject is first or second person, it is usually specified only by an intransitive pronominal prefix, as in *ṇa-balwayi I am big*

and *ni-balwayi you (Sg) are big*. In other words, these forms are identical to nonpredicative first and second person NP's (4.3), the difference being syntactic only (the type seen in 4.3 involves a NP functioning as an argument in a larger proposition; the present type is a self-contained predication).

When the subject is third person (including a NP which would be pronominalised as third person), the predicative noun simply takes the regular Nominative class/case prefixes, as it would if it were the intransitive subject or transitive object of its clause. Example: *na-na gariyi-mar balwayi the man is big*; *na-na n-gamiñ-mar n-balwayi the woman is big*. In the first example both the subject *gariyi-mar* (with preceding article *na-na*) and the predicative noun *balwayi* take MSg Nominative prefix *Ø-* (which we usually omit in transcription). In the second, both *gamiñ-mar woman* and *balwayi* take FSg Nominative prefix *n-*. In other words, the form taken by *balwayi* as predicative noun is exactly the same as the form it would take as an adjectival modifier of the subject (*the big man, the big woman*). So again, the predicate nominal construction is not sharply distinguished formally from a complex NP including 'adjectival' modifiers, the difference being syntactic and semantic.

One difference worth noting, though, is that articles are not normally used with the predicative noun, at least when it is genuinely predicative in semantic function (i.e. when it indicates a quality or category, rather than merely referring to it). Hence one can say *na-na balwayi the big one* (MaSg), but this would normally be used only as an argument in a proposition, whereas *balwayi (is) big* without the article would be used in a predicative sense. However, when the 'predicative' noun has already been discourse-defined, and is merely being used to establish referential correlations in an equational sentence (as in *na-na wabi-mar na-na balwayi your father is the big man*, with both NP's definite), this does not apply and the article may be used.

The article is never used, in predicative or nonpredicative sense, with a noun showing first or second person prefixes: *niwi-yawu-yawulba we old people*; *we are old* cannot show up as **wal-a niwi-yawu-yawulba* (cf. the perfectly grammatical *wal-a wul-jawu-yawulba the old men*).

The predicate genitive construction is simply one manifestation of the (third person) predicate nominal construction. The predicate consists of a Genitive pronoun with the Nominative class/case prefix which agrees with the subject. Hence *nina my* shows up in predicate genitive sense (*is/are mine*) in the forms *nina* (MSg), *n-nina* (FSg,

Neuter), *wur-ŋina* (Du), and *wul-ŋina* (Pl), depending on what sort of category the subject of the clause is in. For example, in *n-ga-na n-ŋa-ɾadbur n-ŋina the house is mine*, we have a subject NP *n-ga-na n-ŋa-ɾadbur the house* in the Neuter class, so *ŋina my* takes Neuter Nominative *n-*.

If the possessor is expressed as a noun, we get a construction involving a Genitive pronoun as predicate (as in examples just given with *ŋina my*), though in this case they are third person forms, plus the possessor noun in suffixless Oblique form (identical to Ergative-Instrumental form, but also identical to the form taken by the possessor in the possessed NP construction, see 4.2). Example: *n-ga-na n-ŋa-ɾadbur ŋa-'ɾiyi-mar n-jawuru the camp belongs to the man*. Here *jawuru his*, the Genitive pronoun functioning as predicate, is juxtaposed to the possessor noun *ŋa-'ɾiyi-mar* (stem *gaɾiyi-mar*), which shows MSg Oblique prefix *ŋa-* and has no case suffix.

Again, it will be noted that there are no important formal differences between the predicate genitive construction and the structure of a possessed NP (see 4.2), the difference being semantic and syntactic.

4.5. Articles (-na, -ni)

As noted in 4.1, nouns (and demonstrative pronouns) are frequently preceded (never followed) by forms which we are calling 'articles'. This form consists of a stem which takes the forms *-na* (Nominative) or *-ni* (Oblique) - but which cannot take nonzero case suffixes - plus an obligatory nonzero class/case prefix. The forms of the latter differ somewhat, in the Nominative, from those used with nouns (4.7).

In fact, from the formal point of view the articles are simply demonstrative pronouns based on the same *-na/-ni-* stem seen in distant (*-na-ña/-ni-ña*) and anaphoric (*-na-ŋga/-ni-ŋga*) demonstrative pronouns (7.2). The forms of the class/case prefixes are identical, and the only formal difference is that the articles lack the suffixes *-ña* and *-ŋga* which characterise these demonstrative pronouns. The only other difference is syntactic; as just noted, articles must precede some other nominal element (noun or demonstrative pronoun) and cannot take nonzero case suffixes (though they can be used, in Oblique form, before a nominal element in a nonzero case form), while demonstrative pronouns can stand alone and can take nonzero case suffixes.

The forms of the articles are shown in Table 4-1:

TABLE 4-1
Articles

	Nominative	Oblique
MSg	ḡa-na	ḡa-ni
FSg	ḡa-na	ya-ni
Ne	n-ga-na	ḡa-ni
Du	war-a /war-na/	wir-i /wir-ni/
Pl	wal-a /wal-na/	wil-i /wil-ni/

In the Du and Pl forms, rule P-14 (n-Deletion) has applied; it is thus perfectly possible to posit the same stems -na and -ni seen in other forms in these Du and Pl forms.

Note that in Table 4-1 the stem opposition -na/-ni is most crucial in the MSg forms, where there is no difference between the Nominative and Oblique prefixes (both ḡa-).

It is very difficult to describe the 'meaning' of these articles. With nouns, they are extremely common with the Nominative case; one possibly beneficial function they have in this instance is that they differentiate FSg from Ne (both of which have Nominative class/case prefix n-).

The Oblique articles are not as common as the Nominative ones. Thus the pattern shown in the examples of 4.12, where Nominative NP's include an article while Ergative NP's (part of the Oblique system) omit it, is typical, although the Oblique articles are optionally used with Ergative and other Oblique NP's.

With demonstrative pronouns, preceding articles are quite common in all case forms, though again the Nominative forms are a bit more frequent than the Oblique ones.

The choice of class/case prefix (MSg, etc.) to be used with articles depends on the class/case of the following nominal element (noun or demonstrative pronoun). We will see below (4.7) that in some cases when a noun stem is itself specified for 3+ plural (e.g. by suppletion),

the 'singular' (unmarked) class/case prefix may be used, since the nonsingular class/case prefix which we would expect would, in this instance, be redundant. Hence *gaṛiyi man* (contrast Sg/Du *gaṛiyi-mar*) can occur either with Pl class/case prefix (Nominative *wul-gaṛiyi*) or with 'MSg' prefix (Nominative *gaṛiyi*, i.e. \emptyset -*gaṛiyi*). When the article is preposed to such forms we get Pl article in the first case (*wal-a wul-gaṛiyi*), but singular (here MSg) article in the second case (*ṇa-na \emptyset -gaṛiyi*).

An important syntactic particle *ga-na*, used in clause-subordination and intra-clause focus constructions, is formally the Nominative Ne article *n-ga-na* minus its first prefix; cf. 13.4. This process is also found in the generation of demonstrative adverbs (e.g. *gi-ṇa here*) from Ne demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *n-gi-ṇa it (Ne) is here*); cf. 7.6.

Articles can be used before first and second person pronouns, but only in the Nominative, and the form is *ga-na* (see 6.9). The usual articles are used before demonstrative pronouns quite commonly. Before demonstrative adverbs *ga-na* is common in the Locative (formally, Nominative), while in the other types (Allative, Ablative) we get a special Oblique article *wa-ni* with *w* instead of *g* (7.10).

4.6. Forms in *-niyi*

A rather unusual form is created by using the Nominative prefixes seen with the article stem *-na* in Table 4-1 (above) before another stem *-niyi*. The forms are thus MSg *ṇa-niyi*, FSg *ṇa-niyi*, Neuter *n-ga-niyi*, Du *war-iyi*, Pl *wal-iyi*.

These forms are like articles with *-na* in that they are used with a following noun (in my examples, this is always Nominative). However, the *-niyi* forms add the sense *still, only, nothing but*.

For example, in one utterance in a story where a man had been looking for freshwater but had been able to find only brackish or salty water, the following occurred: (*He checked another pool, but...*)

ganagu ṇa-ṇugu-ni , ṇa-niyi |aban .
not water (Purposive) still/only saltwater
There (was) no freshwater, just (more) salty water.

(The Purposive with *-ni* is used here in a special sense which need not detain us here; *ganagu ṇa-ṇugu-ni* simply means *there is/was no fresh water*.)

Notice that in this example the logical scope of *only* is limited to the noun *|aban saltwater*. In cases where *only/still* has a broader

scope, covering an entire clause, the form *ga-niyi* is used. This is derived from Neuter *n-ga-niyi* by eliminating the class/case prefix *n-* (this gives an 'unmarked' sense not specifically related to any nominal category, cf. the end of 4.5 and elsewhere). An example *ga-niyi wu-!ini he was still going (wu-!ini he went)*.

Textual examples of *ga-niyi still, only* include Texts 17, 23.15, 40.69, 40.73, and many others. Examples of MSg *ṇa-niyi* are in Texts 28.2, 20.20, and 40.40.

4.7. Class/Case Prefixes

In this section we deal with prefixes marking the MSg, FSg, Neuter (Ne), Du, and Pl categories. For each category there are two forms, one Nominative (intransitive subject and transitive object), the other Oblique (all other cases, including Ergative). Additional case distinctions are made by the case suffixes (see 4.11). The semantics of the noun 'classes' is dealt with in 4.8. In this section we will concern ourselves with the morphological analysis of the nominal prefix paradigms.

The prefixes are as shown in Table 4-2:

TABLE 4-2
Class/Case Prefixes

	Nominative	Oblique
MSg	Ø-	ṇa-
FSg	n-	ya-
Ne	n-	ṇa-
Du	wur-	wiri-
Pl	wul-	wili-

Note that the FSg and Ne are distinguished in the Oblique but not in the Nominative.

Note that all Nominative prefixes are either zero or end in a consonant, while Oblique prefixes end in a vowel. Many nouns undergo Medial Lenition P-5 after a vowel, so we get many Nominative/Oblique stem-initial alternations: Ne *n-ḍula* and *ṇa-yula leg*, MSg *jawulba* and *ṇa-yawulba old man*, etc.

If the stem begins in *ga* and undergoes Medial Lenition it becomes */-a.../*, so VV-Contraction P-30 is also applied. For example, from

/wili-gamiñ/ *women* (Oblique) we get /wili-amiñ/ by Medial Lenition and then wil-amiñ by VV-Contraction.

I will normally not bother to transcribe MSg Nominative Ø- (i.e. I will write jawulba *old man* in preference to Ø-jawulba).

Class/case prefixes are obligatory, except in three situations. First, if there is a first or second person pronominal prefix (e.g. niwi-yawu-yawulba *we old people; we are old*, cf. 4.3 and 4.4) the class/case prefix is omitted. This is essentially because the pronominal prefix carries out the same kind of function normally carried out by the class/case prefix, and because the two types of prefixes occupy the same morphological slot.

Secondly, the Pergressive case suffix -y₂a happens to require that the noun to which it is attached omit its usual class/case prefix: n-guruṇaran *beach* (Nominative) forms Instrumental ña-wuruṇaran, Allative/Locative ña-wuruṇara-ñu(r) etc. but Pergressive guruṇara-ña *through the beach*. (For a solitary apparent counterexample see Text 40.19, 1. 2.)

The third situation where the prefix can be omitted is in the Ne Nominative, where n- is sometimes omitted, so that Ne is merged with MSg. For my best informants (especially Mack Riley) this omission was not common, except in nominalisations with-manjar (12.2) and some adverbial nouns like ḡibuḡibuna *tomorrow*. In the Oblique, these consistently showed Ne Oblique ña- (not MSg ṇa-) for this informant. On the other hand, for the informant Johnnie omission of n- was very common, even for body-part terms and the like, and in the Oblique such nouns often turned up with MSg prefix ṇa-. That is, the MSg vs. Ne opposition had been largely, though not entirely, neutralised for this informant. Another point is that, even for Mack Riley, Ne Nominative n- was sometimes omitted in a noun (not preceded by an article) just before a verb, in a sort of quasi-compound construction (12.1). An example of this is biḷbar ḷar+iw-añi::: *we cut up the throat* (Text 6.8); *throat* is usually Ne n-biḷbar.

For Johnnie, even in noun-phrases including the Ne article n-ga-na and the like omission of n- occurs. Thus what Mack Riley would pronounce as n-ga-na n-biḷbar *the throat* was usually pronounced ga-na biḷbar by Johnnie.

We saw in 3.4 that an epenthetic morpheme -ṇa- is inserted, among other things, after Ne n- when the following noun begins in an apical sonorant: n-ga-na n-ṇa-ṛadbur *the camp, the country*. For Johnnie, the 'epenthetic' morpheme could be used even though n- was omitted, hence ga-na ṇa-ṛadbur.

Frequently, Johnnie used forms like *biłbar throat* and *ḡa-ṛadbur camp, country* as MSg nouns and thus used MSg article *ḡa-na* (hence *ḡa-na ḡi-ḡa ḡa-ṛadbur this country* in Text 40.95). Similar, what was normally a Ne noun *n-ḡanja belly* turned up in Johnnie's speech either as Ne *ga-na ḡanja* (Text 41.27) or as MSg *ḡa-na ḡanja* (Text 41.29).

4.8. Semantics of the Noun 'Class' Categories

For human referents (including uses of adjective-like nouns when they happen to refer to humans) the use of 'class' categories in the class/case prefixes of section 4.7 is fairly straightforward. Single male referents are treated as MSg, single females as FSg, groups of two referents as Du. For groups of more than two, the most common class is Pl, but (especially when the noun stem itself is already marked for plurality, see 4.10) we occasionally find it in the MSg or (if all referents are female) FSg categories.

For example, consider *ḡaṛiyi-mar man, human, Aboriginal* in the specific sense *man*. For the Nominative, we get MSg *ḡaṛiyi-mar* (without prefix, or with \emptyset - class/case prefix if you prefer) and Du *wur-ḡaṛiyi-mar*. For the semantic plural, the stem loses its Sg/Du suffix *-mar* (see 4.10) and is thus just *ḡaṛiyi*. This can take usual Pl prefix (*wul-ḡaṛiyi*), but it is also possible to leave it in the MSg Nominative form *ḡaṛiyi* (\emptyset -*ḡaṛiyi*). Because the stem itself is (3+) plural, this use of the 'MSg' inflectional form does not really create ambiguity.

For purposes of prefixal agreement within the NP (e.g. with articles, demonstrative pronouns, and modifying nouns), *wul-ḡaṛiyi men* with Pl class/case prefix *wul-* is treated as Pl, while synonymous *ḡaṛiyi men* with MSg prefix (\emptyset -) is treated as Sg. Hence *wal-a wul-ḡaṛiyi the men* with Pl article *wal-a*, but synonymous *ḡa-na ḡaṛiyi the men* with MSg article *ḡa-na*. However, a modifying noun which distinguishes - within the stem - Sg/Du from (3+) Pl (see 4.10) normally agrees in stem-marked number with the stem-marked number of the nuclear noun (by 'stem' we here exclude in particular the class/case prefix). Thus *ḡa-na ḡaṛiyi the men*, despite having MSg prefix, is expanded as *ḡa-na ḡaṛiyi ḡiriri the small men*, with the explicitly (3+) plural stem *ḡiriri small ones* (cf. Sg/Du *ḡiyu* or *ḡiyu-ḡa small*); the corresponding expansion of *wal-a wul-ḡaṛiyi* is *wal-a wul-ḡaṛiyi wul-ḡiriri the small men* (contrast *ḡa-na ḡaṛiyi-mar ḡiyu-ḡa the small man*). In other words, agreement in class/case prefixation is completely independent of stem-number agreement; the latter is based

on true semantic number, while the former may merge semantic plural into surface Sg categories.

Agreement between a noun and the corresponding pronominal marker in the verb depends on the class/case prefixation of the noun. Thus in Text 4, in *we distributed (it) to him/them* we initially get singular agreement (...to him) for nouns with zero (3Sg) class/case prefix, despite the plural stem /gaɾiyi/ (in ɲa-'ɾiyi-yu) *men* and the plural reduplication in *jamu-yamul-ɲanja uncles*. Only after the explicit 3Pl form *wili-jali they ate* do we get *we distributed (it) to them* (ma-jaɲar+imbir-ganji).

In general, nouns which have the same stem-form (disregarding class/case prefix) for Sg, Du, and Pl express the Sg/Du/Pl opposition more or less rigorously by means of the class/case prefixes. For example, *guɲɲaɲɲa policeman* does not have a stem-internal reduplicated (or other explicit) plural form, at least in the speech of Mack Riley. Therefore the semantic plural is regularly *wul-guɲɲaɲɲa policemen*, and this is not allowed to take MSg prefix Ø- (hence *guɲɲaɲɲa*, that is Ø-guɲɲaɲɲa, is normally used only for semantic singular number). I am not suggesting that a stem like this (lacking stem-internal plural marking) can *never* take Sg class/case prefix in a thousand years, but rather that this is much less common with these stems than it is with stems which are already marked as plural.

For nonhuman referents, the FSg category is very uncommon, though it is found with a couple of specifically female marsupial terms: FSg *n-ɲaɭunji female euro* (male: MSg *girimbu*); FSg *n-maluruɲgurunna female agile wallaby* (male: *ɲargulamba*). Contrast MSg *wunamuɲura female possum* (male: MSg *gujaɲi*); MSg *gaɲɲalburu female antelope kangaroo* (male: MSg *baɭingama*). For fauna which have no special suppletive stem for females, it is possible to use the FSg prefixes instead of the usual MSg ones to specify that the female is being referred to: MSg *ɲuɭumuru nail-tailed wallaby (either sex)*, FSg *n-ɲuɭumuru female nail-tailed wallaby*. However, this use of the FSg prefixes seems to be quite rare, and the examples were obtained only in rather artificial elicitation interviews. All in all, the use of the FSg category for nonhuman nouns is very highly restricted.

What I am calling the 'Neuter' (Ne) category - for lack of a better term - consists primarily of body-part terms, along with a few topographic terms, most abstractive nouns (including verbal nouns, see 12.2), and the stem *n-guɲaru sun*.

Just about all body-part nouns belong to this class. The exceptions are chiefly a few terms for internal organs, which are perhaps more

'alienable' than other body-part terms in the sense that they refer to items which are typically removed from animal carcasses and either discarded or cooked individually and eaten. For example, *muṛamuṛa milk guts (part of intestines) of dugong* is consistently MSg, and the same is true of several other special terms for internal organs of dugong, turtles, etc. Some body-part terms occur in both MSg and Ne forms, with a semantic difference as suggested by the preceding remarks (e.g. MSg *gumbi meat*, Ne *n-gumbi flesh*; note also MSg *gumbu urine* and Ne *n-gumbu bladder*).

Topographic terms in the Ne class include *n-guruṇaran beach*, *n-mayamaya open plain*, and *n-baṇara* (root *-mbaṇara*) *clearing; clear sky*. However, some other topographic terms are MSg: *ṇargu billabong*, *balba river*, *manuga stone; (stone) hill*.

Some abstractive nouns also go into the Ne class. These include verbal nouns in *-manjar*, as can be best seen in Oblique forms like *ṇa-ṇaṇ-aṇ-manjar-i for killing* (Ne Oblique - Rdp - *kill* - Verbal Noun - Purposive). The noun *n-wa|wa|* (also *n-waṛwaṛ*) *desire, craving* seems to be a special reduplicated derivative of *wa| to crave*, and is likewise in the Ne class. A few nouns used basically as temporal adverbs can be treated as Ne nouns, though this can be seen clearly only in the occasional construction like *ṇa-ṇibuṇibuna ṇa-'rgul-yu(r) day after tomorrow* (literally *at tomorrow's another* with suffixless Oblique form of *ṇibuṇibuna tomorrow*, here in a sort of Genitive function). Often such adverb-like nouns just omit class/case prefixes: *ṇibuṇibuna* is the usual form for *tomorrow*.

The largest nonhuman class is therefore the MSg class. This includes all flora terms, and all fauna terms except for the few instances of the FSg category in this domain. As noted above, even some body-part terms referring to internal organs are, optionally or in some cases obligatorily, MSg rather than Ne. Terms for artifacts (e.g. spears), names of ceremonies (e.g. *gunabibi*), and generally all inanimate nouns other than those mentioned above for the Ne class go into the MSg category. In other words, the MSg class is the broadest, least morphologically marked category.

The three nonhuman categories (MSg, FSg, Ne) could, in theory, each permit Du and Pl class/case prefixes provided that more than one referent (in the case of countable nouns) was being referred to. In practise, nonhuman nouns tend to occur in 'Sg' form (MSg, FSg, Ne) regardless of actual number, though this is not an absolute rule. The usual way to refer to two antelope kangaroos (*ba|ingama*), for example, is to juxtapose the numeral *wuruja two* to the formally MSg noun:

wuruja baɭingama *two antelope kangaroos*. The form wur-baɭingama with Du class/case prefix (or its extension with preceding article war-a, with or without wuruja *two* as well) is possible but rather less common. (This does not apply to semi-personified mythical beings, hence war-a wur-gurujadbungu *two olive pythons* is common in the text in which these are described as important cult totems.) The Pl form, e.g. (wal-a) wul-baɭingama *antelope kangaroos*, while not totally ungrammatical, is even less used; normally for nonhuman Pl one uses the MSg form, perhaps with a modifier like ɖaŋulirña *big group* to emphasise number (ɖa-na baɭingama ɖaŋulirña *a big group of antelope kangaroos*). Informants were hesitant even to approve such Pl-marked nouns when the linguist pronounced them.

For inanimate nouns, Du and Pl class/case prefixes are especially uncommon, and the Pl in particular appears to be ungrammatical. Thus one can, very occasionally, elicit Du wur-manuga *two stones* (much more common is wuruja manuga with numeral wuruja *two*) but *wul-manuga *stones* is just not elicitable.

The distribution of Du and Pl articles (war-a, wal-a, and their Oblique counterparts) is parallel to that of the corresponding class/case prefixes. Thus Du war-a is normally used only in conjunction with Du class/case prefix wur-, while wal-a is regularly used only with Pl prefix wul-. Thus Du and Pl articles are highly restricted with nonhuman nouns.

4.9. Irregular 'Class' Agreement

As suggested in 4.1 and elsewhere, such NP adjuncts as articles, demonstrative pronouns, and modifying (adjectival) nouns regularly agree with the class/case prefixation (and sometimes with the case suffixation) of the nuclear noun.

However, there are a few cases where a generic fauna term, which itself is MSg (and takes MSg articles and demonstrative pronouns), can take a modifying noun in the Ne form. The most common examples involve waɭja *dugong and marine turtles*, the generic term subsuming waligi *dugong*, yunduñuga *green turtle*, and some other turtle spp. (but not freshwater tortoises). Although this is a MSg noun, and takes preceding MSg adjuncts in forms like ɖa-na ɖaŋga-ya-ra waɭja *those dugong and turtles*, a following demonstrative or modifying noun (e.g. an adjective-like noun, or a Genitive pronoun) is in most cases Ne, hence ɖa-na waɭja n-balwayi *the big dugong and turtles* (or predicative *the dugong and turtles are big*), also ɖa-na waɭja

n-biriwu *their* (Du) *dugong and turtles* (*the dugong and turtles are theirs*). Textual examples: Texts 4.2 and 30.4 (as well as several examples from two informants in elicitation sessions).

This irregular 'agreement' rule applies commonly only to *wajja* and a couple of other generic terms: *yija terrestrial game animal* (kangaroos, possums, emus, etc.), *wajañan fish*. I have no examples of this type of agreement involving *rayi bird* but this could be an accidental gap since I did not check agreement with this noun. In the elicitation session with Mack Riley verifying the use of Ne agreement with *wajja*, I also obtained similar examples with the more specific terms *waligi dugong* and *yunduñuga green turtle*, but I did not find such examples with these nouns in spontaneous utterances and I now feel that these elicited examples were produced only because of the artificial eliciting procedure.

Secondly, although place names are ordinarily treated as MSg (hence take MSg article *na-na*), they are occasionally treated as Ne for purposes of agreement, especially when the modifying noun is separated from them by a pause or another constituent. What is really happening here is that the place name is being treated as equivalent to the generic term *n-ña-ṛadbur place, country, camp* which is usually Ne (for my principal informants). For example, in Text 23.9 we find *n-jawuru hers* with Ne prefix *n-*, in a Genitive pronoun agreeing with the MSg place name *ḡulumbiji* in the preceding clause.

4.10. Stem-Internal Changes for Number and Case

The most common stem-internal process to mark grammatical category in noun stems is reduplication. Many, but far from all, human nouns (including adjective-like nouns when applied to human referents) have a reduplication for 3+ plural number. Those stems which have such a reduplication are indicated in dictionary entries, an example being *jawulba* (3+ *jawu-yawulba*) *old person*. In many cases the reduplication is only optional for semantic plurality. The reduplicated form can take Pl class/case prefix (*wul-jawu-yawulba*), but since plurality is already marked in the stem it is possible to use the less marked MSg (or FSg) prefix (*Ø-jawu-yawulba*) while retaining the semantic plural sense.

As noted in 3.2, there are also a few topographic terms like *ḡargu billabong* which can form a multiple (collective) plural by reduplication (*ḡargu-ḡargu* in Text 24.3, cf. *!u!ga-!u!ga islands* in Text 26.3).

In addition to these instances of reduplication, there are some stems which show either suppletion or special suffixes to mark number (3+ plural distinguished from undifferentiated Sg/Du), and in one instance of suppletion there is a further case distinction (Nominative/Oblique) in the Sg/Du form.

Firstly, I have found two stems which have a Sg/Du suffix *-mar* which is missing from the Pl form: *gaṛiyi-mar* *man, person, Aboriginal* (3+ plural *gaṛiyi*), *gamiñ-mar* *girl* (3+ plural *gamiñ*).

The instances of suppletion known to me involve the meanings *small*, *big*, and *other*. For *small* the forms are *ṅgiyu* (usually nonhuman) or *ṅgiyu-ña* (usually human, i.e. *child*) for Sg/Du and *ṇiriri* (less often *ṇiriri-ṇiriri*) for 3+ plural. For *big* the forms are *balwayi* for Sg/Du and *ganuganu* (perhaps a frozen reduplication) for 3+ plural. For *other* the 3+ plural has the single form *wayara*, while for Sg/Du we must distinguish Nominative *gayi* from Oblique *-argul*. All of these are preceded by the usual class/case prefixes.

An interesting feature of these suppletive stems is that the number-opposition is rigorously marked for nonhuman as well as human referents, although other types of number-marking (e.g. class/case prefixes and number-specified articles) normally use 'Sg' forms regardless of semantic number for nonhuman (especially inanimate) referents. Thus *manuga* *stone* never takes Pl prefix *wul-*, and only very rarely takes Du *wur-*, but *small stones* (3+ plural) is always *ṇa-na* *manuga* *ṇiriri* with the plural stem *small ones* (*ṇiriri*).

The forms (other than reduplications) introduced in this section are set out for readers' convenience in Table 4-3.

TABLE 4-3
Nominal Stem-Changes

	Sg/Du	3+ Pl
<i>small</i>	{ <i>ṅgiyu</i> (mainly nonhuman) <i>ṅgiyu-ña</i> (mainly human)	<i>ṇiriri</i>
<i>big</i>	<i>balwayi</i>	<i>ganuganu</i>
<i>other</i>	{ <i>gayi</i> (Nominative) <i>-argul</i> (Oblique)	<i>wayara</i>
<i>man, etc.</i>	<i>gaṛiyi-mar</i>	<i>gaṛiyi</i>
<i>girl</i>	<i>gamiñ-mar</i>	<i>gamiñ</i>

4.11. Case Suffixes

The case suffixes used with noun stems are shown in the accompanying Table (Table 4-4):

TABLE 4-4
Nominal Case Suffixes

category	form
unmarked	-Ø (zero)
Allative/Locative	-y ₂ u (r)
Ablative	{ -y ₁ ani (with most nouns) -y ₁ ana (with place names)
Pergressive	-y ₂ a
Purposive	-ni

The nonzero suffixes are all subject to phonological rules. After a stop or nasal, /y₂/ becomes ñ while /y₁/ becomes j, as explained and exemplified in 3.8. The nasal in the Purposive suffix is deleted after an apical sonorant (l, ɭ, r, etc.) as explained and exemplified in 3.9.

In a broader sense, the 'case system' of Mara is constructed by combining the oppositions shown in this table with the Nominative/Oblique opposition seen in the class/case prefix system (4.7). In particular, what is labelled simply 'unmarked' in Table 4-4 must be divided into Nominative and Ergative/Instrumental (the latter being the suffixless Oblique form; it is also used in genitive sense in certain constructions). The forms with nonzero case suffix automatically take Oblique prefixes, except that the Pergressive requires that prefixes be omitted. We thus have the overall schema shown in Table 4-5.

TABLE 4-5
Nominal Case System

category	class/case prefix	case suffix
Nominative	Nominative	-Ø (zero)
Ergative/Instrumental (including Genitive)	Oblique	-Ø (zero)
Allative/Locative	Oblique	-y ₂ u(r)
Ablative	Oblique	{ -y ₁ ani (most nouns) -y ₁ ana (place names)
Pergressive	zero	-y ₂ a
Purposive	Oblique	-ni

For example, let us take *n-guruṇaran beach* (Neuter class). (The usual citation form is the Nominative.) From this we can form Nominative *n-guruṇaran*, Ergative/Instrumental *ñā-wuruṇaran*, Allative/Locative *ñā-wuruṇara-ñu(r)*, Ablative *ñā-wuruṇaran-jani*, Pergressive *guruṇara-ña*, and Purposive *ñā-wuruṇaran-i*.

Each nominal class (MSg, FSg, Ne, Du, Pl) can form all of these categories, except that the Pergressive is only possible (for semantic reasons) with Ne and MSg terms denoting zones (a flora term like *bambuja stringybark tree* can be used in a zonal sense, e.g. *stringybark forest* if it defines a habitat type, but human nouns and - in general - fauna terms cannot). The omission of class/case prefixes (which has the principal effect of omitting specification of the class of the noun) with this case category, and with no others, can be understood in terms of the sharply reduced set of classes (Ne and MSg) which can occur in this case.

Two case-like suffixes used chiefly with demonstrative pronouns and adverbs are Centripetal *-ñingar* and Noncentripetal *-ñindi*, both specifying direction of motion (*towards here* or *not towards here*). These are not normally used with nouns, but *-ñindi* is sometimes used with place names in the sense *toward* (see 4.19 for details).

In the following sections examples and further discussion for each case category are provided.

4.12. Use of the Nominative

The principal use of the Nominative case is for the intransitive subject or transitive object of a sentence; in other words, the Nominative is coextensive with what is often called 'absolutive' case. The term 'absolutive' is not used in this grammar since several neighbouring languages (e.g. Warndarang, Nunggubuyu, Ngandi) have a category of nominal 'state' which I have called 'absolutive' or 'absolute', and I wish to avoid confusion with this. It should be emphasised, though, that the Nominative in Mara is quite distinct, so far as transitive clauses are concerned, from the nominative (subject) category of English and other nominative-accusative languages.

Simple intransitive and transitive clauses are exemplified by the following:

ṇa-na gaṛiyi-mar wu-ḷini
the man (Nom) 3Sg-went
The man went.

ṇa-na n-gamiñ-mar wu-ḷini
the girl (Nom) 3Sg-went
The girl went.

n-ga-na n-gujan jaḍ+ga-'-najanaja
the sand (Nom) it burned
The sand is burning.

ṇa-'ṛiyi-mar ṛaṇ+g-añi ṇa-na n-gamiñ-mar
man (Erg) 3Sg hit 3Sg the woman (Nom)
The man hit the woman.

ya-'miñ-mar ṛaṇ+g-añi ṇa-na gaṛiyi-mar
girl (Erg) 3Sg hit 3Sg the man (Nom)
The girl hit the man.

ṇa-manuga ṛaṇ+g-añi ṇa-na gaṛiyi-mar
stone (Erg) 3Sg hit 3Sg the man (Nom)
The stone hit the man.

Note that in all cases the Nominative NP is cross-referenced in the verbal pronominal prefix (which for transitive verbs marks both subject and object). Note also that articles (ṇa-na, ṇa-na, n-ga-na) are usually found with Nominative nouns, while the corresponding Oblique articles (which for these three categories would be ṇa-ni, ya-ni, and

ñā-ni) are often omitted (hence the Ergative nouns in the last three examples lack articles, though they could have been added here).

The word-order shown in the examples is fairly typical, but word-order is sufficiently flexible as to be of little use in distinguishing case categories from each other.

As we will see in a later section, the Purposive inflection is sometimes used for a transitive object under certain conditions.

The Nominative is also used in predicate-nominal (including predicate-genitive) constructions, both for the subject and for the predicative noun. Examples are given in 4.4. In the predicate-genitive construction, the predicate is a Genitive pronoun (with or without an accompanying possessor noun, in Ergative/Instrumental case). The Genitive pronoun is itself inflectable for case (e.g. when part of a possessed NP - the attributive rather than predicative Genitive - it agrees with the possessed noun in case, see 4.2), and when used as the predicate it takes Nominative form (i.e. Nominative 'outer' case superimposed on Genitive 'inner' or 'derivational' case - see 4.4 for examples).

The Nominative, as the least marked case category (formally and grammatically) is occasionally used instead of other case categories where the semantic role of a noun is already made clear by the context. A good example involving *ḍuṇal spear* in semantically instrumental function but formally in the zero (Nominative) case is in Text 14.4. However, in such examples (which are not common) there is always the possibility that the Nominative is used simply because the noun in question is 'removed' from the nuclear clause, being added as an afterthought or other loose adjunct, so that its case-marking is not strictly bound to its role within the clause to which it is (loosely) attached. It is much more common to use the Ergative-Instrumental form as the neutralised non-Nominative case (subsuming Ergative, Instrumental, Allative, and Locative functions), as we will now see. See, however, the discussion of case-marking with place names (4.19).

We may also mention that the 'Locative' demonstrative adverbs (7.6) are formally related to Nominative demonstrative pronouns (since Locative is the unmarked case for demonstrative adverbs), and that for personal pronouns the Nominative includes transitive subject as well as its usual range of functions since there is no Ergative form (6.2).

4.13. Use of the Ergative/Instrumental

The Ergative/Instrumental is, of course, used in both Ergative and Instrumental functions; these are easily distinguishable syntactically. The Ergative is used for the subject of a transitive clause - see the transitive examples in 4.12. In this event it is cross-referenced by the subject-marker in the transitive pronominal prefix.

In the Instrumental function this NP is not cross-referenced in the verb. Examples:

ɾag+ŋa-'ñi ŋa-bijabija
 I hit him yamstick (Inst)
 I hit him with a yamstick.

jaŋ+ŋa-najinajini ña-wuŋaru
 I am burning sun (Inst)
 I am burning in (by) the sun.

ña-wunujuuru ŋalgu-wanani
 generosity (Inst) I gave (to) them
 I gave (spears) to them generously (i.e. for no charge).

Note that in the second example ña-wuŋaru is not Ergative since the verb is intransitive. The third example shows the occasional special use of the Instrumental to form a kind of modal adverb (cf. Spanish *con generosidad generously*).

Occasionally the Instrumental (but not the Ergative) is replaced by the Nominative when the semantic instrumental sense is clear in context; see 4.12.

Another use of the Ergative/Instrumental is with nominal possessive constructions. As explained in 4.2, a possessive construction consists of the modified noun (in any case) along with a Genitive pronoun (which, on the 'outer' layer of case-marking, agrees with the modified noun). If the possessor is specified by a noun as well, the Genitive pronoun is usually retained and the noun is added, in Ergative/Instrumental case. Hence *n-ŋa-ɾadbur camp, country* forms *n-ŋa-ɾadbur n-jawuru his camp* with 3Sg Genitive *-jawuru*, and this can be expanded as *ŋa-yawulba n-ŋa-ɾadbur n-jawuru the old man's camp* with MSg Oblique *ŋa-* before *-yawulba (jawulba) old man*. Occasionally the Genitive pronoun is omitted: *ŋa-yawulba n-ŋa-ɾadbur*, but this is not common in careful speech. For further discussion see 4.2 (and, for the formally similar predicate-genitive construction, see 4.4).

The Ergative/Instrumental, as the suffixless (unmarked) Oblique form, is used fairly often instead of Allative/Locative or Purposive case forms (i.e. the Allative/Locative or Purposive suffix can be optionally omitted). Examples: *ṇa-yunduṇuga to/for green turtles* (Text 6.1), *ṇa-jinaḷiri to/for emus* (Text 10.1), *ṇa-manuga along the stone hill* (Text 20.2), *ṇa-mayamaya along the plain* (Text 25.2), etc. Some of these seem to be semantically Pergressive; no semantically Ablative examples have been noted.

4.14. Use of the Allative/Locative

The only syntactic difference between the Allative and Locative senses of the suffix *-y₂u(r)* is that, for place names, this suffix is frequently omitted in the Locative sense but is usually present in the Allative sense. This distinction is not rigorously maintained; see 4.19.

The Allative/Locative with other nouns is a broad category translatable *to X* (direction of motion or other vector), *in/on/at X* (static location at or very near a point in space), or *by/through X* (location, static or motional, in an area or field). In the latter sense the Allative/Locative impinges on the sense of the Pergressive (4.16), and quite often where in another language such as Nunggubuyu the Pergressive might be used we find the Allative/Locative in Mara. Thus both Nunggubuyu and Mara have Allative, Locative, and Pergressive categories (the first two merged in Mara), but in Nunggubuyu the scope of the Pergressive is substantially greater than it is in Mara, and correspondingly the Mara Allative/Locative has greater scope than the combined scope of the Nunggubuyu Allative and Locative.

For example, the Allative/Locative but not Pergressive can be used in Mara with human nouns. Thus *among the men* in Mara is Allative/Locative *wil-aṛiyi-yu(r)*, and there simply is no Pergressive form for this noun which could compete with this construction. Similarly, *in the water* as in *he is sitting in the water* is Allative/Locative *ṇa-qugu-yu(r)* in Mara, but would be Pergressive (*a:-gugu-waj*) in Nunggubuyu. In this example, note that *water* represents the field or region in which the event (here static *sitting*) takes place. Even when motion is implied the Allative/Locative can be used here: *ṇa-qugu-yu(r) through the water* (as in *he was swimming through the water*). However, in this motional sense the Pergressive is also common; here the two case categories do compete.

Other examples of the Allative/Locative:

ña-ṛadbur-yu(r) wa-'-wu|u
camp (All/Loc) he sits
He sits in the camp.

wili-giriya-yu(r) wa-'-wu|u
women (All/Loc) she sits
She sits among the women.

ṇa-jura ṇa-walba-yu(r)
I will go river (All/Loc)
I will go to the river

So far as I can tell, the forms -y₂u and -y₂ur are in free variation and there is no semantic distinction between them.

There are two 'prepositions' (also in one instance used as introducer of subordinated clauses), warṅgu and ɖuɖul, both meaning approximately *all the way to* or *right up to*. The former is more common. Both can be used before Allative/Locative or Nominative nouns, but the sense is always Allative: warṅgu ña-ɖaɖbu-yu *right up to the shore* (Text 5.2), warṅgu wumbuli *all the way to what's-it?* (Text 25.2), ɖuɖul ña-wuruṇara-ñu *all the way to the beach* (Text 15.1, root -guruṇaran), ɖuɖul wumbuli *all the way to what's-it?* (Text 41.20). Since the Nominative examples involve place names, and the syntactically related term wumbuli *what's-it?* (place), the material suggests that with other nouns the Allative/Locative is regular after ɖuɖul and warṅgu.

4.15. Use of the Ablative

With nouns, the Ablative specifies the spatial origin of motion or some other vector. An example:

ṇa-|ini ṇa-walba-yani
I went river (Abl)
I went from the river.

ya-ṇa-jura ya-giriya-yani
I will come woman (Abl)
I will come from the woman.

wa-'-|indu ña-ṛadbur-yani
he is going camp (Abl)
He is going from the camp.

The Allomorph $-y_1ani$ is used with all nouns (including topographic terms like $n-na-radbur$ *camp, country* and $n-gurugaran$ *beach*) except for place names, which use the form $-y_1ana$, as in this example:

$na-!ini$ $nambulwar-yana$
I went Numbulwar (Abl)
I went from Numbulwar.

For remarks on the distribution of $-y_1ani$ and $-y_2ana$ with pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adverbs, and cardinal-direction adverbs (which are all outside the scope of this chapter) see 6.1, 7.2, 7.7 and 7.8.

4.16. Use of the Pergressive

As indicated in 4.14, the Allative/Locative intrudes into the domain of what would be the Pergressive case if the latter had the same broad range of functions that it has in, say, the Nunggubuyu language. In Mara the Pergressive is highly restricted as a case suffix; it cannot occur with human nouns, and is normally used only with body-part and topographic terms (including certain flora terms when used as labels for the vegetation zones which they define). The Pergressive is usually translatable *through* or *along* and implies motion. Examples:

$walba-ya$ $ni-!ini-!ini$
river (Per) he went and went
He kept going along the river.

$bambuja-ya$ $nad+gu-!ini$
stringybark (Per) he ran
He ran through the stringybark.

The noun *balba river* is the only stem which undergoes word-initial lenition in the Pergressive form; this is handled by phonological rule P-6 (Initial Lenition).

Textual examples: *walba-ya along the river* in Text 22.4, *bambuja-ya through the stringybark forest* in Text 23.5, *mayamaya-ya through the plain* and *nargu-nargu-ya through the billabongs* in Text 24.3, and *nanja-ya (water) up to the belly* in Text 41.25. There is one apparently irregular form in the texts showing Oblique prefix: $\tilde{na}-wi!bar-ya$ *up to the throat/neck* (root: $-bi!bar$) in Text 40.19, from the informant Johnnie (who was less reliable on grammatical points than the other informants).

The suffix *-y₁a* also occurs as part of the 'having' construction (Rdp-*X-y₁a* from the stem *X*), see 12.6. The adverb *wirju-ya* *badly* (cf. *wirju* *bad*) may end in the same suffix.

4.17. Use of the Purposive

The most common use of the Purposive is to mark a noun, not cross-referenced in the verb complex (i.e. not the subject or direct object of the verb), which functions as the goal or objective of a purposive activity. An example:

bu+ŋa-|ini ŋa-yija-ni
I set fires game (Purp)
I set fires for game.

This refers to the hunting technique of setting a series of grass- or bush-fires in a large circle in order to trap and stun large game animals (mainly kangaroos). The verb *bu+ŋa-|ini* is intransitive and does not cross-reference *yija* *game*.

However, the Purposive also occurs in other constructions. Occasionally a NP which is cross-referenced by the object-marker in a simple transitive verb complex is put in the Purposive as an optional alternative to the more usual Nominative; this is possible only when the sense of the verb makes the Purposive especially appropriate. One example of this type of Purposive:

yaja+ŋalgu-jujuñi wili-giriya-ni
I searched for them women (Purp)
I searched for the women.

This can also appear with Nominative *wul-giriya* *the women* (or, with article, *wal-a wul-giriya*). The Mara verb here is *yaja*, which is a simple transitive verb (unlike English *to search for*), and the pronominal prefix *ŋalgu-* marks 1Sg subject and 3Pl object, cross-referencing the Purposive NP *women*.

Some verbs which can take Purposive NP's in their 'case frame' but do not cross-reference it in the verb-complex itself are *yagu|* *to be afraid* and *ŋarg* *to conceal*. Examples:

ŋarg+ŋa-|inma|i wili-giriya-ni
I concealed it women (Purp)
I hid it from the women.

yagu|+ŋa-jinji wili-giriya-ni
I am afraid women (Purp)
I am afraid of the women.

The first example includes a transitive verb, the second an intransitive one, but in neither case is *women* marked in the verb.

Another special use of the Purposive is in predications of nonexistence (including absence from a particular area). The following is the typical form of this clause type:

ma|uy ŋa-gumbi-ni
absent meat (Purp)
There is no meat.

Here *ma|uy absent*; *nothing* seems to be the predicate (though it does not agree in class/case prefix with the commodity referred to), so the Purposive NP looks as though it should be considered the syntactic subject of a kind of predicate-nominal construction. However, this clause type is so specialised and stereotyped that it is best not to try to 'make sense' of its exact form; such constructions do not occur in other nearby languages that I am acquainted with.

4.18. Case-Frames for Selected Verbs

The verb *to give* is the inflected verb stem *-wanani* (11.40). The verb itself is a simple transitive (i.e. has a transitive pronominal prefix marking pronominal category of subject and object). The object marked in the verb is the recipient (i.e. the indirect object in English terms); the gift is not cross-referenced in the verb.

In the clause as a whole, the recipient is put in the Nominative; the noun designating the gift is often also Nominative but is occasionally Instrumental:

ŋa-wanani	ŋa-na	gaŋiyi-mar	{	ŋa-na	mama
<i>I gave him the</i>		<i>man (Nom)</i>		<i>the</i>	<i>food (Nom)</i>
				ŋa-mama	
				<i>food (Erg-Inst)</i>	

I gave the man the food.

Textual examples showing Nominative recipient are Texts 18 and 19.1.

The *to give* construction is therefore like other constructions involving transitive verbs, in that the object cross-referenced in the

verb (whether direct object or indirect object in our terms) is in the Nominative case if realised as an independent NP. The principal exceptions are the few instances where the Purposive case is used for a direct object (4.17).

To translate *I told him the story* we normally have to use the verb *ŋa|* to *speak to* along with an Instrumental noun *story*, as in this example:

ŋa|+ŋa-jañi ŋa-na gaŋiyi-mar ŋa-yaway
I spoke to him the man (Nom) story (Erg-Inst)
I told the man the story.

The simple sentence *I told him*, perhaps with an accompanying quotation (which does not function as a NP in the same clause), is translated by a form of -jañi/-niŋuyi (11.25), hence *ŋa-jañi I told him*. Since there are only two NP's in the clause (the speaker and the audience), we do not have to specify the case-marking of a third NP:

'...' ŋa-jañi ŋa-na gaŋiyi-mar
I told him the man
 '...' *I told the man.*

Verbs of hitting with an instrument are generally structured as transitives whose direct (Nominative) object is the object or person hit rather than the instrument. Thus, whereas in English we often say *I threw a stone at him* instead of *I hit him with a stone*, in Mara there is a verb -bawayiŋga|i (11.8) meaning *to hit with thrown object*, taking the affected object as direct object and putting the instrument in the Instrumental:

ŋa-bawayiŋga|i ŋa-na gaŋiyi-mar ŋa-mulwari
I hit him the man (Nom) boomerang (Erg-Inst)
I threw a boomerang at him.

Verbs of perception are simple transitives with the perceiver as subject: -minani/-nayi *to see* (11.34), guwaɖa *to hear*, ŋar *to smell*, -jalani/-yalayi *to taste* (11.22). For example:

wu-naji ŋa-na gaŋiyi-mar ŋa-njalguyi
he saw him the man (Nom) boy (Erg)
The boy saw the man.

In general, there are very few verbs which regularly take inanimate subject and human/animate object (i.e. which are typically 'inverse' in their subject/object relationships), though there are many which do the

reverse. There is no formal restriction on inanimate subjects, however, and a verb like *jalg to jab* can have *stone* or the like as its subject (as in *the stone jabbed me*). One verb which regularly takes an abstract Neuter noun *n-wa|wa| desire, urge* as subject and a human/animate noun as object is *wa| (urge) to strike (someone)*, as in *ña-wa|wa| wa|+ang-añi the urge struck me* (i.e. *I had an urge*).

It is not possible to tell whether mental activities like *to think* are structured as having the perceiver as subject (*I thought*) or as some kind of object (*it appeared to me, it struck me*), since the *to think that* construction is usually expressed by a particle *mandura thinking...* and thus does not have any case-frame in the usual sense. There is, however, another verb *waɖara to think about (something), to remember (something)* which forms simple transitives with the thinker as subject:

waɖara+wu-ganji ña-na gaɖiyi-mar ña-njalguyi
he thought about him the man (Nom) boy (Erg)
The boy thought about the man.

The verb *yagu| to be afraid* can, with the intransitive Aux *-jinji/-yinjiyi*, take a Purposive object for the object of reference:

yagu|+u-jinji ña-na gaɖiyi-mar ña-njalguyi-ni
he was afraid the man (Nom) boy (Purp)
The man was afraid of the boy.

The verbs *to be afraid (of)* and *to be hostile (to)*, *to dislike* are often syntactically parallel in languages in this area. However, in Mara they are not. To make *to be hostile* (intransitive) into a transitive verb, one does not simply add a Purposive noun, rather one replaces the intransitive Aux by a transitive one and thus makes the object of reference the syntactic direct object:

mirg+u-jujuñi ña-na gaɖiyi-mar ña-njalguyi
he disliked him the man (Nom) boy (Erg)
The boy disliked/was jealous of the man.

To drink is *gu|*, formally intransitive and taking a subject (the drinker) in Nominative case. If the drink is also specified, it shows up in Nominative case also, but is not cross-referenced:

gu|+u-jinji ña-na gaɖiyi-mar ña-na ngu
he drank the man (Nom) the water (Nom)
The man drank the water.

4.19. Place Names; Suffixes -ñindi and -ñingar

Place names have certain morphological peculiarities which set them off from ordinary nouns (including topographic terms like *n-ŋa-ṛadbur country*).

To begin with, place names ordinarily do not take class/case prefixes. In the Nominative we could account for this by assigning these nouns to the MSg class, which has zero (Ø-) Nominative prefix. However, whereas MSg nouns in the Oblique cases (e.g. Allative/Locative) take a nonzero class/case prefix *ŋa-* (while other classes such as Neuter and FSg take different nonzero prefixes), for place names we normally get no prefix even in this situation: contrast *ŋa-walba-yu(r)* *to/at the river (balba)* with place name *ṇumbulwar-yu(r)* *to Numbulwar*.

A second peculiarity is that place names take Ablative allomorph *-y₁ana* (*ṇumbulwar-yana from Numbulwar*) while ordinary nouns take *-y₁ani* (*ŋa-walba-yani from the river*). The only other stems which take the allomorph *-y₁ana* are cardinal-direction adverbs (see 7.8) and *wumbuli what's-it? (place)*.

Thirdly, whereas for most nouns Allative/Locative *-y₂u(r)* can be either allative or locative, for place names this suffix is normally allative, and zero suffix (Nominative) is used in the locative sense. Thus *ṇumbulwar-yu(r)* means *to (toward) Numbulwar*, while *ṇumbulwar* by itself usually means *in/at Numbulwar* (it can also function as true Nominative - as subject of intransitive clauses or object of transitives). An example of this:

ṇir-anji ṇumbulwar
we sat Numbulwar (Nom)
We stayed at Numbulwar.

Less often, the Nominative is used in semantically allative function:

ṇiwi-ḷini ṇumbulwar
we went
We went to Numbulwar.

In the latter example, Allative/Locative *ṇumbulwar-yu(r)* is common as an alternative to the Nominative. Moreover, if a demonstrative adverb is also added (as is very often the case) we will get an Allative or other motion-imploding adverb like *ga-ya-ñindi that way, in that direction* with a semantically allative place name regardless of its surface case-marking.

Another feature of place names is that the Noncentripetal suffix *-ñindi*, otherwise used only with demonstratives, can be added in the sense *toward*, hence *biḷḷḡara-ñindi toward biḷḷḡara (place name)* in Text 22.5. In texts and spontaneous utterances, informants did not use *-ñindi* with nouns other than place names. A suffix *-ñingar* *from... to here* was elicited in one instance: *ya-'-ḷini wuyagiba-ñingar he came from (the place) wuyagiba*. This did not occur in texts and seems very rare. Both *-ñindi* and *-ñingar* are used chiefly with demonstrative stems (7.4).

Although many place names, like *ḡumbulwaḡ*, are unanalysable (unsegmentable), there are a suspiciously large number of place names - especially those designating places in true Mara or Warndarang country - which begin in *ḡa-*. Most of these, like *ḡawarwar Mt Moore* are quite frozen, and the *ḡa-* syllable is used in all forms, so this syllable cannot be identified synchronically with the MSg Oblique prefix *ḡa-*. In *ḡabiḡiwiḡi* (place name), there is a suspicious similarity to *biḡiwiḡi* (tree sp., *Canarium australianum*), a species which happens to be very abundant there; but as a place name the form is always *ḡabiḡiwiḡi* and cannot be shortened to *biḡiwiḡi*.

However, there is one case known to me where the *ḡa-* is omitted in the (true) Nominative, but is used in the Oblique forms (including the suffixless form used as a semantic locative). This example is *wiliyuru* (*mouth of*) *Limmen Bight River*, a very important area for the Mara-speaking buḡal semimoiety group (e.g. the 'Rileys'). This takes the form *ḡa-wiliyuru* in Oblique cases (*ḡa-wiliyuru at wiliyuru; ḡa-wiliyuru-ḡana from wiliyuru*, etc.). Both occur in Text 35.2-3.

Since *ḡa-wiliyuru at wiliyuru* shows the Oblique prefix in this instance, it is clear that the semantically locative form of this stem (and, by extension, of other place names) is to be formally identified with the Ergative/Instrumental form (Oblique prefix plus zero suffix) of ordinary nouns, rather than with the Nominative (Nominative prefix plus zero suffix), although for place names other than *wiliyuru* the two are not formally distinguishable.

Some place names are analysable as verbal sentences. For example, a place called *miḡijawawuḷu* in Mara country is interpretable as *miḡija wa-'-wuḷu (a bunch of) miḡija trees (Cathormion umbellatum) sit*. These expressions are frozen; one cannot expand such a form as **ḡana-miḡijawawuḷu* with prenominal article *ḡa-na*, for example, although as a genuine predication it is perfectly possible to say *ḡa-na miḡija wa-'-wuḷu*.

Such analysable place names, naturally enough, describe some notable feature (usually a flora-fauna species, a type of rock, etc.) associated with the place in question.

Such place names can take case suffixes like other place names: *miñijawawu!u-yana from miñijawawu!u.*

4.20. Personal Names

There are no special morphological idiosyncracies of personal names. They take class/case prefixes, case suffixes, and so forth exactly as do ordinary MSg or FSg nouns. For example, from *mañuji* (the Aboriginal name of Mack Riley), we get Nominative *mañuji*, Ergative *ña-mañuji*, Ablative *ña-mañuji-yani*, etc.

Personal names are typically recycled in alternate generations within patrilineal clans. A man normally receives the name formerly held by a deceased man in his clan two generations earlier (i.e. by a man whom he would have called *muři-đi* FF, FFB). A woman usually gets her name from a female ancestor in the same position (*n-muři-đi* FFZ).

The names are generally taken from the large number of songwords, referring to totemic beings, which form part of the major song cycles, especially in the *mañđiwa* (circumcision) and *!urgun* (mortuary) rituals since songwords for these two rituals are not secret and may be sung or spoken in the presence of or by women and children. If there is a shortage of FF's and FFZ's (e.g. after a sudden population explosion), names can be taken directly from the song cycles even if they were not held by appropriate ancestors.

Names are bestowed by adults in the same clan, typically by a F, FB, or FZ of the child.

Individual dogs (who, like humans, are assigned to semimoieties) are sometimes but not always given personal names, usually taken directly from the songs (rather than being passed on from a canine or human ancestor).

Although a person is associated with a particular totem by virtue of bearing a name referring to it, so far as I know there are no special eating taboos or other behaviour patterns relating to that species imposed on the person.

Part of the behavioral complexes involving avoidance or semi-avoidance relationships are restrictions on uttering the name of particular relatives, even in their absence. These restrictions apply mainly to men, weakly if at all to women. A man is not supposed to pronounce the (Aboriginal) name of any classificatory wife's mother

(n-ŋa-narja|aŋa). Other relatives which he ought not to pronounce the names of, in descending order of the severity of the restrictions, are: wife's mother's brother (muluŋi), wife's father (|ambara), and sister (n-baba or n-ŋa-niri|a). Although a man shows this type of respect to his (actual) wife's father, in this event the restrictions are unilateral rather than mutual, and the wife's father can refer to or even directly address him. Restrictions between n-ŋa-narja|aŋa or muluŋi and a man involve mutual avoidance, and apply (in principle) to all relationships where these kin terms are used.

These taboos are typically adhered to carefully during a man's life from mid-childhood through early adulthood, but may eventually be relaxed.

4.21. Vocatives

The vocative form of a noun, used in addressing or attracting the attention of the referent of the term, is the simple stem without case suffixes and without class/case prefixes. Thus from Nominative n-giriya *woman* we get vocative giriya! (*woman!*). Occasionally FSg n- is retained: n-giriya!.

A variety of nouns can be used in vocatives. Kin terms are fairly common in this use, and indeed they are the only nouns which have special vocative stem-forms (5.3). Personal names can also be used (except for avoidance relations). However, the most common nominal vocatives in 'unmarked' situational contexts (i.e. when the speaker and the addressee are the only persons in the vicinity, so that the addressee realises that a vocative uttered by the speaker is likely to be directed at the former) are nouns designating age-grade, sex, and so forth. Among the nouns most common in this use are: wagur! (*child!*) from stem -agur (see 3.16), njalguyi! (*boy!*), gamiñ-mar! (*girl!*), and so forth for higher age-grades. My informant, Mack Riley, habitually addressed his wife as ŋaru!, using the noun n-ŋaru which designates a woman one of whose children has died. According to Mack, she addressed him as walday!, using the corresponding term for the father of a dead child. (The child in question, a son, had died more than a decade earlier.)

Vocatives are usually a type of interjection and those ending in a or u may add a final y (3.33), hence ŋaruy! and so forth.

4.22. Quantifiers

The basic numerals are these:

wangij or wangiñ	<i>one</i>
wuruja	<i>two</i>
wuruja-gayi	<i>three (two-other)</i>
wuruja wuruja	<i>four (two two)</i>
mani n-murji	<i>five (like hand)</i>

The numeral wangij or wangiñ is often followed by bugi *only*, hence wangij bugi *one*. The bugi is so common in this combination that it is often misleading to translate it at all here.

The numeral wuruja *two* is found in the expressions for *three* and *four* as well. In the case of wuruja-gayi we have a partly frozen construction including gayi *other*. Whereas gayi is ordinarily used only in the Nominative and replaced by -argul in Oblique forms, in the case of wuruja-gayi there is usually no such suppletion; the usual MSg Oblique form is ña-wuruja-gayi (not *ña-wuruja ña-'rgul).

On the other hand, in my data the expression wuruja wuruja *four* is the juxtaposition of two independent words. For example, I have an Allative/Locative form ña-wuruja-yur ña-wuruja-yur.

The form mani n-murji *five* does not receive class/case prefixes or case suffixes.

Above the number *five*, numerals are expressed simply by combinations like *five four* for *nine* and *five five* (mani n-murji mani n-murji) for *ten*.

Some other quantifiers include jaṛi *many*, ɖaṇulirña *big group*, mijimbaṇu *many*, gaṛñirimba *big crowd (human)*, and murgu *few, several*.

CHAPTER FIVE

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

5.1. General

The Mara have a semimoiety system consisting of four patrilineal groupings: buḍal, guyal, muruṇun, mambali. The first two correspond to the Nunggubuyu yirija patrimoiety, while the latter two correspond to the Nunggubuyu manta:yun (which is called ḡuwa in the Yuulngu languages of northeast Arnhem Land). Although the buḍal and guyal on the one hand, and the muruṇun and mambali on the other, are loosely grouped together for certain ritual purposes (the first two are the joint owners of the yabuduruwa ritual, while the latter two jointly own the gunabibi ritual), the Mara do not have terms for these patrimoieties.¹

A man or woman belongs to the semimoiety of his/her father (and father's father). Descent is thus directly patrilineal.²

Each semimoiety is a geographically widespread constellation of smaller land-owning groups, which can perhaps be called 'clans', each of which is directly responsible for a particular group of 'countries' (i.e. for an estate). However, in a more generalised sense a man of the buḍal semimoiety (for example) considers himself the owner (boss) of all the estates owned by clans in his own semimoiety, even those in other nearby language groups.

The owner/manager dichotomy is operative among the Mara. That is, a man is the owner (boss) of the countries and rituals of his own semimoiety (especially those of his own clan), but also has important ritual and political functions towards his mother's semimoiety and clan. He is referred to in the anthropological literature as the 'manager' (custodian) of this clan. The Mara word for this is juṅgayi. The owners and managers of a given ritual must cooperate in elaborately worked-out ways in order to permit satisfactory ritual performances; a clan cannot perform its own most important rituals without the

assistance of its managers. The managers, rather than owners, are the ones who have the final responsibility for insuring the correct performance of these rituals, and it is they who punish transgressions against ritual laws.

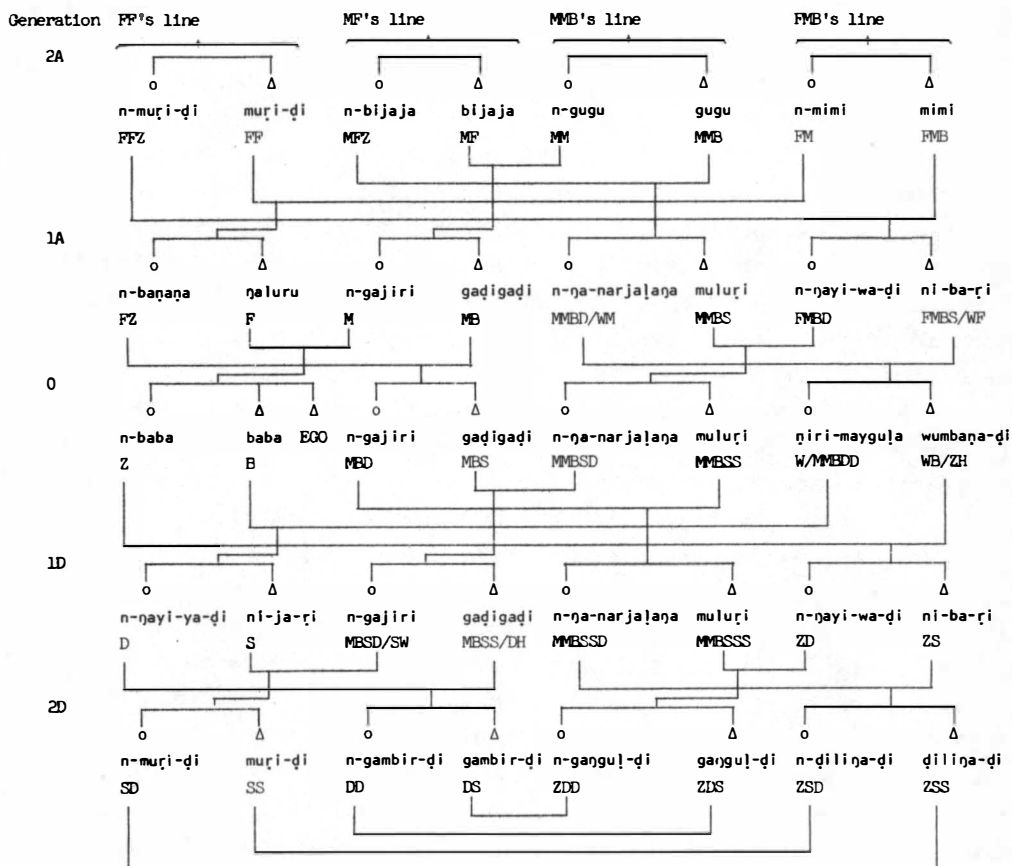
The kinship system and the marriage rules are basically of the Aranda type. Suppose we combine the buḍal and guyal semimoieties into (unnamed) patrilineal moiety A, and muruṇun and mambali into moiety B. The preferred marriage is then as follows: a man in moiety A must choose his wife from moiety B; furthermore, if his father took a wife from the muruṇun (one division of moiety B), he preferably takes his wife from the mambali (the other division of moiety B). Correspondingly, a man in moiety B chooses his wife from moiety A (specifically, from the semimoieties in A other than the one his father took his wife from). Thus buḍal both takes and receives women from muruṇun and mambali (in the opposite moiety), but does not exchange women with guyal, who are the other semimoieties within their own moiety. The effect of this rule is to prefer marriage with the MMBDD or an equivalent kin-type.

Usually in Aranda-type systems there are four 'lines of descent' (i.e. the patrilineal descendants of the father's father, the mother's father, the mother's mother's brother, and the father's mother's brother). As it turns out, in the Mara system there is an additional division in part of what would, in most other Aranda systems, be a single line (that of the mother's father). This is because MBC is terminologically distinguished from FZC, and this opposition can in principle be extended downward to subsequent generations (so that MBSC is distinguished from FZSC, etc.). In most Aranda systems, including that of the Nunggubuyu to the north, MBC and FZC are not distinguished and they (as well as their descendants) form part of a single line (that of the mother's father).

An oversimplified diagram, omitting the special terms for FZC and patrilineal descendants thereof, and also omitting some special senior/junior terminological contrasts, is presented as Figure 5-1. The terms shown are first person referential forms (e.g. 'my father', rather than 'your father' or 'his father'). EGO is male (we will discuss the situation for female EGO later).

One thing that can be easily seen from Figure 5-1 is that there are no terminological equations crossing the boundaries among the four patrilineal lines. None of the terms in the FF's line (n-muṛi-ḍi, muṛi-ḍi, n-baṇaṇa, ṇaluru, n-baba, baba, n-ṇayi-ya-ḍi, ni-ja-ṛi) occurs in any of the other three patrilineal lines, and so forth.

FIGURE 5-1
Mara Kin Terms (oversimplified)



Secondly, there are some equations within a patriline crossing generations. In FF's line the only equations are in the 2A (grandfather's) and 2D (grandchild's) generations, which are not distinguished terminologically. The FMB's line merges the 1A terms with the 1D terms. Notice that these mergers involve alternate generations separated from each other by one or three other generations (2A and 2D are separated by 1A, 0, 1D, while 1A and 1D are separated by 0).

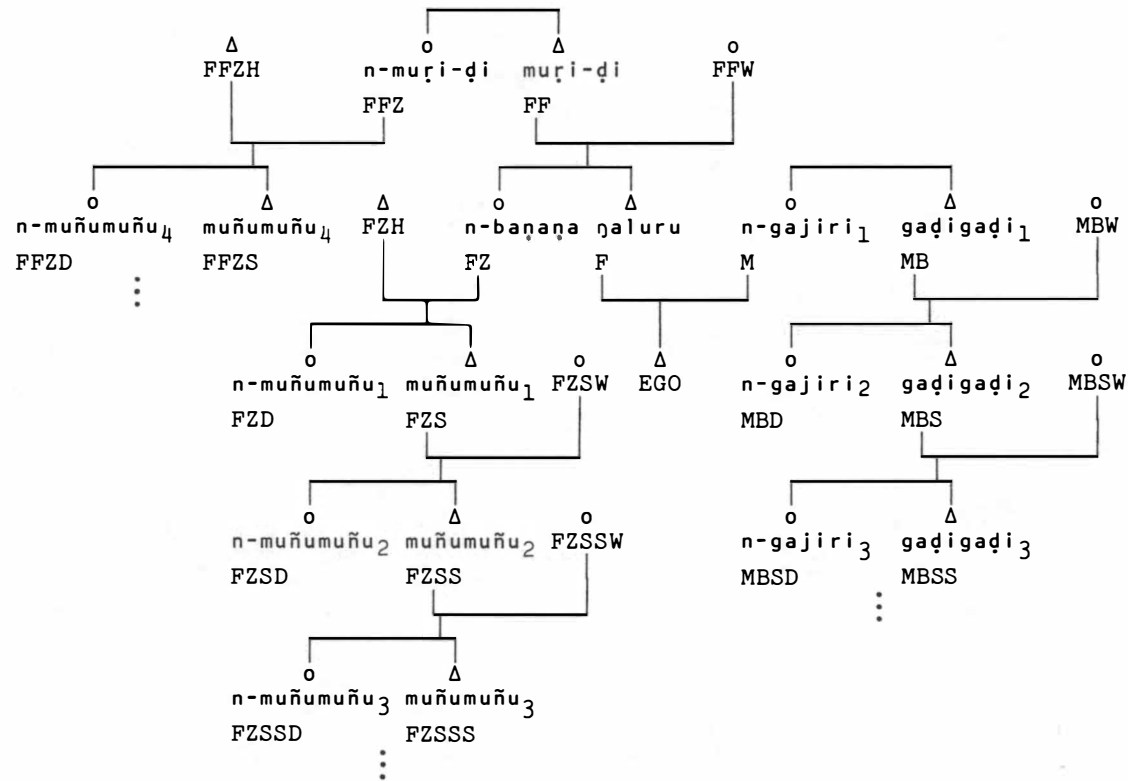
The other mergers, in the MF's and MMB's lines, differ in that they involve three adjacent generations (1A, 0, 1D). Thus *n-gajiri* 'M' and *gaḍigaḍi* 'MB' are also applied to their agnatic descendants in the next two generations down. The same is true of the avoidance relations *n-ṇa-narjaḷaṇa* 'MMBD' and *muluṛi* 'MMBS'.

There are also, of course, many mergers involving male vs. female relatives in the same generation and same line. These are then distinguished (at least for those kin terms which are not really dyadic nominals, see below) only by the class/case prefixes. In the figure the prefixes shown are FSg Nominative *n-* and MSg Nominative zero (\emptyset -), hence *n-gugu* 'MM' vs. *gugu* 'MMB'. These can also be preceded by articles: *ṇa-na n-gugu*, *ṇa-na gugu* (see 4.5).

One feature of such diagrams is that many points in them can be reached by several different genealogical tracks. Thus *ṇiri-mayguḷa*, which is glossed 'W/MMBDD' in the diagram, can actually be treated as MMBDD, FMBSD, FFZSD, or MFZDD using different 2A linking relatives (and if we use descending linking relatives there are other possibilities as well). This works all right as long as these different kin-types are in fact merged terminologically, as is the case in most of the categories shown in the figure. However, in MF's line this does not work, since the diagram shows *n-gajiri* and *gaḍigaḍi* for both MB's children and FZ's children (since MB is shown as being the husband of FZ). In fact, actual MB is not usually the husband of FZ, and their children are terminologically distinguished, as shown in Figure 5-2.

Here we can see that MB (*gaḍigaḍi*₁) inaugurates a partial patriline, the members of which are called *n-gajiri* (female) or *gaḍigaḍi* (male). This line extends downward at least three generations (to *n-gajiri*₃ and *gaḍigaḍi*₃). In the fourth generation, it is possible to get *n-gajiri*₄ and *gaḍigaḍi*₄, but (as can be seen in Figure 5-1, 2D generation) these kin-types are often not only MBSSC but also DC, and in the latter case at least the terms *n-gambir-ḍi* and *gambir-ḍi* are used in preference to *n-gajiri*₄ and *gaḍigaḍi*₄. If these relatives

FIGURE 5-2
MB's and FZ's Descendents



cannot be traced through EGO's D, but are traced through EGO's MB, the terms *n-gajiri*₄ and *gaḍigaḍi*₄ are perfectly appropriate, and in theory we could extend further downward to *n-gajiri*₅ and *gaḍigaḍi*₅ and so forth (however, the genealogical track would be so remote by this point that some other kin term is certain to be used).

Although the simplified Figure 5-1 shows FZ as the wife of MB, and hence FZ's children as the same as MB's children, the more accurate Figure 5-2 shows that FZ is usually not MB's actual W but is instead the W of someone else, labelled here simply FZH. The children of FZ (*n-baṇaṇa*) are called *n-muñumuñu*₁ if female and *muñumuñu*₁ if male. Moreover, the patrilineal descendants of *muñumuñu*₁ down at least to the 2D generation are also called by these terms (*n-muñumuñu*₂, *muñumuñu*₂, *n-muñumuñu*₃, *muñumuñu*₃ in Figure 5-2), and this cross-generational merging can in principle be extended further provided the relationship is traced through EGO's FZ (though below the 2D generation there are likely to be other, shorter genealogical (or affinal) tracks and hence other terms will probably be applied).

Moreover, EGO can apply the terms *n-muñumuñu* and *muñumuñu* to his FFZ's patrilineal descendants (*n-muñumuñu*₄ and *muñumuñu*₄ in Figure 5-2), to his FFFZ's descendants (not shown), and so forth.³ That is, the full definition of these terms (aside from lateral 'extensions' to more remote relatives) is (F(F(F...)))FZ(S(S(S...)C. In effect, then, if A calls B *muñumuñu*₁ (actual FZS) and B's sister *n-muñumuñu*₁ (actual FZD), then A can call any of B's patrilineal descendants *n-muñumuñu* or *muñumuñu*, and moreover these descendants of B are called by these same terms by EGO's own patrilineal descendants (until the point is reached where other, competing terms become applicable). Thus the linking relative (FZ) can be extended upwards (to FFZ, FFFZ, etc.) while the *n-muñumuñu* and *muñumuñu* terms themselves can be extended downwards (to *n-muñumuñu*₃ and *muñumuñu*₃, etc.).

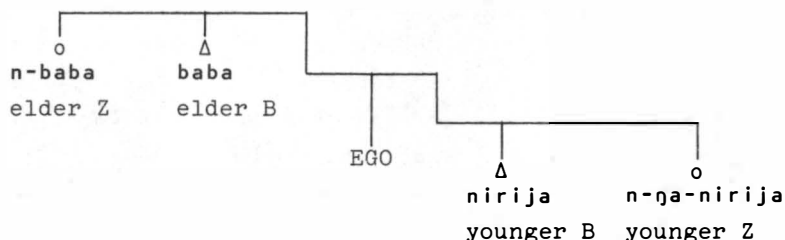
It can be seen from Figure 5-2 in conjunction with Figure 5-1 that the reciprocal of *gaḍigaḍi*₁ (MB) is *n-ṇayi-wa-ḍi* (ZD) if female and *ni-ba-ṛi* (ZS) if male, but that the reciprocal of *gaḍigaḍi*₂, *gaḍigaḍi*₃, etc. is *n-muñumuñu* if female and *muñumuñu* if male. Specifically, in Figure 5-2 the relationship between *gaḍigaḍi*₃ (MBSS) and EGO is exactly the same as the relationship between EGO and *muñumuñu*₄ (FFZS).

If EGO's actual FZ is the W of EGO's actual MB, then there is the problem of deciding whether to call the children of this couple *n-gajiri* and *gaḍigaḍi* or *n-muñumuñu* and *muñumuñu*. I know of no instances of this situation, and the informant was unclear about how the terms would be applied in this case.

Another difficulty with Figure 5-1 is that it does not show some important senior/junior terminological contrasts in certain positions. These oppositions occur in the following categories: sibling (B, Z), F (including FB), M (including MZ), spouse (W, H), and spouse's opposite-sex sibling (WB, HZ). Moreover, the terms for female EGO differ in some respects from those shown in Figure 5-1 for male EGO.

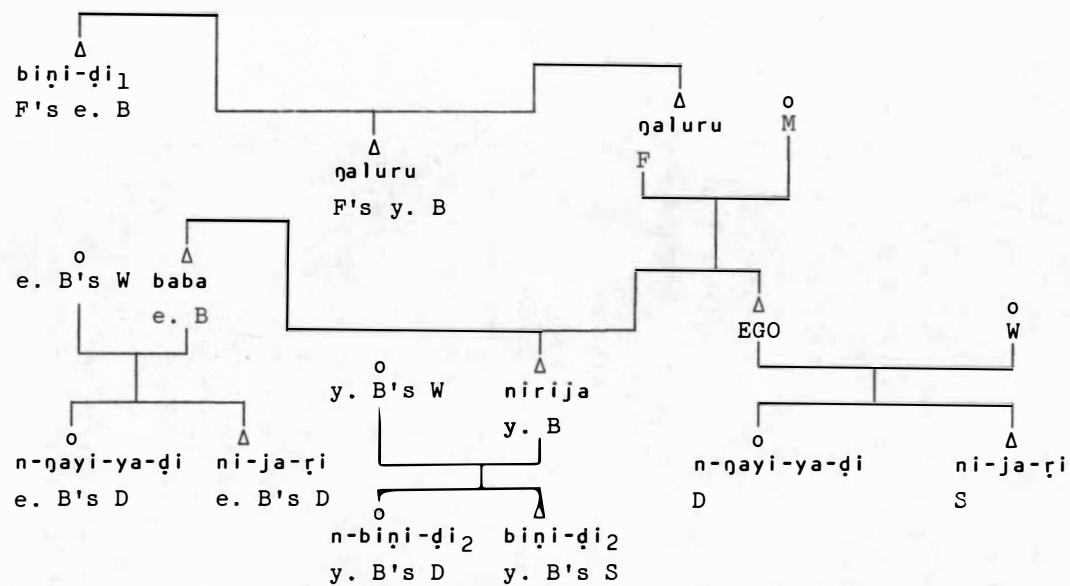
For sibling, the terms shown in Figure 5-1 (n-baba for Z, baba for B) in fact designate elder siblings only. The full set of terms (for male or female EGO) is shown in Figure 5-3.

FIGURE 5-3
Sibling Terms



Normally in Aranda-type kinship diagrams like Figure 5-1, a same-sex sibling merger rule operates so that FB is merged terminologically with F and MZ with M. In Mara, this applies only to F's younger B and M's younger Z. There are special terms for F's elder B and M's elder Z. These special terms are also self-reciprocal, so that F's elder B is terminologically merged with (male EGO's) younger B's children, and M's elder Z is called by the same term as (female EGO's) younger Z's children. Consider Figure 5-4.

FIGURE 5-4
Use of biñi-đi, n-biñi-đi



As can be seen in the figure, EGO applies the term *biŋi-ɖi₁* in the 1A generation to his F's elder B, but calls F's younger B by the same term used for F (*ŋaluru*). The Z's of F, whether older or younger than F, are called *n-baŋaŋa*, so there is no-one called **n-biŋi-ɖi₁* (female of *biŋi-ɖi₁*) in this generation. In EGO's own generation, he distinguishes his elder B *baba* from his younger B *niriŋa*. This distinction is also carried over into the 1D generation, where the children of *baba* are called by the same terms which EGO applies to his own children (*n-ŋayi-ya-ɖi*, *ni-ja-ɾi*), while the children of *niriŋa* are called *n-biŋi-ɖi₂* and *biŋi-ɖi₂* (note that these children call EGO *biŋi-ɖi₁*). EGO calls his elder Z *n-baba* and his younger Z *n-ŋa-niriŋa* but does not distinguish their children (*n-ŋayi-wa-ɖi* 'ZD' and *ni-ba-ɾi* 'ZS' are used regardless of whether Z is older or younger than EGO).

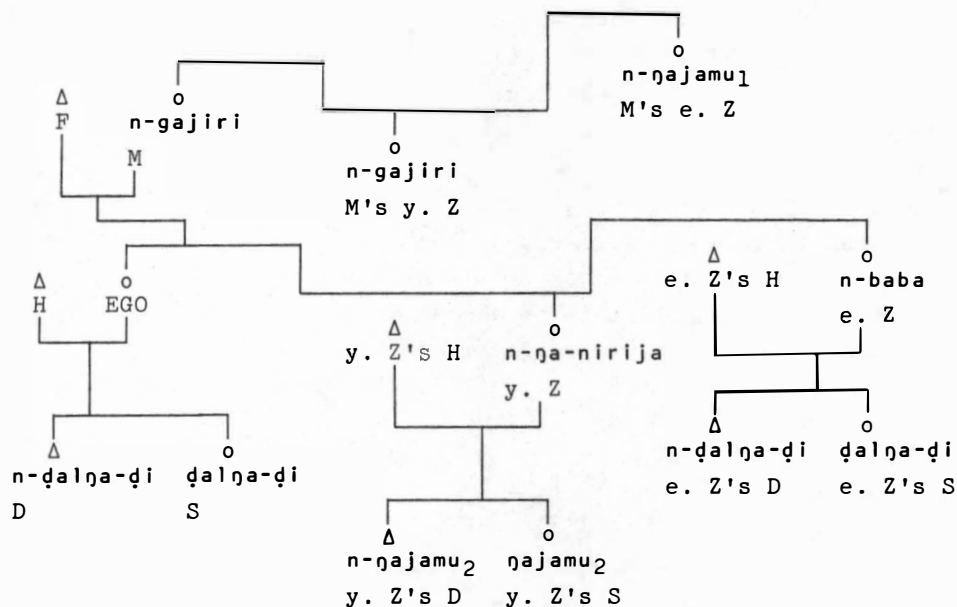
If EGO in Figure 5-4 were female, she would use the term *biŋi-ɖi₁* as shown, but cannot use the terms *n-biŋi-ɖi₂* or *biŋi-ɖi₂* in the 1A generation; instead, she uses *n-ŋayi-ya-ɖi* and *ni-ja-ɾi* for the children of all of her brothers.

As linking relative, *biŋi-ɖi₁* is not distinguished from *ŋaluru* (so that, for example, the children of *biŋi-ɖi₁* and *ŋaluru* are both called by 'sibling' terms by EGO). Similarly, *n-biŋi-ɖi₂* and *biŋi-ɖi₂* are treated like EGO's own children as linking relatives, so that for example the children of *biŋi-ɖi₂* and of *ni-ja-ɾi* 'S' are both called *n-muɾi-ɖi* 'SD' and *muɾi-ɖi* 'SS'. In other words, the terms *n-biŋi-ɖi* and *biŋi-ɖi* are 'localised' terminological subdistinctions which do not ramify outward into the kinship chart as a whole.

The situation in M's line and generation is parallel to that in the F's line and generation, with sexes reversed. As is seen in Figure 5-5, there is a distinction between *n-gajiri* (M, M's younger Z) and *n-ŋajamu* (M's elder Z). A less common synonym for *n-ŋajamu* is *n-gaɖigaɖi*, which is simply the female form of *gaɖigaɖi* (MB). Just as there is no senior/junior opposition within the FZ category, there is only a single term for MB (*gaɖigaɖi*). In other words, in the 1A generation the only Senior/junior oppositions involve linking relatives (M, F) of the same sex as the referent of the kin term (MZ, FB).

As in the case of *n-biŋi-ɖi* and *biŋi-ɖi* (Figure 5-4), *n-ŋajamu₂* and *ŋajamu₂* are used in the 1D generation as the reciprocals of *ŋajamu₁* in the 1A generation. Thus *n-ŋajamu₂* and *ŋajamu₂* are terms used only by female EGO, while *n-ŋajamu₁* is used by male or female EGO but is applied only to a female referent.

FIGURE 5-5
Use of *najamu*, *n-najamu*



As linking relative, *n-najamu₁* is not distinguished from *n-gajiri* (in 1A generation), and *n-najamu₂* and *najamu₂* are not distinguished from *n-ḡalḡa-ḡi* (D of female EGO) and *ḡalḡa-ḡi* (S of female EGO), respectively.

These terms (*n-ḡalḡa-ḡi*, *ḡalḡa-ḡi*) are not mentioned in Figure 5-1, which presupposed male EGO. In other words, if Figure 5-1 were revised for female EGO, *n-ḡalḡa-ḡi* and *ḡalḡa-ḡi* (or, under the conditions specified in Figure 5-5, the terms *n-najamu₂* and *najamu₂*) should replace *n-ḡayi-wa-ḡi* 'ZD' and *ni-ba-ḡi* 'ZS' in the fourth column (FMB's line). This applies to *n-ḡayi-wa-ḡi* and *ni-ba-ḡi* in both the 1D generation and the 1A generation (in the latter situation they are glossed 'FMBD' and 'FMBS' in Figure 5-1). As linking relatives, however, *n-ḡalḡa-ḡi* (and *n-najamu₂*) is treated like *n-ḡayi-wa-ḡi* while *ḡalḡa-ḡi* (and *najamu₂*) is treated like *ni-ba-ḡi* (i.e. the opposition between male and female EGO is not ramified further). Thus *n-ḡiliḡa-ḡi* (ZSD for male EGO) at the bottom right in Figure 5-1 is also the term

applied by female EGO to her SD (or her ZSD), even though male EGO traces this genealogical path through his ni-ba-ṛi (ZS) while female EGO traces it through her ḍalṇa-ḍi (female's S, or ZS).

The final revision to Figure 5-1 involves the 0 generation in the FMB's line (i.e. W, H, and spouse's siblings). First of all, we would note that these terms, like the others, are classificatory terms applicable to a wide range of kin types - they are not explicitly affinal terms. There is no terminological distinction between 'W' and (male EGO's) 'MMBDD', for example. Thus glosses like 'W' or 'WB' are oversimplified.

The actual inventory of terms in these categories is much more complicated than is shown in Figure 5-1. Not only are there important distinctions between female and male EGO (only the latter being represented in Figure 5-1), but there are also some senior/junior distinctions, involving either the relative age of EGO and the referent of the term, or of the linking relative and the referent of the term).

Figure 5-6 shows the situation for male EGO, while Figure 5-7 shows that for female EGO.

EGO applies the term ṇiri-mayguḷa to his own W, to his elder B's W (and to the sisters of these wives). He applies the term ṇiri-miyangayi only to the W (or WZ) of a man he calls nirija (younger B). In this case the relative age of EGO and the linking relative (y. B) is decisive in determining the choice of terms; the relative age of EGO and the (female) referent of the term is not important. (By 'W' in these remarks we include prospective wives, who are bestowed on their future husband at an early age by a brief ceremony.)

There are two terms applied to WB, BWB, ZH, ZHB, and so forth (only some of which are shown in the figure). In this case (male EGO, male referent) the choice of terms is based on the actual relative age of EGO and the referent; the age of the linking relatives is not considered. The term wumbaṇa-ḍi is applied to someone in this category who is older than EGO, while mimi-ḍi is applied to someone in the same category who is younger than EGO.

Because, in traditional Aboriginal society in this area, men married quite late (e.g. at age thirty) and women quite early (e.g. at age sixteen), a man was usually older than his W (and hence older than most of his WB's), but younger than his ZH (even if his Z was a few years younger than EGO). Therefore, wumbaṇa-ḍi was more likely to be applied to actual ZH, while mimi-ḍi was more likely to be applied to actual WB. Nevertheless, the actual age of EGO vis-à-vis the referent was the decisive factor.

Wife, etc. (male EGO)

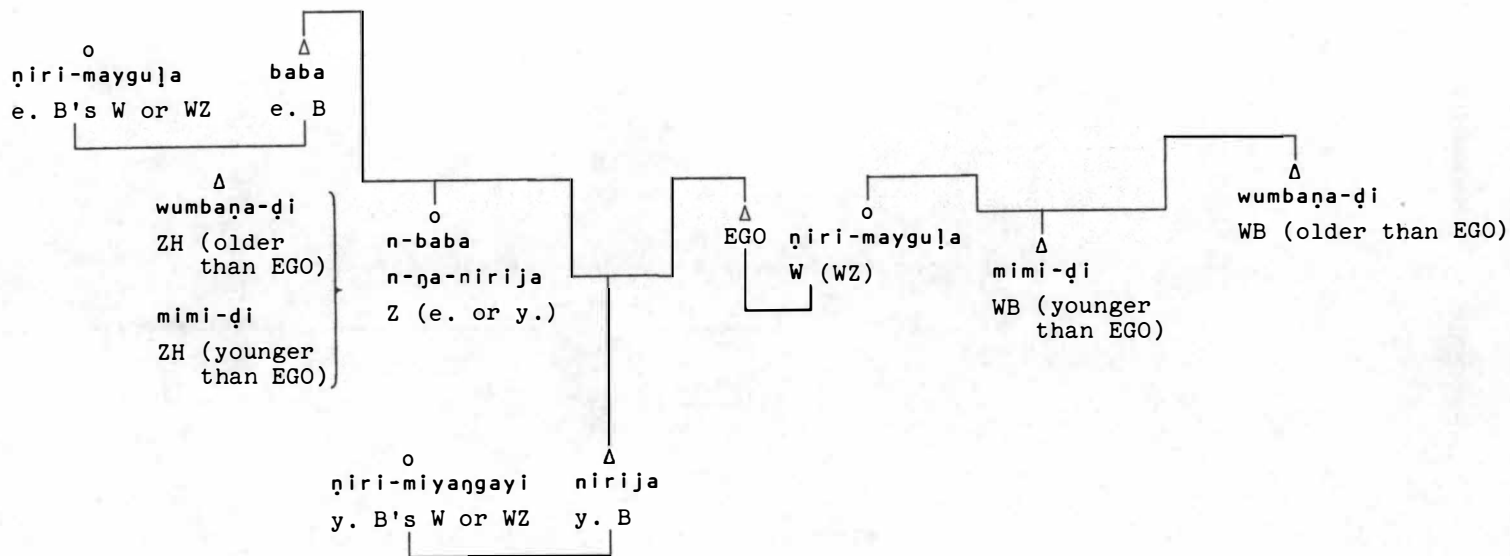
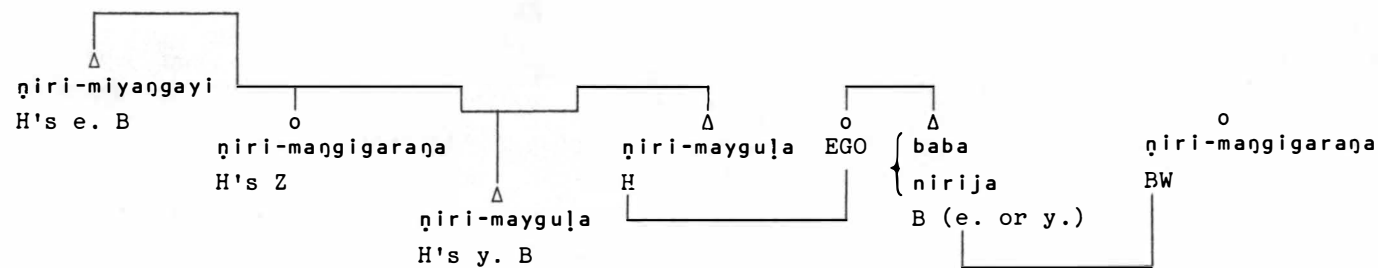


FIGURE 5-7
Husband, etc. (female EGO)



From Figure 5-7 we can see that female EGO has only a single term for HZ or BW (*ṇiri-mangigaraṇa*), regardless of the ages of EGO, the referent, and the linking relative. Note that only female EGO has relatives called *ṇiri-mangigaraṇa*, while only male EGO has relatives called *wumbaṇa-ḍi* and *mimi-ḍi*.

Female EGO refers to her H as *ṇiri-mayguḷa*, which is the same term he refers to her by (but, as we will see in later sections, 'H' and 'W' terms are distinguishable in some forms other than the first person referential forms). The same term is applied by female EGO to her H's younger B, but a different term (*ṇiri-miyangayi*) is applied to H's elder B. This term for H's elder B is also a self-reciprocal, so that if female EGO applies it to a particular man he will likewise apply it to her (i.e. to his younger B's W, cf. Figure 5-6).

Among the Mara, like most other language groups in the area, when a man dies his younger B (not his elder B) has the legitimate claim to acquire the man's widow as his wife. Therefore the term *ṇiri-mayguḷa* is used (self-reciprocally) between a woman and a) her actual H, and b) her husband's younger brothers (who stand to inherit her when he dies). The self-reciprocal term *ṇiri-miyangayi* is used between a woman and a man who stands in the same structural position as her actual (and prospective) husband(s), but who is too senior (in genealogical terms) to have a legitimate claim on her even after her present husband dies. In other words, the system of kin terms applied to opposite-sex members of the FMB's line in EGO's own generation is clearly consistent with the practise of the junior levirate.

In addition to the terms described so far (all of which are broadly classificatory, so that they can be extended to large numbers of remote kin-types), there is one specifically affinal term, *ḷambara* 'WF' (occasionally 'HF'), which is normally restricted to a single referent by each EGO.

Normally a man's *ḷambara* is a member of the genealogical class of *ni-ba-ṛi* (e.g. FMBS) in the 1A (not normally 1D) generation - see Figure 5-1, last column on the right. The terms *ni-ba-ṛi* and *ḷambara* can then be applied to this individual, depending on whether the specific affinal relationship is being foregrounded (if so, *ḷambara* is used).

This terminological distinction between actual WF and 'ordinary' members of the *ni-ba-ṛi* category can be connected with the fact that the WF is treated with considerable reserve by a Mara man (e.g. your WF may speak to you, but you may not answer him directly), whereas he engages in no special respect relationship with other kinds of *ni-ba-ṛi*

(indeed, the same term, *ni-ba-ri*, is applied to EGO's ZS, which is definitely an affectionate and familiar relationship). The reserve shown by a man towards his *lambara* is not quite as strong as that shown to his *muluri* (e.g. MMBS) or *n-na-narjaḷaṇa* (e.g. MMBD/WM), since - especially in the latter case - he cannot speak to, be spoken to by, or even approach these relatives.

5.2. Dyadic Terms

Like most of the languages in the area, Mara has a series of kin terms referring to pairs (or sometimes larger units) of persons in particular relationships to each other, e.g. meaning 'father and child'. In Mara, such dyadic terms have a more important linguistic role than they do in the other languages, since for some kin categories dyadic terms are the only ones which occur; e.g. there is no simple term for W or H, and instead one refers to one's spouse by the expression *ṇiri-mayguḷa*, which literally means *He/She and I are (actual or potential) spouses*.

Some of the Mara dyadic terms are unanalysable and are not morphologically related to simple kin terms (even when the latter do occur). An example is *wara* 'F and C', which is unrelated morphologically to *ḡaluru* 'F' and to the terms for 'C' (*n-ṇayi-ya-ḡi* 'D' and *ni-ja-ri* 'S'). On the other hand, quite a few of the dyadic terms are derivatives of simple kin terms. The specific derivational process is reduplication plus addition of suffix *-y₂a* (this is also used, with other nouns, as a kind of 'having' construction, see 12.6). Thus, if I call you by kin term *K₁*, and you call me by *K₂*, we get a construction of the type *Rdp-K₁-ya* or *Rdp-K₂-ya*. In this situation (where *K₁* is not self-reciprocal and so is distinct from *K₂*), the language is forced to choose whether *K₁* or *K₂* will be used in the dyadic derivative. As it happens, the basic rule is that the term whose focal referent is the junior relative (in generational terms) is the term used. Thus in the dyadic form meaning 'MF (or MFZ) and DC (or BDC)', it would be theoretically possible to end up either with **bija-wijaja-ya* (based on *bijaja* 'MF') or *gamb-ambir-ya* (based on *gambir-ḡi* 'DS'), but in fact only the latter form is used. This contrasts with the situation in, for example, Nunggubuyu (to the north), where the term referring to the senior relative is used in those dyadic terms which can be morphologically analysed.

The dyadic terms in Mara are shown in Table 5-1. For the category in question, if there are separate nondyadic (simple) terms these are also shown.

TABLE 5-1
Dyadic Kin Terms

dyadic term	simple term(1)	simple term(2)
muṛi-muṛi-ya	muṛi-ḍi 'FF' n-muṛi-ḍi 'FFZ'	muṛi-ḍi 'SS/BSS' n-muṛi-ḍi 'SD/BSD'
wara	ḡaluru 'F/F's y. B' n-baṇaṇa 'FZ'	ni-ja-ṛi 'S/y. B's S' n-ḡayi-ya-ḍi 'D/y. B's D'
biṇi-wiṇi-ya	biṇi-ḍi 'F's e. B'	biṇi-ḍi 'y. B's S' n-biṇi-ḍi 'y. B's D'
ḍaju-ḍaju-ya or ḍaju-yaju-ya	baba 'e. B' n-baba 'e. Z'	niriḡa 'y. B' n-ḡa-niriḡa 'y. Z'
gamb-ambir-ya	bijaja 'MF' n-bijaja 'MFZ'	gambir-ḍi 'DS/BDS' n-gambir-ḍi 'DD/BDD'
ḡaḷiḡara	n-ḡajiri 'M/M's y. Z'	ḍaḷḡa-ḍi '(woman's) S' n-ḍaḷḡa-ḍi '(woman's) D'
magara	ḡaḍiḡaḍi 'MB'	ni-ba-ṛi 'ZS' n-ḡayi-wa-ḍi 'ZD'
ḡaḡḡ-ḡaḡuḷ-ya	gugu 'MMB' n-gugu 'MM'	ḡaḡuḷ-ḍi 'ZDS' n-ḡaḡuḷ-ḍi 'ZDD'
ḡawula, narḡaḷa	muluṛi 'MMBS/MMBSS'	muluṛi 'MMBSS/MMBSSS'
narḡaḷa	n-ḡa-narḡaḷaṇa 'MMBD'	muluṛi 'MMBSS/MMBSSS'
ḍili-yiliṇa	mumu 'FMB' n-mumu 'FM'	ḍiliṇa-ḍi 'ZSS' n-ḍiliṇa-ḍi 'ZSD'
ḷambargara	ḷambara 'WF'	ḡaḍiḡaḍi 'DH'
mayḡuḷa	W/e. B's W	H/H's y. B
ḡumbaṇara	wumbaṇa-ḍi 'ZH/WB' (older than EGO)	mimi-ḍi 'ZH/WB' (younger than EGO)
miyanggay	y. B's W	H's e. B
maḡḡigara	HZ	(woman's) BW

Firstly, notice that the only dyadic terms which lack simple counterparts (mayguḷa, miyangay, mangigara) are terms which, although having a genealogical basis in most cases, are closely associated with marriage. In the cases of mayguḷa and miyangay, there is a clear affinal ingredient in the definitions (since the relative age of an affinal linking relative is significant in determining which term is chosen).

In the case of ḷambargara, it is possible that the simple term (ḷambara) is a recent loanword into Mara from creole English; the term ḷambara has also been recently borrowed into several nearby Aboriginal languages from this source. That is, it may once have been necessary to use the dyadic term ḷambargara to specify the WF/DH relationship. This would strengthen the observation just made that the absence of distinct simple terms is correlated with categories which tend to be affinal in nature.

Table 5-1 is slightly oversimplified in that the kin-types listed (in abbreviated English glosses) in the centre and rightmost columns include only one or two 'focal' kin-types for each simple term. In fact, the dyadic terms can be used for any pair of relatives who call each other by the terms shown in these columns; the result is that (in principle) any two persons can be referred to jointly by a dyadic term as long as their categorial relationship - however distant - can be determined.

A more serious difficulty is that Table 5-1 omits specification of which dyadic term is used for certain types of kin-term pairings. In particular, it does not show how one refers to a pair consisting of a person and his or her n-ḷajamu (Figure 5-5). My informant (Mack Riley) was unable to produce a dyadic term for this category. When I tried ḷaja-ḷajamu or ḷaja-ḷajamu-ya on him, he knew what I meant but did not accept either form as grammatical.

The difference between jawula and narjaḷa is also unclear. The examples I have of jawula involve two males who call each other muluṛi (male avoidance relationship). The examples of narjaḷa include this same case, so there is an overlap, but also cases where one or both persons are female (so that at least one of the two calls the other by the female avoidance term n-ḷa-narjaḷaṇa).

Examples where the dyadic term is clearly based on the stem designating the junior of the two relationships in Table 5-1 are: ḷaju-ḷaju-ya (which is based on -ndaju, the form taken by the terms for 'younger sibling' - niriḷa and n-ḷa-niriḷa - in second and third person forms, see 5.3); gamb-ambir-ya; gang-anguḷ-ya; and ḷili-yiliṇa.

In the cases of *muṛi-muṛi-ya* and *biṇi-wiṇi-ya* the simple terms are self-reciprocal, so we cannot tell whether the dyadic term is based on the senior or junior category.

The form *ḍili-yiliṇa* shows reduplication but omits the suffix *-ya*.

The dyadic terms can be used as simple nouns, in which case they take nonsingular class/case prefixes (see 4.7). Hence they show up very often with Du *wur-* (Nominative) or *wiri-* (Oblique), as in *wur-wara father and child*. A 3+ plural form can be generated by using Pl *wul-* (Nominative) or *wili-* (Oblique), as in *wul-wara father and (2+) children*.

Like other nouns, dyadic terms can be used in the predicate-nominal construction (4.4), hence *ṇiri-wara the two of us are father and child* and so forth. Moreover, by using first or second person prefixes instead of (third person) class/case prefixes (4.3) we can get a first or second person form (in nonpredicative function), so that *ṇiri-wara* as an argument in a proposition means *we father-and-child; we, who are father and child* (or, more loosely, *I and my father; I and my child*). This construction is particularly important in cases where Table 5-1 shows no simple terms in the middle and rightmost columns; the only way to say *my wife* or *my husband* is to use a dyadic form like *ṇiri-mayguḷa I and she/he, who are husband and wife*. (When meaning simply *my wife* or *my husband*, and not really including oneself in a given referential context, such a form can be treated as singular for purposes of agreement and cross-reference.)

When dyadic terms are used to refer to a single referent with third person possessor, they may occur in the Du form (e.g. *wur-miyangay her H's elder B* - literally *woman and man in miyangay relationship*) but in some cases the 'dyadic' term can or must be singular in form, so that *her H's elder B* can also turn up as *miyangay* with MSg zero prefix. See Table 5-1 below, for details.

5.3. Simple Kin Terms: Basic Stem Morphology

For each kin category mentioned in 5.1, and disregarding for the moment dual and plural terms (see 5.6), we must display a paradigm showing the following four forms: vocative, 1st person referential, 2nd person, 3rd person. The person categories refer to the 'possessor' (i.e. to the EGO of reference). The vocative is used in attracting the attention of the referent; it is always semantically a 1st person form (e.g. *father!*). The 1st referential form is used in referring to the referent when speaking to someone else (e.g. *my/our father*); by

1st person we include 1Sg, 1ExDu, 1ExPl, 1InDu, and 1InPl. The 2nd person form is used for 2Sg, 2Du, or 2Pl possessor; the 3rd person form is used for 3Sg, 3Du, or 3Pl possessor. There is, of course, no vocative for the 2nd or 3rd forms.

A great deal of messy morphology, including substantial stem-suppletion and some unusual phonological perturbations, can be seen in the paradigms (Table 5-2). In cases of total stem-suppletion, we may find two stems, three stems, or even four stems; for a few categories a single stem is used (perhaps with some phonological changes) throughout the paradigm. Moreover, as noted in preceding sections, in some cases there is no simple kin term and a dyadic term is used instead (often with nonsingular pronominal prefix including the EGO of reference: 1InDu for vocative, 1ExDu for 1st referential, 2Du for 2nd person, 3Du for 3rd person).

From these forms we can abstract a 'regular' paradigm, though very few stems have it in complete form. This paradigm, seen most clearly in items 26/27 in the table, involves the following affixes:

vocative:	-li
1st referential:	-ri, -ɖi
2nd referential:	-mar
3rd referential:	-ŋanja

(In 26/27 the stem ends in an apical sonorant, *l*, so the /l/ of -li is deleted by phonological rule P-17.)

Vocative -li can be seen in items 9-12, 26-27, 30-33, and 39. Most other forms (other than dyadic forms with 1InDu prefix *ŋa-*, and a few forms which are identical to the 1st referential) show zero affix for the vocative.

The 1st referential form takes the allomorph -ri in forms 11 and 30, and allomorph -ɖi in forms 1-4, 12, 20-21, 26-27, 31-33, 38-39, and 43-44. It would appear that the choice between the two is determined by a minor dissimilation rule involving the alternation between stops (such as *ɖ*, *b*, *j*) and corresponding continuants (such as *r*, *w*, *ɣ*) which are involved in hardening and lenition rules (3.3, 3.5-3.6). What seems to be going on in the case of -ri/-ɖi is that the form -ri is used after a stem ending in TV (but not TVC) where T is a stop, while -ɖi is used after other stems (including those ending in TVC). This distribution is strongly suggested by comparison of 11 with 12 and of 30 with 31. In the 1st referential

TABLE 5-2

Simple Kin Terms

Note: The four forms for each category are set out in the following format:

vocative		'gloss'	
1st referential form		2nd person form	3rd person form
A. FF's line:			
1. muṛimuṛi		'FF, FFB, (man's) SS, BSS'	
muṛi-ḍi	muṛi-mar	muṛi-ṇanja	
2. muṛimuṛi		'FFZ, (man's) SD, BSD'	
n-muṛi-ḍi	n-muṛi-mar	n-muṛi-ṇanja	
3. ṇa-biṇiṇi		'F's e. B; (man's) y. B's S'	
biṇi-ḍi	biṇi-mar	biṇi-ṇanja	
4. ṇa-biṇiṇi		'(man's) y. B's D'	
n-biṇi-ḍi	n-biṇi-mar	n-biṇi-ṇanja	
5. ṇaluru		'F, F's y. B'	
ṇaluru	wabi-mar	ga-nariña	
6. baṇaṇa		'FZ'	
n-baṇaṇa	n-mari-mar	n-mari-ṇanja	
7. baba		'e. B'	
baba	ḷalu-mar	ṇuḷungal	
8. baba		'e. Z'	
n-baba	n-ṇa-ḷalu-mar	n-ṇuḷungal	

Table 5-2 cont.

9. limbi-li niri ja	'y. B'	ndaju-mar	{ ndaju-ŋanja ɖaŋaŋ
10. limbi-li n-ŋa-niri ja	'y. Z'	n-daju-mar	{ n-daju-ŋanja n-ɖaŋaŋ
11. ni-ja-li ni-ja-ɾi	'(man's) S or e. B's S; (woman's) BS'	ni-ja-mar	ga-ni-ja
12. ŋayi-ya-li n-ŋayi-ya-ɖi	'(man's) D or e. B's D; (woman's) BD'	n-ŋayi-ya-mar	n-ga-ni-ja
B. MF's line:			
13. bijaja bijaja	'MF, MFB'	bija-mar	bija-ŋanja
14. bijaja n-bijaja	'MFZ'	n-bija-mar	n-bija-ŋanja
15. gaɖigaɖi gaɖigaɖi	'MB, MBS, MBSS, DH'	jamul-mar	jamul-ŋanja
16. { muñumuñu { ŋa-magara (dy)	'(man's) FZS or FZSS or FZSSS'		
{ muñumuñu { ŋiri-magara (dy)		ŋuru-magara (dy)	wur-magara (dy)

Table 5-2 cont.

17. muñumuñu	'(woman's) FZS or FZSS or FZSSS'	
ṇa-galiḡgara (dy)		
{ muñumuñu	ṇuru-galiḡgara (dy)	wur-galiḡgara (dy)
ṇiri-galiḡgara (dy)		
18. { ṇajamu	'M's e. Z' (see also Fig. 5-5)	
gaḡigaḡi		
{ n-ṇajamu	n-jamul-mar	n-jamul-ṇanja
n-gaḡigaḡi		
19. gajiri	'M, M's y. Z, MBD, MBSD'	
n-gajiri	n-bibi	n-garña
20. ṇaga-bijaja	'BDS, (man's) DS'	
gambir-ḡi	gambir-mar	gambir-ṇanja
21. ṇaga-bijaja	'BDD, (man's) DD'	
n-gambir-ḡi	n-gambir-mar	n-gambir-ṇanja
C. MM's line:		
22. gugu	'MMB'	
gugu	gaga-mar	gaga-ṇanja
23. gugu	'MM, MMZ'	
n-gugu	n-gaga-mar	n-gaga-ṇanja

Table 5-2 cont.

24. {mulurɪ narja!aŋa	'MMBS, MMBSS, MMBSSS, WMB, ZDH'	
{mulurɪ ɲiri-yawula (dy)	ɲuru-yawula (dy)	wurun
25. mulurɪ n-ŋa-narja!aŋa	'MMBD, MMBSD, MMBSSD, WM, ZSW'	
	n-ŋa-narja!a-mar	n-wurun
26. wangu!-i gangu!-ɖi	'ZDS, (woman's) DS'	
	gangu!-mar	gangu!-ŋanja
27. wangu!-i n-gangu!-ɖi	'ZDD, (woman's) DD'	
	n-gangu!-mar	n-gangu!-ŋanja
D. FM's line:		
28. mimi mimi	'FMB'	
	mi-mar	mimi-ŋanja
29. mimi n-mimi	'FM, FMZ'	
	n-mi-mar	n-mimi-ŋanja
30. ni-ba-li ni-ba-ɾi	'(man's) FMBS or ZS'	
	ni-ba-mar	ñumaranja
31. ŋayi-wa-li n-ŋayi-wa-ɖi	'(man's) FMBD or ZD'	
	n-ŋayi-wa-mar	n-ñumaranja
32. yalŋa-li ɖalŋa-ɖi	'(woman's) S or ZS or FMBS'	
	ɖalŋan-mar	(?)

Table 5-2 cont.

33. yalŋa-li n-ɖalŋa-ɖi	'(woman's) D or ZD or FMBD' n-ɖalŋan-mar (?)
34. muñumuñu, etc. (same forms as 16)	'FFZS, FFZSS'
35. muñumuñu, etc. (same forms as 17)	'FFZD, FFZSD'
36. {wumbuŋana ŋa-mayguŋa (dy)	'W, (man's) e. B's W'
ɳiri-mayguŋa (dy)	{ŋuru-mayguŋa (dy) {n-mimay ŋuru-ŋaraguŋa (dy) {n-ŋaraguŋa
37. wumbuŋana ɳiri-mayguŋa (dy)	'H, (woman's) ZH or H's y. B' ŋuru-mayguŋa (dy) {mimay ŋaraguŋa
38. wumbaŋa-ɖi wumbaŋa-ɖi	'(man's) WB or ZH, older than him' wumbaŋa-mar ɳumbaŋara
39. mimi-li mimi-ɖi	'(man's) WB or ZH, younger than him' milga+ŋi-ji milga+wu-ji
40. ŋa-miyanggay (dy) ɳiri-miyanggay (dy)	'(woman's) H's e. B' ŋuru-miyanggay (dy) {wur-miyanggay (dy) miyanggay

Table 5-2 cont.

41. ɲa-miyangay (dy)	'(man's) y. B's W'
ɲiri-miyangay (dy)	ɲuru-miyangay (dy) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wur-miyangay (dy)} \\ \text{n-miyangay} \end{array} \right.$
42. ɲa-mangigara (dy)	'(woman's) BW or HZ or MMBDD'
ɲiri-mangigaraɲa (dy)	ɲuru-mangigara (dy) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wur-mangigara (dy)} \\ \text{n-mangigara} \end{array} \right.$
43. yiliɲa	'ZSS, (woman's) SS'
ɖiliɲa-ɖi	ɖiliɲa-mar ɖiliɲa-ɲanja
44. yiliɲa	'ZSD, (woman's) SD'
n-ɖiliɲa-ɖi	n-ɖiliɲa-mar n-diɖiliɲa-ɲanja
45. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{!ambara} \\ \text{ɲa-!ambargara (dy)} \end{array} \right.$	'WF (occasionally HF)'
ɲiri-!ambargaɲa (dy)	ɲuru-!ambargara (dy) wur-!ambargara (dy)

forms of 11-12 we can segment an unusual masculine prefix *ni-* (seen also in 30) and a corresponding feminine *ɲayi-* (cf. 31), leaving a root *-ja-/ya-* which takes the hard form *-ja-* in masculine *ni-ja-* but the lenited form *-ya-* in feminine *n-ɲayi-ya-*. The fortis/lenis *-ja-/ya-* alternation in the stems is associated with an inverse lenis/fortis *-ɾi/-ɸi* alternation in the 1st referential suffix. Exactly the same analysis applies to 30-31 except that the root is *-ba/-wa-*.

Second person *-mar* is found in most of the paradigms, aside from dyadic terms and one completely suppletive stem (item 19). Even when a suppletive stem is used *-mar* may be added (item 5). The corresponding third person suffix is *-ɲanja*, which also appears in most nondyadic terms; it is omitted in certain suppletive stems (items 5, 7-8, the *ɸaɲaɲ* variants in 9-10, 19, 24-25, 30-31, 36-38). A third person prefix *ga-*, used instead of *-ɲanja*, can be seen clearly in 11-12, and is perhaps present in 5 (though, since in the latter case the stem is suppletive, segmentation there is not as clear).

In several instances we find a single stem used in two or more forms within a paradigm, but with various phonological perturbations. In 1-2, the only peculiarity is that the vocative form is reduplicated. In 3-4 the stem takes its full form *-biɲiɲi* only in the suffixless vocative, and is truncated to *biɲi-* in the three suffixal forms. A similar truncation occurs in 13-14 and 28-29. (Note that in all three cases: *-biɲiɲi/biɲi-*, *bijaja/bija-*, and *mimi/mi-*, the truncated syllable is identical to the one preceding it, so that an alternative analysis is that the 'full' form of the stem is a finally-reduplicated version of the 'truncated' stem.)

In 22-23 we find a (possibly assimilatory) vocalic change - suffixless *gugu* but presuffixal *gaga-*. In 32-33 we get an unusual consonantal extension in the stem *ɸalɲaɲ-* used in the 2nd person form (the 3rd person form could not be obtained for this category), while *ɸalɲa-* is used in the 1st person. The vocative of this stem undergoes initial lenition (to *yalɲa-*) in this item; similar lenition (accounted for by phonological rule P-6) is seen in 26-27 and 43-44 (but not, for example, in 6, 7-8, or 13-15).

In 38 the stem *wumbaɲa-* occurs in the first three forms; the 3rd form, *ɲumbaɲara*, is an obscure phonological perturbation of this.

In cases where stem-suppletion occurs, there may be from two to four stems in the paradigm. Sometimes form A is used in the vocative and 1st referential, form B in the 2nd and 3rd forms (6, 15, and note the distribution of stem-allomorphs in 13-14, 22-23, etc.). In 30-31

stem A (with phonological variation as described above) is used in the first three forms while stem B is used only in the 3rd person form. In 20-21 the break is between vocative (stem A) and the three others (stem B).

When there are three forms we may find stem A in the vocative and 1st referential, stem B in the 2nd, and stem C in the 3rd (5, 7-8, 19). In 36-37, disregarding dyadic terms, we find stem A (wumbuḷḡana in 36, wumbuḷana in 37) in the vocative (along with a dyadic variant), and forms B and C in free variation in the 3rd form (one of these, -ḡaraguḷa, is apparently nondyadic in this form but is dyadic in the 2nd form).

If we include dyadic stems, the number of stems found in some paradigms increases (e.g. 36-37 now show four stems, as does 24).

There are several residual problems in the morphological and morphophonemic analysis of these forms. To begin with, we have to account for the occurrence of prefix ḡa- or -ḡa- (or, more accurately, at least two homophonous prefixes of this shape), and probably a suffix -ḡa.

In forms where -ḡa- is used between FSg class/case prefix n- and a stem beginning with an apical sonorant, the -ḡa- would appear to be merely the epenthetic morpheme inserted automatically by phonological rule P-4 (3.4); this rule applies also to other nouns. That this is correct is shown not only by the absence of -ḡa- in corresponding MSg forms with zero prefix (thus compare nirija in 9 with n-ḡa-nirija in 10, and compare the corresponding forms in 24-25), but by the fact that the -ḡa- is omitted even in the FSg forms in the Oblique form with prefix ya- instead of n- (e.g. Nominative n-ḡa-nirija in 10 has Oblique form ya-nirija).

However, there is one instance of prefix ḡa- which cannot be disposed of in this fashion. This is ḡa- in vocative ḡa-biḡiḡi (3-4), which occurs in an environment totally different from that in which rule P-4 regularly applies. It would seem, then, that here ḡa- is simply a (first person) possessive prefix, used in the vocative only. (Cf. 1Sg pronominal prefix ḡa- in verbal morphology.)

Another possible example of this prefix *ḡa- is in n-ḡajamu (18). As has been noted, the term n-ḡaḡiḡaḡi (formally the feminine of ḡaḡiḡaḡi 'MB') is occasionally used as an alternative to n-ḡajamu 'M's e. Z'. The relationship between the two is clearer in the 2nd and 3rd forms, where we find -jamuḷ- in both paradigms (15, 18). Therefore it is entirely possible that -ḡajamu is really -ḡa-jamu with 1st person -ḡa- (used in both vocative and 1st referential forms)

and a stem *-jamu* which is related to the presuffixal stem *jamul-*. (For a parallel to the occurrence of a final consonant only in the non-1st forms, cf. perhaps 32-33.)

The possible cases of suffix *-ŋa* involve both simple and dyadic terms. In 24-25 we find a stem *-narjaŋa* used in the vocative (24) or 1st referential form (25), while in 25 this also occurs, in the form *-narjaŋa-*, before 2nd and 3rd suffixes *-mar* and *-ŋanja*. In this particular form, since the 'suffix' *-ŋa* occurs only when no further suffixes are present, it is possible to suggest that the stem is (indivisible) *-narjaŋa* and that this undergoes final CV truncation (as in other examples mentioned above) in presuffixal position.

The other examples involve dyadic terms, and a good case can be made for segmenting *-ŋa* as a 1st referential suffix. The examples are in 42 and 45, where the final *-ŋa* found in this form is missing from the (suffixless) vocative and non-1st forms. So we have at least vestiges of a 1st person element **-ŋa-* in both prefixal and (with dyadic terms at least) suffixal position.

In 36-37 we see an unusual alternation between *wumbuŋana* (36) and *wulbuŋana* (37); this distinction was made consistently by my informant. It is not clear whether this has anything to do with the **-ŋa-* element we have just dealt with.

In 39, the 2nd and 3rd forms are unusual in that they are formally verb complexes rather than ordinary nouns. In *milga+ŋi-ji* (2nd) and *milga+wu-ji* (3rd), *-ji* can be identified as a Past Punctual auxiliary verb (Table 11-27), while *ŋi-* (2Sg + 3Sg) and *wu-* (3Sg + 3Sg) are identifiable as pronominal prefixes used with transitive verbs. This leaves *milga* as a transitive verb-particle. Its (original) meaning is unclear, but it is certainly related to the noun *n-milga hip*. Since the category in question - WB, (man's) ZH, etc. - though it can be defined largely in genealogical terms (MMBDS), etc.), is closely associated with marriage, it is appropriate that a body-part term (*hip*) which is frequently used in Aboriginal languages in the area (e.g. Nunggubuyu) as a linguistic symbol for affines of EGO's own generation be involved in these kinship expressions.

The curious vocative form *ŋaga-bijaja* in 20-21 contains *bijaja* (cf. 13-14). Note that the categories 20-21 are the reciprocals of 13-14. It is possible that in *ŋaga-bijaja* the initial *ŋa-* is the *lInDu* prefix, which is used in dyadic vocatives (e.g. 40-41); in this event we should segment the form as *na-ga-bijaja*. However, **ga-bijaja* is not used otherwise as a dyadic term, and the only other instances of a prefix *ga-* are in totally different morphological constructions (5, 11-12).

5.4. Neutralisation of Possessive Person Category

Although Mara and other languages in the area have distinctions between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person forms of kin terms, these languages may also have syntactic contexts in which these are merged, with one form being used in a sense broader than its normal one. The clearest example of this involves constructions where an independent Genitive noun or pronoun is attached to the kin-term stem; in this event the pronominal elements in the morphology of the stem itself become redundant, and neutralisation of the oppositions among these elements is possible without creating ambiguity.

In Nunggubuyu, for example, it is the 1st person form which can be extended into the normal range of the 2nd and 3rd person forms. In Mara, however, the third person form is unmarked and is regularly (in my data, always) used when a first or second person Genitive pronoun is attached. It is, of course, also used (as expected) with a third person Genitive pronoun.

For example, from Table 5-2 we can see that 'F' is (disregarding the vocative, which cannot take Genitive pronouns) *ḡaluru* for 1st person, *wabi-mar* for 2nd, and *ga-nariña* for 3rd when no Genitive pronouns are present. However, with 1Sg Genitive pronoun *ḡina* we get *ga-nariña ḡina* *my father* rather than **ḡaluru ḡina*. Similarly, we find *ga-nariña ḡiya* *your father* instead of **wabi-mar ḡiya*.

Textual examples occur in Text 4.2, where *jamu-yamul-ḡanja* (reduplication of *jamul-ḡanja*) and *ḡumaranja* are 3rd person forms of the kin-term stems, but are accompanied by 2Pl Genitive *ḡirwi* *your (Pl)*. Other examples of this type occur in material obtained during formal elicitation sessions.

However, when the possessive pronoun is formally Nominative (or, more generally, agrees with the kin-term noun in case) instead of Genitive, this neutralisation does not occur. Hence *ḡiya-ra n-bibi* *your mother* shows 2Sg Nominative *ḡiya-ra* *you* in possessive function along with the regular 2nd person form of *mother*. If we replace Nominative *ḡiya-ra* by Genitive *ḡiya* we get *ḡiya n-garña* *your mother* with the 3rd person form for *mother*.

5.5. Categorical Neutralisations

In addition to the minor morphological neutralisation of 5.4, there are some more interesting neutralisations involving the kin categories themselves. We begin by examining the senior-junior oppositions.

It will be recalled that there are distinct terms for elder and younger siblings (B, Z). In neutralised situations, the terms for younger siblings are generalised. Thus if X_1 , X_2 and X_3 are brothers in descending order of age, when X_1 is speaking to X_3 he can refer to X_2 as *our younger brother* (ɲiriɲa) but not as *our older brother* (baba). The same happens when X_3 is speaking to X_1 and referring to X_2 . In other words, ɲiriɲa is used when the referent (alter) is younger than at least one of the EGO's of reference, while baba (the marked member of the opposition) is appropriate only when alter is older than all EGO's of reference.

The same result is found when we look at instances where alter is pluralised (e.g. with a single EGO of reference), as in *my brothers*. If X_2 is speaking to someone else (Y) and refers to his brothers (X_1 and X_3 , one older and one younger), he uses the plural form of ɲiriɲa (5.6) rather than that of baba, hence wal-a ɲiriɲa-waɲa *my brothers* or the like. The Pl of baba is appropriate only when all of the alters are older than EGO.

It will be recalled from 5.2 that in dyadic terms it is usual for the genealogically junior term to be used, so that in ɖaju-ɖaju-ya *siblings of each other* the form is based on -ndaju- (the third person possessive form of ɲiriɲa *younger sibling*, not of baba *elder sibling*). So we have a whole series of instances where the term for the junior relationship is generalised at the expense of the senior term.

Similar examples (involving pluralisation of alter and/or of EGO) show that the special terms for parent's elder same-sex sibling (biɲi-ɖi and n-ɲajamu, cf. Figures 5-4 and 5-5) are marked terms, and when neutralised with the unmarked terms (ɲaluru *father*, n-gajiri *mother*) the latter are generalised. Thus if X_1 , X_2 , and X_3 are brothers in descending age order, the son Y_2 of X_2 will refer to X_1 as biɲi-ɖi and to X_3 as well as X_2 as ɲaluru, but in referring jointly to X_1 and one or both of the others he must use the Pl form of ɲaluru rather than that of biɲi-ɖi. The Pl of biɲi-ɖi could be used by the son Y_3 of X_3 when referring jointly to X_1 and X_2 provided that X_3 is not also included.

The data concerning markedness relations involving affinal categories (wife, wife's younger and elder sisters, etc.) are not clear enough to permit worthwhile conclusions.

In addition to these rather clearly defined markedness asymmetries, there are also instances where a particular term is extended to refer to an entire social group (normally a clan or other patrilineal grouping). There is some flexibility in which term is chosen, but

there is some preference for 2A generation terms FMB (mimi) and MMB (gugu) and for 1A generation terms F (ḡaluru) and M (n-gajiri). There is also a tendency to prefer male to female forms, so that n-gajiri *mother* may be replaced by gaḡigaḡi 'MB' in this usage. If EGO is getting old, it may be difficult to use 2A terms since the actual 2A relatives in question have probably died, so it may be necessary to use 1A or 0 generation terms.

In Text 29.1 and the following passages we can see examples of mimi 'FMB' and gugu 'MMB' functioning as labels for groups which included persons whom EGO calls mimi or gugu, but also persons referred to by more junior terms like ni-ba-ḡi 'FMBS' or muluḡi 'MMBS'.

5.6. Inflection and Article Forms

In most respects the external prefixal and suffixal morphology of kin terms is the same as that for ordinary nouns. Kin terms take the same case suffixes, and (at least in the Sg) the same class/case prefixes, as ordinary nouns. Kin terms can occur in predicate-nominal constructions (ḡa-biḡi-ḡanja *I am his younger brother's child* from kin term biḡi-ḡanja), though in practice this is normal only with dyadic terms (much more common than the above would be ḡiri-biḡi-wiḡi-ya *he and I are in the biḡi- relationship*).

The principal difference in morphology between kin terms and other nouns is in number-marking. Moreover, the two principal informants for grammatical matters (Mack Riley and Anday) differ in this matter, and both show internal inconsistencies to some extent.

For Anday the data are incomplete. The most important point is that he used two special number suffixes, Du -wuru and Pl -waḡya, which do not occur with other nouns. The class/case prefix remains formally Sg (MSg Ø- and FSg n- in the Nominative), hence n-gajiri-wuru *my two mothers* and n-gajiri-waḡya *my (3+) mothers*. The same suffixes are used with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person forms of the kin terms (n-bibi-wuru *your two mothers*, n-garḡa-wuru *his/her/their two mothers*, etc.). In the Oblique, the usual Sg Oblique prefixes are used, and if there is a nonzero case suffix it follows the number-marker: ya-gajiri-wuru-yaḡi *from my two mothers*.

If an article is used (as it usually is in the Nominative) it is formally Du or Pl, agreeing with the number-marking suffix (not with the formally Sg class/case prefix), hence war-a n-gajiri-wuru *my two mothers*. I have no examples of articles in Oblique forms with -wuru or -waḡya.

The suffixes *-wuru* and *-war̥ya* were not always used by Anday, so the articles were often the principal way of expressing number: *war-a n-gajiri your two mothers* with Du article *war-a* and a noun which can be Sg as well as nonsingular. Occasionally Anday reduplicated the stem for 3+ plurality, hence *jama-yamul-ŋanja uncles* from *jamul-ŋanja* (Text 4.2). This was only occasionally done, however (cf. unreduplicated *ñumaranja nephew* in Pl sense in the same textual passage). Since the article is not obligatory (and is uncommon in Oblique cases) it follows that Du and Pl are not always reliably distinguishable from Sg in a NP consisting of a kin term without an article. For example, what looks like a Sg noun may produce Du or Pl agreement in the Pronominal prefix in the verb, showing that the noun is really not Sg: *ñumaranja wu-!ini his nephew went* with 3Sg *w₁u-*, but *ñumaranja wala-!ini his nephews went* with 3Pl *w₂ala-*.

The situation with Mack Riley is somewhat similar. When forms with *-wuru* and *-war̥ya* were pronounced by the linguist, Mack recognised them and knew what they meant but considered them 'bad' for some reason. He likewise did not approve of reduplicated kin-term stems like *jamu-yamul-ŋanja* (cf. above). Consequently, unless an article or other adjunct was present, number-marking for these stems was non-existent for this informant. Texts 29 and 30 show several examples of formally Sg kin terms (with MSg Nominative *Ø-*, not explicitly indicated in the transcription, or MSg Oblique *ŋa-*), like Ergative *ŋa-mimi father's mothers* in Text 29.1, which induce Pl agreement in verb forms, hence *wur̥+wili-ganji they (3+) put it down* in Text 29.1.

It is curious that, although Du and Pl articles like *war-a* and *wal-a* occasionally occurred before kin terms in Mack's speech, more often than not they were omitted (even in the Nominative). On the other hand, articles were common in the Sg Nominative. Consequently, a form like *ŋa-na mimi* with *mimi father's mother* and MSg article was the usual Sg form, while the Pl (including Du) was usually just *mimi*. Since the article can be omitted in the Sg, however, this distinction (presence vs. absence of article) is not reliable.

NOTES

Chapter 5:

1. Spencer and Gillen (1904:119) report the moiety terms Urku (for muruḡun and mambali) and Ua (for buḡal and guyal). However, after subsequently doing additional fieldwork with an excellent Mara informant, Spencer (1914) later reported that the moiety terms were actually Muluri (for Urku) and Wumbana (for Ua). Spencer did not discuss this emendation in the 1914 work, but one presumes that he had some reason for relegating the initial set of terms (Urku and Ua) to the wastebasket.

This is also the appropriate place for the revised terms, Muluri and Wumbana. These are not moiety terms at all, rather they are particular kin terms: *muluṛi* male avoidance relative (e.g. MMBS) and *wumbaṇa*- elder brother-in-law. I am unaware of any semantic generalisations of such terms to designate entire moieties (or even semimoieties).

Maddock (1969), relying on Spencer (1914:253-256), not only accepts the existence of such patrimoieties in Mara but also believes that there are unnamed 'necrophagous moieties' by which one pair of semimoieties has the right to consume corpses of the other pair, and vice-versa. This view is not based on reliable ethnographic data and has been rejected in Heath (1978b); for a continuation of the polemic see Maddock (1979), Heath (1980c).

2. Spencer and Gillen (1904:126-127) cf. also Maddock's comments (1969:95), appear to report indirect matrilineal descent involving Mara semimoieties. That is, if a muruḡun man who should have married a buḡal wife instead marries a guyal woman, his children will not be muruḡun but rather mambali. The mother's semimoiety (and generation), rather than the father's, determine the descent classification of the children.

However, this was explicitly contradicted by Spencer (1914). This was a later work based on additional fieldwork 'with the aid of a very intelligent native' (1914:60) in 1911 who was not available to Spencer and Gillen (1904). In the later work, Spencer states (1914:60) that among the Mara 'descent, so far as the actual class name is concerned, is counted in the direct male line...' This accords with my own information, which indicates that even in alternative marriages (marriage with *buḍal* when the preferred marriage is with *guyal*, for instance), descent is directly derived from the father's semimoiety. If your father is *murunun*, you are *murunun*.

3. In the event of FFZ's descendants, *n-muñumuñu* and *muñumuñu* are not in MF's line in Figure 5-1, rather in FM's line. Hence they occupy positions taken in Figure 5-1 by *n-ḡayī-wa-ḡi* and *ni-ba-ḡi* in the 1A generation, and by the corresponding terms below these in the 0 and 1D generations (at least). The problem is that the figure conflates, for example, FFZS with FMBS, when in fact these are terminologically distinguished (*muñumuñu* vs. *ni-ba-ḡi*).

CHAPTER SIX

PRONOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

6.1. General

In this chapter we deal with independent personal pronouns. Pronominal elements which occur within the confines of nominal morphology are dealt with in 4.3, 4.7, and 5.3. Pronominal subject- and object-marking prefixes in verbal morphology are the topic of Chapter Ten.

Independent pronouns representing the subject and direct object of verbal clauses are not especially common, since pronominal categories for these relations are indicated in the verbal pronominal prefixes, so that something like *ṇangu-naji he/she saw me* does not particularly need additional pronominal elements. Independent pronouns in these categories are thus used chiefly in emphatic functions. One important form of such pronouns is an explicitly emphatic form with suffix *-yiribana* or a variant thereof; see 6.5.

When independent pronouns are used for subject and object, we find that they do not have the Nominative vs. Ergative system seen with nouns and demonstrative pronouns. Instead, there is a single pronominal case, which we will call Nominative, used for the subject of intransitive and both subject and direct object of transitives. This is shown by the uses of 1Sg *ṇina-ra* *I, me* in the following examples:

ṇina-ra ṇa-ḷini . I went.

I I went

ṇina-ra ṛag+ṇa-'ñi ṇa-na gaṛiyi-mar . I hit the man.

I I hit him the man (Nom)

ṇina-ra ṛag+ṇang-añi ṇa-'ṛiyi-mar . The man hit me.

me he hit me man (Erg)

There are three 'principal parts' (as it were) in independent personal pronominal paradigms from which the entire paradigm can be constructed. Firstly, there is the simple Nominative form, like 1Sg *ɲina-ra*. Secondly, there is a Genitive form, which for 1Sg is *ɲina*, or (occasionally) *ɲini*. Then there is what we may call the Oblique stem, which for 1Sg is either *ɲina-ñimbi-* or (irregular) *ɲijaɾi-*. It should be immediately noted that the range of the Oblique stem for these pronouns is more restricted than that of the Oblique (prefixal) form for nouns (4.7); we have just noted that transitive subject is expressed by the Nominative (not the Ergative/Instrumental) for pronouns, and it turns out that Ablative forms for these pronouns (except, in part, for 3Du and 3Pl) are built on the Genitive, rather than on the Oblique. For nouns, the Ergative/Instrumental and Ablative (among others) are part of the Oblique system.

The paradigms are presented in Table 6-1:

TABLE 6-1
Pronominal Paradigms

1Sg:

<i>ɲina-ra</i>	Nominative
<i>ɲina-riɓaɲa</i>	Emphatic
{ <i>ɲina</i> <i>ɲini</i> (less common)	Genitive
<i>ña-ɲina-yani</i>	Ablative
{ <i>ɲina-ñimbi-</i> <i>ɲijaɾi-</i>	Oblique stem
{ <i>ɲina-ñimbi-yu(r)</i> <i>ɲijaɾi-yu(r)</i>	Allative/Locative
{ <i>ɲina-ñimbi-ni</i> <i>ɲijaɾi-ni</i>	Purposive

1ExDu:

<i>ɲiri-ña</i>	Nominative
<i>ɲiri-yiribɓa</i>	Emphatic
<i>niryi</i>	Genitive
<i>ña-niryi-yani</i>	Ablative
<i>ɲir-ñimbi-</i>	Oblique stem
<i>ɲir-ñimbi-yu(r)</i>	Allative/Locative
<i>ɲir-ñimbi-ni</i>	Purposive

Table 6-1 cont.

1ExPl:

ṇirwi-ña	Nominative
ṇiwi-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
nirwi	Genitive
ña-nirwi-yani	Ablative
ṇirwi-ñimbi-	Oblique stem
ṇirwi-ñimbi-yu(r)	Allative/Locative
ṇirwi-ñimbi-ni	Purposive

1InDu:

ṇaga-ra	Nominative
ṇaga-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
naga	Genitive
ña-naga-yani	Ablative
ṇaga-ñimbi-	Oblique stem
ṇaga-ñimbi-yu(r)	Allative/Locative
ṇaga-ñimbi-ni	Purposive

1InPl:

ṇarwu-ña	Nominative
ṇawu-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
narwu	Genitive
ña-narwu-yani	Ablative
ṇarwu-ñimbi-	Oblique stem
ṇarwu-ñimbi-yu(r)	Allative/Locative
ṇarwu-ñimbi-ni	Purposive

2Sg:

ṇiya-ra	Nominative
ṇiya-riḃaṇa	Emphatic
niya	Genitive
ña-niya-yani	Ablative
{ ṇiya-ñimbi- ṇimba-	Oblique stem
{ ṇiya-ñimbi-yu(r) ṇimba-yu(r)	Allative/Locative ¹
{ ṇiya-ñimbi-ni ṇimba-ni	Purposive

¹A variant ṇimba-yuryi is attested once (Text 18).

Table 6-1 cont.

2Du:

ṇuru-ña	Nominative
ṇuru-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
nuryi	Genitive
ña-nuryi-yani	Ablative
ṇur-ñimbi-	Oblique stem
ṇur-ñimbi-yu(r)	Allative/Locative
ṇur-ñimbi-ni	Purposive

2Pl:

ṇurwu-ña	Nominative
ṇuwu-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
nurwu	Genitive
ña-nurwu-yani	Ablative
ṇurwu-ñimbi-	Oblique stem
ṇurwu-ñimbi-yu(r)	Allative/Locative ²
ṇurwu-ñimbi-ni	Purposive

3MSg:

ṇaṅga-yi	Nominative
ṇaṅga-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
jawuru	Genitive
ña-yawuru-yani	Ablative
ṇa-wuru-	Oblique stem ³
ṇa-wuru-yu(r)	Allative/Locative ³
ṇa-wuru-ni	Purposive ³

3FSg:

ṇa-yi	Nominative
ṇa-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
jawuru	Genitive
ña-yawuru-yani	Ablative
ya-wuru-	Oblique stem ³
ya-wuru-yu(r)	Allative/Locative ³
ya-wuru-ni	Purposive ³

²A variant ña-nurwu-yu(r) is attested once (Text 8.4). This is formally parallel to Ablative ña-nuru-yani.

³Occasionally ña-yawuru- is used instead of ṇa-wuru-, ya-wuru-, or ña-wuru-, hence ña-yawuru-yu(r) in Text 42.14.

Table 6-1 cont.

3NeSg:

n-ga-yi	Nominative
n-ga-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
jawuru	Genitive
ña-yawuru-yani	Ablative
ña-wuru-	Oblique stem ³
ña-wuru-yu(r)	Allative/Locative ³
ña-wuru-ni	Purposive ³

3Du:

wuru-yi	Nominative
wuru-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
biriwu	Genitive
{ ña-wiriwu-yani	Ablative
{ (ña-)wur-ñimbi-yani	
(ña-)wur-ñimbi-	Oblique stem
(ña-)wur-ñimbi-yu(r)	Allative/Locative
(ña-)wur-ñimbi-ni	Purposive

3Pl:

wulu-yi	Nominative
wulu-yiribaṇa	Emphatic
biliwu	Genitive
{ ña-wiliwu-yani	Ablative
{ (ña-)wul-ñimbi-yani	
(ña-)wul-ñimbi-	Oblique stem
(ña-)wul-ñimbi-yu(r)	Allative/Locative
(ña-)wul-ñimbi-ni	Purposive

6.2. Morphology of the Nominative and Genitive Forms

In the non-3rd person forms, the Nominative is essentially an extended form of the Genitive (the latter can thus be taken as the root). The extension in the Nominative is final *-ra* in the minimal forms (1Sg, 1InDu, 2Sg) for the three non-3rd person categories (1Ex, 1In, 2). It is *-ña* for the nonminimal forms (1ExDu, 1ExPl, 1InPl, 2Du, 2Pl). The only other phonological variation between Nominative and Genitive is a) the alternation between final *-yi* (Genitive) vs. nonfinal *-V-* (assimilating to preceding vowel; Nominative) in 1ExDu (supplying morpheme boundaries *nir-yi* and *ɲir-l-ña*) and 2Du (*nur-yi* and *ɲur-u-ña*) forms, and b) the alternation between initial apicoalveolar *n* and retroflexed *ɲ*. However, (b) is not really a phonological contrast at the deep level; *ɲ* is used word-initially and *n* noninitially (see 3.18). I write the Genitive forms with *n* since this can occur noninitially (when class/case prefixes are added), while I do not bother to do this (though it would be theoretically justified) with the Nominative and other word-initial forms since these always occur on the surface with word-initial retroflexed *ɲ*.

In the 3rd person forms, the Genitive forms are not so closely related to the Nominative forms. A 3Sg Genitive form *jawuru* is used for 3MSg, 3FSg, and 3NeSg (neuter). The corresponding Nominative forms are based on a morpheme *-yi* which is preceded by the same class/case prefixes used in Nominative demonstrative pronouns (MSg *ɲanga-*, FSg *ɲa-*, NeSg *n-ga-*). The same ending *-yi* is found in 3Du Nominative *wuru-yi* and 3Pl Nominative *wulu-yi*, but the prefixes *wuru-* and *wulu-* differ in vocalism from the prefixes used with demonstratives (*wara-*, *wala-*, etc.). The 3Du and 3Pl Genitive forms, *biri-wu* and *bili-wu*, seem to contain a suffix *-wu*, but the prefix forms *biri-* and *bili-* are unusual in their vocalism.

Genitive pronouns can behave syntactically like nouns. The closest correlation is with adjective-like nouns such as *balwayi* *big* which can be used as modifiers of another noun or can stand alone (cf. English *big one*). For the Genitive pronouns, however, agreement in number and case with the modified noun is not obligatory when that noun is overtly present in the clause. Hence in Text 12.4 we find *wil-ag-agur-i ɲini for my children*, with *ɲini my* showing neither the Pl nor Purposive affixation of the noun.

When the Genitive pronoun is used without such an overt modified noun, it functions just like an ordinary noun and takes class/case prefixes and case suffixes accordingly. For example, consider

ḡa-na baḡaḡa ḡirwi *our* (ExPl) *baby* and wal-a wul-baḡaḡa ḡirwi *our babies* (where ḡirwi *our* does not change in the Pl), and contrast these with ḡa-na ḡirwi *ours* (e.g. *child*, Sg) and wal-a wul-irwi *ours* (e.g. *children*, Pl). Note Pl Nominative class/case prefix wul- before -ḡirwi only in the final example. The Ablative of this is wili-ḡirwi-yani *from ours* (Pl), contrasting with wili-baḡaḡa-yani ḡirwi *from our babies*, where only in the first example does ḡirwi get a case suffix of its own.

In other words, there is a kind of 'inner' marking for pronominal category and case (Genitive) within the stem itself (e.g. ḡirwi *our*), upon which is superimposed an 'outer' layer of nominal affixation specifying the number and case of the modified entity (when this is not expressed as an overt noun).

Genitive pronouns may follow or precede their modified nouns; if they precede them the noun usually does not take an article (hence ḡina baḡaḡa or ḡa-na baḡaḡa ḡina *my baby*, with MSg article ḡa-na before baḡaḡa *baby* only in the second example). In the lSg there are two Genitive forms, ḡini and ḡina, and my material suggests that ḡini can only occur after a noun while ḡina can precede or follow it: ḡa-na baḡaḡa ḡini *my baby* is all right while *ḡini baḡaḡa is bad. An example of ḡini is in Text 2, while one of ḡina following the noun is in Text 7.1. Examples with ḡina before the noun, hence ḡina baḡaḡa *my swag*, occur in my elicited material.

6.3. Morphology of the Ablative Forms

Aside from optional variants in the 3Du and 3Pl paradigms, the Ablative forms are based on the Genitive forms. Specifically, a form like ña-ḡina-yani *from me* is based on the Ne (neuter) form of the Genitive, which in the Nominative would be n-ḡina *mine* (*referring to an object in the Ne class*). Apparently the implied reference is to the camp or country (both n-ḡa-ḡadbur, a Ne noun), so that n-ḡina can be taken as meaning *my camp/country*. The form ña-ḡina-yani is the regular Ablative form of this, with Ne Oblique prefix ña- instead of Nominative n-, and with Ablative suffix -yḡani.

Although ña-ḡina-yani thus literally means *from my (camp/country)*, there is no distinct form meaning *from me* and therefore ña-ḡina-yani is used in this sense.

Alternations like j/y in jawuru vs. ña-yawuru-yani (3Sg) and b/w in biriwu vs. ña-wiriwu-yani (3Du) and in biliwu vs. ña-wiliwu-yani (3Pl) are taken care of by phonological rule P-5, Medial Lenition (3.5).

The alternative 3Du and 3Pl Ablative forms, (ña-)wur-ñimbi-yani and (ña-)wul-ñimbi-yani, are based on the Oblique stem; for all other categories no Ablative form based on the Oblique is possible.

6.4. Morphology of the Oblique Forms

The Allative/Locative and Purposive forms end in their usual suffixes, -y₂u(r) and -ni. The remaining problem is to describe the kind of pronominal stem to which these suffixes are added.

Infrequently, the pronominal stem in these forms is the same as that used before Ablative -y₁ani. Thus, ña-nurwu-yu is attested (Text 8.4) in the sense *to you* (Pl), and this is parallel to ña-nurwu-yani *from you*. Presumably there is also a Purposive variant ña-nurwu-ni, but I cannot cite any examples of this from the texts. (The Purposive is not common with pronominal stems.)

The regular Allative/Locative and Purposive pronouns, however, are formed by adding -y₂u(r) and -ni to what I am calling the 'Oblique' stem. For the non-3rd persons, this involves a suffix -ñimbi- directly following the pronominal root, hence 2Pl nurwu-ñimbi-. For 1Sg and 2Sg, we have a choice between the regular forms ŋina-ñimbi- and ŋiya-ñimbi-, and the irregular and unanalysable forms ŋijaŋi- and ŋimba-. For the third person categories, forms with -ñimbi- are found in the Du and Pl numbers, while for the Sg we get an Oblique stem, -wuru- (preceded by Oblique class/case prefix). The Ne Oblique prefix ña- is optionally used with the Du and Pl forms.

Pronominal purposives are uncommon; cf. however, 3MSg ŋa-wuru-ni in Text 10.2.

As we have seen, in the 3Du and 3Pl categories it is also possible to use the Oblique stem in the Ablative form (6.3).

6.5. Morphology of the Emphatic Forms

The Emphatic forms (which cannot take nonzero case suffixes) show an ending -yiribaŋa or -ribaŋa. The unusual forms taken by the preceding pronominal elements show that in some cases -(yi)ribaŋa is taken as a suffix to a pronominal stem, but in other cases it is taken as the stem and the preceding pronominal is treated like a prefix.

In 1Sg ŋina-ribaŋa and 2Sg ŋiya-ribaŋa we find the short allomorph -ribaŋa attached to what is clearly the personal pronominal stem, seen also in the Genitive pronouns (ŋina, niya) and in the Nominative with ending -ra (ŋina-ra, ŋiya-ra).

In the 3Sg forms, we cannot tell which element (pronoun or Emphatic morpheme) is the stem, and indeed the segmentation of the forms is doubtful. In 3MSg *ṇaṅga-yiribaṇa*, for example, we could take *ṇaṅga-* as the MSg prefix (seen also in demonstrative pronouns) and *-yiribaṇa* as the Emphatic stem, or we can segment the form as *ṇaṅgayi-ribāṇa* with the regular 3MSg Nominative pronoun *ṇaṅgayi* (internally segmentable as *ṇaṅga-yi*) followed by Emphatic suffix *-ribāṇa* (as in the 1Sg and 2Sg forms). The same ambivalence characterises the 3FSg and 3Ne forms.

In all nonsingular forms, the stem is clearly *-yiribaṇa* and the preceding pronominal is in the form used for intransitive subject-markers or to make 1st and 2nd person nouns (4.3). Thus the 1InPl form *ṇawu-yiribaṇa* shows *ṇawu-* as in the verb *ṇawu-jura we (InPl) will go* and the 1st person noun *ṇawu-yawu-yawulba we (InPl) old men*. This form *ṇawu-* is clearly distinct from the stem-shapes seen in 1InPl independent pronouns (Nominative *ṇarwuṇa*, Genitive *narwu*, both with an *r* not found in *ṇawu-yiribaṇa*).

Especially in the 3rd person forms, *-(yi)ribāṇa* is often shortened to *-(yi)ri* with little or no difference in meaning: 3MSg *ṇaṅga-yiribaṇa* or *ṇaṅga-yiri* (also segmentable as *ṇaṅgayi-ribāṇa*, *ṇaṅgayi-ri*). An example (Pl *wulu-yiri*) is seen in Text 30.2; examples of the full form with *-baṇa* in third person forms are in Texts 40.46, 40.56, 40.74 and 42.11.

6.6. Uses of the Nominative and Emphatic Forms

We have already noted that the Nominative pronouns are generally redundant in the sense that the pronominal categories of subject and object are already indicated in the pronominal prefix added to the inflected verb. Consequently, Nominative pronouns are not sharply distinguishable functionally from the Emphatic pronouns in *-(yi)ribāṇa* or its shortened variant *-(yi)ri*.

The Nominative forms tend to indicate a *contrast* between two referents (the referent of the pronoun, and some other referent which has been dealt with in the preceding discourse segment). Textual examples of 3MSg Nominative *ṇaṅga-yi* are these: Texts 3.3, 12.4, 13.5, 23.4, 23.9, 23.14, 27.1, 29.6, 40.29 and 40.87, among others. 3Pl Nominative *wulu-yi* is found in Texts 16.5 and 29.1, for example.

The Emphatic forms are not much different, but to a greater extent are amenable to being translated with *he also* or *he, in turn* and similar expressions. The most common nuance is establishing a

correlation between the activities of the referent of the pronoun and those of a previously established referent; the notion of contrast is not so clear. Textual examples of Emphatic third person pronouns are listed at the end of 6.5, and most of these (though perhaps not the example in Text 42.11) are compatible with this interpretation.

It should be noted that a particle *ga and; as for* is fairly common before Nominative pronouns and may help emphasise their contrastive function (e.g. in Text 40.97, twice).

6.7. Some Suffixless Pronouns (not Nominative)

A number of examples are found in the texts where the Oblique stem with *-ñimbi-* is not followed by a case suffix (Allative/Locative or Purposive). There are also some examples with initial Ne Oblique *ña-* (used chiefly when the Ablative suffix is present) where there is no case suffix.

One sense which this 'neutralised' Oblique form has is translatable *among, with (someone)*. Examples: *ña-narwu among/with us* (ExPl) in Text 8.5 and *ña-wul-ñimbi among/with them* in Text 9.1. In Text 5.3 we find *ṇaṇi-yana ña-ṇina behind me* with *ṇaṇi-yana behind* and a form of the 1Sg pronoun, in specialised function. In other cases the suffixless form seems to be just an abbreviation of a case form such as Purposive (*ṇarwu-ñimbi for us* in Text 27.2) or Allative/Locative (*ña-narwu to us* in Text 8.2).

6.8. Vocatives

For the Du and Pl there are special pronominal vocatives: *garu-r ! hey you!* (Du) and *garu-wu ! hey you!* (Pl). For the Sg there is no special vocative pronoun, but there are various interjections which can be used to attract attention, such as *gay !* and *garay !* (these can also be used for Du or Pl vocative).

The form *garu-wu !*, being an interjection ending in a vowel, can be extended by adding *y*, hence *garu-wuy !* (cf. rule P-33).

Examples: *garu-r !* (Text 38.4), *garu-wuy !* (Text 41.23).

6.9. Articles

Articles (4.5) can be used before independent pronouns under certain conditions. Apparently they can be used only with first or second person pronouns (at least I can find no clear examples involving third person pronouns). Moreover, they are apparently used only in the Nominative case.

There are two possible ways of using articles. One way, favoured by the informant Anday (at least in material obtained during elicitation sessions), is to use the article which agrees in class with the referent, hence *war-a ɲuru-ña you* (Du) with Du article *war-a*, *wal-a ɲirwi-ña we* (ExPl) with Pl *wal-a*, etc. The examples of this pattern which I have involve Du and Pl categories (never Sg).

The other possibility is to use *ga-na*, the same article used with demonstrative adverbs (7.10) and also used as a syntactic particle (13.4). This is effectively a neutral (not Neuter) category, not specified for any particular nominal class. In the Sg, Anday used *ga-na* (rather than MSg *ɲa-na*, FSG *ɲa-na*, etc.) consistently, regardless of person or sex category: *ga-na ɲiya-ra you* (Sg), *ga-na ɲina-ra I*. He used *ga-na* occasionally before nonsingular pronouns, hence *ga-na ɲiri-ña we* (ExDu) as a variant of *war-a ɲiri-ña* (the latter being more common).

For Mack Riley and Johnnie, the form *ga-na* was usual in nonsingular as well as Sg categories, hence *ga-na ɲina-ra I* in Text 15.3, *ga-na ɲaga-ra we* (InDu) in Text 23.12, etc.

The frequent use of *ga-na* (the neutral form of the article) is perhaps to be correlated with the fact that first and second person pronouns cannot take predicative demonstrative pronouns or interrogative pronouns marked for nominal class. Instead of using *ɲi-ngara is here* (MSg), for example, when the subject is first or second person it is necessary to use the adverbial form (i.e. the form which is neutralised as to nominal class) *gi-ngara*, hence *ɲa-gi-ngara I am here* with 1Sg prefix *ɲa-* (7.3). Indeed, the *gi-* in *gi-ngara* is simply the reduced form of Ne *n-ga/n-gi-*, and so is formally parallel to the article *ga-na* (reduced from Ne *n-ga-na*).

CHAPTER SEVEN

DEMONSTRATIVE MORPHOLOGY

7.1. General

In this chapter we consider a) demonstrative pronouns, b) definite quasi-demonstrative pronouns with *-yimar*, c) demonstrative adverbs, and d) cardinal-direction adverbs.

Demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs are based on the categorial oppositions shown in Table 7-1:

TABLE 7-1
Demonstrative Categories

proximate predicative	proximate nonpredicative
localised immediate	
unlocalised immediate	
distant	
anaphoric	

There are two proximate stems, one of which (at least for demonstrative pronouns) is basically predicative (hence *is this*, or less literally *is here*, etc.) while the other is basically nonpredicative (*this*). For the other categories there is no formal distinction between predicative and nonpredicative forms.

Let us try first to describe the differences between the proximate, immediate, and distant categories. The proximate, of course, includes

the region around the speaker. It is often a rather compact region, though in particular discourse contexts it can be enlarged to include a wider radius (as when *here* refers to an entire settlement or geographical region, in contrast to a more distant one).

In ordinary conversation the immediate category typically includes the region around the addressee, to the extent that the addressee is sufficiently distant from the speaker to make this opposition feasible (if the two are within a meter of each other the opposition may be difficult to apply). More generally, the immediate category covers any area a short distance from the speaker (often no more than two meters, though it can be extended to some distance away in appropriate contexts).

The distant category covers the area outside the immediate (and, of course, proximate) region. This area does not have to be invisible (i.e. beyond the horizon), though it often is. This category can be applied, for example, to a boat seen this side of the horizon, or in general a considerable distance away.

The distant category is the most marked of the three basic deictic categories (proximate, immediate, distant). Consequently, when deictic position as such is not being foregrounded, we are likely to get the immediate category in situations where the distant form would be contextually plausible. That is, if we demarcate the boundaries between the three deictic categories, these boundaries are likely to be adhered to when the positions are emphasised by the speaker, but in contexts where position is not particularly important we are likely to find the immediate forms intruding into the distant region.

The difference between 'localised' and 'unlocalised' immediate subcategories is difficult to pin down. (These two forms use the same stem, with an additional suffix for the localised type.) Basically, the unlocalised type is even less deictically specific than the localised type (we have just noted that the immediate category as a whole is unmarked vis-à-vis the distant, so even the 'localised' immediate has a fairly flexible use). Thus the localised type is more common than the unlocalised type in predicative function (*It is there*, etc.). The unlocalised type is common as an adjunct in a NP with a nuclear noun, or as a nonpredicative demonstrative pronoun by itself.

The anaphoric category is not (merely) deictic, as the other categories are in essence, though it includes a deictic component. It refers to a region which is outside of the proximate region, and usually outside at least the 'core' of the immediate region; it can thus be considered as basically a subdivision of the distant. Where

the anaphoric category differs from the distant is that it explicitly *refers* to a contextually definite region (often one which has recently been mentioned in the same discourse), rather than *indicating* (pointing to) a new region.

In Mara, the anaphoric category is rather highly marked and is not exceptionally common. We have noted that the immediate category is often used, as the unmarked demonstrative category, in contexts where its specific deictic sense is not foregrounded. It intrudes not only into the domain of the distant category, but also (to some extent) into that of the anaphoric category, so that when the anaphoric reference is not emphasised we often get immediate forms where another language (like Nunggubuyu) might prefer to use anaphoric forms.

In the case of demonstrative pronouns (but not adverbs), moreover, the anaphoric category has to compete with the definite quasi-demonstrative pronouns in *-yimar*. These have no deictic component, and generally refer to something which is contextually definite or at least well known. At least for some speakers, such as Johnnie (ṇaṇuru, who narrated some of the texts in this volume), the pronouns with *-yimar* are very common, and the demonstrative pronouns built on the anaphoric stem are correspondingly of low frequency.

Readers wishing to go beyond these somewhat oversimplified remarks about the demonstrative (and quasi-demonstrative) categorial oppositions should consult the texts, which include a sufficient number of examples of each category to illustrate the range of each. Some specific cross-references to the texts are given in the following morphological sections. The texts are particularly useful in elucidating the uses of anaphoric forms; they are less useful for deictic forms.

Demonstrative pronouns (but not quasi-demonstratives in *-yimar*) are more similar in their affixal morphology to nouns than they are to personal pronouns. In particular, they have an opposition - expressed by variations in class/case prefixes, but also by stem variation - between Nominative and Oblique stems, the respective distribution of which is exactly parallel to that found in nouns (4.7). Thus there is an Ergative/Instrumental form consisting of Oblique stem plus zero case suffix, for demonstrative pronouns as well as nouns, while personal pronouns use the Nominative in ergative functions.

An important special feature of demonstratives is the occurrence of a centripetal/noncentripetal opposition in both demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs when motion is involved. (When no motion is involved, and in certain other cases, this opposition is suspended, so in addition to centripetal and noncentripetal forms - both marked by

suffixes - there are unmarked forms.) This opposition has no parallel in nouns or personal pronouns (though it has a weak parallel in verb-complexes, which include a Centripetal prefix).

Demonstrative adverbs are related to the Ne (neuter) forms of demonstrative pronouns (prefixes *n-ga-*, *gi-*, etc.), though with phonological variation (prefixes *ga-*, *wi-*, etc.) to distinguish them.

7.2. Morphology of Demonstrative Pronouns

The forms of simple demonstrative pronouns (without Centripetal or noncentripetal suffixes) are shown in Table 7-2.

The MSg Oblique prefix is *ŋa-* in all forms. The corresponding Nominative form, however, varies between *ŋi-* (proximate), *ŋaŋga-* (immediate), and *ŋa-* (distant, anaphoric). In the distant and anaphoric, the Oblique and Nominative prefixes are identical, but since the stem itself has different forms (e.g. distant *-na-ña* for Nominative, *-ni-ña* for Oblique) there is no ambiguity. On the other hand, since the nonpredicative proximate is *-ña* in both Nominative and Oblique forms, the prefix-opposition is crucial (Nominative *ŋi-ña* vs. Oblique *ŋa-ña*). (The predicative proximate, which is used only as clause predicate, cannot take Oblique forms, although demonstrative adverbs like *wi-ngara-yu(r) to here* are formally specialised Oblique forms of this stem.) The immediate forms show Nominative/Oblique differentiation in both the prefix and the stem.

The MSg Nominative prefixes *ŋa-*, *ŋaŋga-*, and *ŋi-* have no parallels with nouns in this function. However, *ŋa-* is used with Nominative prenominal articles (4.5), and *ŋaŋga-* is used with the independent personal pronoun (6.1) and with the definite quasi-demonstrative pronoun (7.5).

The FSg prefix in the Nominative is *ŋi-* (proximate) or *ŋa-* (all others), while in the Oblique we get the regular prefix *ya-* (also used with nouns). The vocalic differentiation between *ŋi-* and *ŋa-* is parallel to that found in the MSg (*ŋi-*, *ŋa-*) and other prefix categories; cf. *ŋa-* with the article, independent personal pronoun, and definite quasi-demonstrative pronoun.

For the Ne (neuter) category we find Nominative *n-gi-* (proximate), again with *i*-vocalism, vs. *n-ga-* (others), and the usual Oblique form *ña-*. The *n-* is to be identified as the regular Nominative Ne class/case prefix (4.7), but in these demonstrative forms it is followed by *-ga-/gi-*, a morpheme which is not used with nouns but which does occur in the article form (*n-ga-na*, cf. 4.5), in the independent personal

TABLE 7-2
Demonstrative Pronouns

A. Nonpredicative Proximate:

	Nominative	Oblique
MSg	ŋi-ña	ŋa-ña
FSg	ŋi-ña	ya-ña
Ne	n-gi-ña	ña-ña
Du	wir-ña	wiri-ña
Pl	wil-ña	wili-ña

B. Predicative Proximate:

	Nominative	Oblique
MSg	ŋi-ngara	(not used)
FSg	ŋi-ngara	"
Ne	n-gi-ngara	"
Du	wir-ŋgara (cf. 3.17)	"
Pl	wil-ŋgara (cf. 3.17)	"

C. Unlocalised Immediate:

	Nominative	Oblique
MSg	ŋaŋga-ya	ŋa-ri-ya
FSg	ŋa-ya	ya-ri-ya
Ne	n-ga-ya	ña-ri-ya
Du	wara-ya	wiri-ri-ya
Pl	wala-ya	wili-ri-ya

D. Localised Immediate:

	Nominative	Oblique
MSg	ŋaŋga-ya-ra	ŋa-ri-ya-ra
FSg	ŋa-ya-ra	ya-ri-ya-ra
Ne	n-ga-ya-ra	ña-ri-ya-ra
Du	wara-ya-ra	wiri-ri-ya-ra
Pl	wala-ya-ra	wili-ri-ya-ra

Table 7-2 cont.

E. Distant:

	Nominative	Oblique
MSg	ᵐa-na-ña	ᵐa-ni-ña
FSg	ᵐa-na-ña	ya-ni-ña
Ne	n-ga-na-ña	ña-ni-ña
Du	war-a-ña (cf. 3.9)	wiri-ni-ña
Pl	wal-a-ña (cf. 3.9)	wili-ni-ña

F. Anaphoric:

	Nominative	Oblique
MSg	ᵐa-na-ᵐga	ᵐa-ni-ᵐga
FSg	ᵐa-na-ᵐga	ya-ni-ᵐga
Ne	n-ga-na-ᵐga	ña-ni-ᵐga
Du	war-a-ᵐga	wiri-ni-ᵐga
Pl	wal-a-ᵐga	wili-ni-ᵐga

pronoun (n-ga-yi, cf. 6.1), and in the definite quasi-demonstrative pronoun (7.5).

In a number of interesting cases, adverbs and particles not explicitly attached to any nominal class (4.7) are derived from Ne forms with n-ga- (n-gi-) by dropping the initial n-. Hence from article n-ga-na (Ne only) we get a kind of constituent- or clause-subordinator ga-na (4.5). In demonstratives, the productive adverbial formations are based on Nominative (less often, Oblique) Ne demonstrative pronouns. Thus from n-gi-ña *is here* (Ne) (predicative proximate pronoun) we get gi-ña *here* (Locative proximate adverb). For more details cf. 7.6; for now, merely note that the double prefixation in n-ga- and n-gi- is functionally significant.

In the Du and Pl prefixes (disregarding the proximate for the moment), we find two interesting features: a) the alternation between CVC- and CVCV- forms (e.g. Du war- vs. wara-/wiri-); and b) the use of i-vocalism in the Oblique forms vs. a-vocalism in the Nominative. Recall that in nouns the Nominative is CVC- (wur-, wul-) vs. Oblique CVCV- (wiri-, wili-); this matches the situation in the distant and anaphoric demonstrative pronouns (war- vs. wiri-, wal- vs. wili-),

though in the immediate forms we find CVCV- in both case categories (wara- vs. wiri-, wala- vs. wili-). (In distant and anaphoric Nominative Du and Pl forms, rule P-14 operates, so that /war-na-ña/ → war-a-ña, etc.; cf. 3.9). As for the vowel-quality, note that in the nominal prefixes we get u-vocalism (wur-, wul-) in the Nominative and i-vocalism in the Oblique (wiri-, wili-); the situation with these demonstratives is similar except that a-vocalism is used instead of u-vocalism in the Nominative.

Recall that in the singular forms, we find i-vocalism in the Nominative proximate forms (MSg ŋi-, etc.). This poses a problem for the Du and Pl forms, since they already have i-vocalism in the Oblique. Because there is just one form for the nonpredicative proximate stem, -ña, there is a danger that if the prefixes for Du and Pl show i-vocalism in both Nominative forms (as the singular prefixes do) and Oblique forms (as Du and Pl themselves do in other demonstrative categories) there will be no distinction at all between Nominative and suffixless Oblique (i.e. Ergative/Instrumental) forms of the non-predicate proximate pronoun. The language avoids this by taking advantage of the CVC- vs. CVCV- variation in canonical shape of the Du and Pl prefixes, so we end up with Nominative Du wir-ña vs. Oblique Du wiri-ña, etc.

The demonstrative pronominal equivalents of nominal class/case prefixes can therefore be summarised by Table 7-3.

TABLE 7-3

Prefixes with Demonstrative Pronouns

	proximate		immediate		distant/anaphoric	
	Nom	Obl	Nom	Obl	Nom	Obl
MSg	ŋi-	ŋa-	ŋaŋga-	ŋa-	ŋa-	ŋa-
FSg	ŋi-	ya-	ŋa-	ya-	ŋa-	ya-
Ne	n-gi-	ña-	n-ga-	ña-	n-ga-	ña-
Du	wir-	wiri-	wara-	wiri-	war-	wiri-
Pl	wil-	wili-	wala-	wili-	wal-	wili-

The formal analysis of the stems themselves is moderately easy so far as basic segmentation is concerned. Consider Table 7-4:

TABLE 7-4
Demonstrative Stems

	Nominative	Oblique
nonpredicative proximate	-ñā	-ñā
predicative proximate	-ngara	(not used)
unlocalised immediate	-ya	-ri-ya
localised immediate	-ya-ra	-ri-ya-ra
distant	-na-ñā	-ni-ñā
anaphoric	-na-ŋga	-ni-ŋga

As noted before, the nonpredicative proximate (which can be used in Nominative and Oblique case forms) has a single, invariable stem -ñā. The corresponding predicative form is -ngara, but this is not used in Oblique forms as a demonstrative pronoun (there are adverbial forms based on the nonexistent Oblique form of the Ne demonstrative pronoun, and such adverbs show -ngara as in the Nominative).

The immediate forms are based on the morpheme -ya-, which occurs without suffix in the unlocalised immediate but has an additional suffix -ra in the localised form. Both of these form the Oblique by adding a prefix -ri- just before the stem (and just after the class/case prefix).

The distant and anaphoric are likewise based on a common stem, which in this case takes the form -na- (Nominative) or -ni- (Oblique). This is followed by a suffix -ñā for distant, -ŋga for anaphoric. For -na-/-ni- cf. the articles (4.5).

There does not seem to be much point in trying to correlate distant -ñā with proximate -ñā, especially in view of their different structural positions. (If there is a historical correlation involving proximate -ñā, it is probably with the stem-formative -na- seen in the distant and anaphoric stems.) There is a possibility that predicative proximate -ngara could be analysed as containing -ra (seen in the localised immediate), and here at least the structural positions are appropriate, but since *-nga- does not occur separately (without *-ra) this segmentation is only weakly motivated synchronically.

Some textual examples of demonstrative pronouns: proximate predicative -ngara in Texts 16.3, 35.1 (twice), and 35.2; proximate nonpredicative -ña in Texts 18, 22.1, 16.1, 28.1, 35.1, 36.1 and many others; unlocalised immediate -ya in Texts 9.3, 20.1, 23.6, 23.7, 23.12, 40.60 and 42.1; localised immediate -ya-ra in Texts 8.2, 14.2, 14.4, 16.5, 33.1 and others; and anaphoric -na-nga in Texts 2, 6.8, 23.3, 31.3 and 39.6 (the last being Oblique). I can find no examples of distant -na-ña in simple demonstrative pronouns in the texts, though forms with it do occur fairly often in other elicited utterances. For -ya see also the expression *ninjani nanga-ya any kind* (8.4). I should caution that textual examples are not always very revealing about the semantics of demonstrative categories.

Case suffixes used after Oblique demonstrative pronoun stems are Allative/Locative -y₂u(r), Ablative -y₁ani, and Purposive -ni, as in MSg distant *na-ni-ña-yu(r)*, *na-ni-ña-yani*, and *na-ni-ña-ni*. There are no Pergressive forms.

7.3. Use of the Predicative and Nonpredicative Forms

The nonpredicative/predicative opposition is formally manifested only for the proximate demonstrative pronouns, as we have seen. In this section we specify the conditions under which the two types of proximate pronouns are used. Other categories of demonstrative pronoun (e.g. immediate, distant) are used in both predicative and nonpredicative functions; their syntactic distribution corresponds to the combined distribution of the two proximate types.

Nonpredicative MSg *ni-ña* can be translated as *this*. It identifies a referent, which functions as an argument in a larger predication (e.g. *this man will go tomorrow*).

Predicative MSg *ni-ngara*, by contrast, can be translated freely as *is here*. It does not function primarily to identify a referent, but rather to place that referent in space. The actual spatial position of the referent is important in and of itself in this predicative type; it is often less significant in the nonpredicative type (where spatial position may simply be called on as a device to specify which of several possible referents is intended).

However, while *this* is a syntactically revealing translation of *ni-ña*, *to be here* is a syntactically misleading gloss for *ni-ngara*. In two respects, predicative demonstrative pronouns (including nonproximate pronouns in predicative function) are more restricted than English *to be here*, while in a third respect they are used more broadly.

The first restriction on predicative demonstrative pronouns is that, whereas English *is here* has a complete set of tense and negation possibilities (*was here, is not here, etc.*), in Mara the predicative forms with stem -ngara are used only when the conjunction of the referent with the proximate region is positively valid in the 'now' of the speech act. For this reason the translation *is this*, though clumsier than *is here*, is more revealing so far as the syntactic distribution of -ngara is concerned. One can say, in English, *Francesca was here* regardless of where Francesca has run off to by the time of the speech act, but one cannot say *?Francesca was this* under normal contextual conditions, since *this* is indexically attached to the 'here-and-now' of the speech act regardless of the tense of the verb in its clause. Similarly, one can say *Francesca is not here* to indicate that Francesca is away (e.g. in Zanzibar), but one cannot say *?Francesca is not this* except in unusual contexts - in any case, there must be some existing entity in the 'here-and-now' to which *this* can refer.

Of course, *here* is also indexically attached to the 'here-and-now' of the speech act. However, what is indexically attached in this event is a region in space, not any particular entity (e.g. a person) who may be specified as occupying that space. When one says *Francesca was here*, the adverb *here* (but not Francesca) is tied to the 'here-and-now'.

Thus -ngara is only used as a present positive predication, and another construction must be used to translate English *to be there* in past, future, and negative forms. This construction involves a demonstrative adverb like gi-ngara *here* (or ga-ya-ra *there* immediate, ga-na-nga *there* anaphoric, etc. along with a positive stance verb (e.g. w-anji *he/she was sitting*) or, for the negative, either the negative form of a stance verb (ganagu w-anjiyi *he/she was not sitting*) or a negative element like maɭuy *absent* (cf. 4.17).

na-na gaɭiyi-mar w-anji gi-ngara . *The man was here.*
the man (Nom) he sat here

maɭuy na-nugu-ni gi-ngara . *There is no water here.*
absent water (Purp) here

ganagu w-anjiyi gi-ngara . *He is/was not here.*
not he sits/sat here

The second restriction on the predicative demonstrative pronouns is that they cannot be used with first or second person referent. One

cannot translate *I am here*, even in the present positive, by **ŋa-ŋi-ngara* (literally *I am this*, MSg), by **ŋa-ngara* (*I am this*, with 1Sg *ŋa-* replacing class/case prefix), by **ŋinara ŋi-ngara* (*I followed by this*, MSg) or any other combination involving a predicative pronoun based on *-ngara*. Instead, one uses a demonstrative adverb *gi-ngara here* as a sort of adjectival predicate, with appropriate pronominal prefix: *ŋa-gi-ngara I am here*. This is formally a predicate-nominal construction, as in *ŋa-balwayi I am big* (4.4).

We have pointed out two restrictions on the use of predicative demonstrative pronouns vis-à-vis demonstrative adverbial constructions. It remains to point out that there is one respect in which predicative proximate pronouns enjoy a certain productivity not enjoyed by English *to be here*.

The point is that, in present positive with third person referent (i.e. in those situations where predicative proximate pronouns can be used at all), the predicative pronouns are often used in contexts where, in English translation, they would not be predicative. That is, where English says *he is sitting there* with a single predication *to sit* and with the adverb *there* functioning merely as an adjunct or appendage, in Mara this often appears as *he is sitting, he is there*. That is, what might be a single predication in English is expressed as the conjunction of two Mara predications, either of which can stand by itself as an independent clause. Examples:

ŋi-ngara wa-'-wu|u . He is sitting here.
he is this he sits

wir-ngara bay+a-'ri-ju|u . They are standing here.
they (Du) are these they (Du) stand

This double-predication construction is only possible (at least with predicative demonstrative pronouns) in the present positive. One cannot say **He was this, he was sitting* in Mara since, as we have seen above, we cannot say **He was this* with predicative demonstrative pronoun in non-present tense.

The double-predication construction is not obligatory in the present positive; one can also use a form with a demonstrative adverb functioning as an adjunct to the (sole) predicative element:

gi-ngara wa-'-wu|u . He sits here.
here he sits

However, this construction is less common; the type *ni-ngara wa-'-wu!u* with predicative demonstrative pronoun (cf. above) is more common in the present positive (except, of course, with first or second person referent).

Nonproximate demonstrative pronouns, such as MSg distant *na-na-ña*, have the same distributions among syntactic constructions as the two proximate types (e.g. MSg *ni-ña*, *ni-ngara*) combined; the corresponding adverbs, like *ga-na-ña there*, are syntactically similar to proximate adverbs like *gi-ngara here*.

7.4. Centripetal and Noncentripetal Forms

Two suffixes specifying the axis of motion, Centripetal *-ñingar* and Noncentripetal *-ñindi*, can be added to demonstrative pronouns shown in Table 7-2. Therefore, instead of the six demonstrative categories shown in Table 7-1, there are really eighteen (six Centripetal, six Noncentripetal, and six unmarked).

When Centripetal *-ñingar* is added to a demonstrative pronoun, it indicates that the referent of that pronoun is in motion toward the *here* of the speech act. Thus from *ni-ngara he* (MSg) *is here* (proximate predicative pronoun) we get *ni-ngara-ñingar here he comes* (literally, perhaps, *he is here, coming*). Similarly we can get *na-na-ña-ñingar there he comes (still a long way away)* from distant MSg *na-na-ña*. The demonstrative stem used, in these examples proximate and distant, refers to the region in which the referent is at the moment (not to his destination, which is presumably *here* in all centripetal examples). Thus *ni-ngara-ñingar here he comes* is distinct from *he is coming here* (which would be *ya-'-!indu wi-ngara-yur* in Mara, with a verb meaning *he is coming* and an Allative proximate demonstrative adverb meaning *to here*); *-ngara-* in *ni-ngara-ñingar* is used not because the destination is *here* but because the referent is already close enough to be categorised as proximate.

Textual examples, which are infrequent, include *-na-nga-ñingar* in Text 10.1 and *-ya-ra-ñingar* in Texts 8.4 and 26.3 (cf. below for list of proximate examples).

Noncentripetal *-ñindi* indicates that the axis of motion is not centripetal. The axis may be centrifugal (away from *here*), or it may simply be in a lateral direction. The essential point is that the motion is not bringing the referent substantially closer to *here*. An example is *ni-ngara-ñindi here he goes* (referent is nearby, still in the proximate region, but is moving in a centrifugal or lateral

direction). With distant *ṇa-na-ṇa* we get *ṇa-na-ṇa-ṇindi* *there he goes*, and so forth.

As the translations suggest, Centripetal and Noncentripetal demonstrative pronouns often correspond to the *here/there he comes* and *here/there he goes* constructions in English (which are quite different from *he is coming here/there* or the like). In English, the clause-initial demonstrative adverb specifies the referent's present location, while the choice of verb (*to come* vs. *to go*) specified direction of motion. In Mara, the choice of stem specifies location, and the motional suffix (if any) specifies direction. The Mara construction is more common; especially in predicative function - or more generally whenever location is foregrounded - the Noncentripetal and particularly the Centripetal suffixes are virtually obligatory when they are semantically appropriate. By contrast, in English we often say *here he is* whether the referent is in motion or is still.

All of the demonstrative forms shown in Table 7-2 can take *-ṇingar* and *-ṇindi*, in predicative or nonpredicative function. A form like *ṇa-na-ṇa-ṇingar* *there he comes* can be used as the predicate of a clause (*there he comes*), or as a NP functioning as nonpredicative argument (*that one, who is coming, ...*).

There is only one phonological (?morphological) peculiarity associated with *-ṇingar* and *-ṇindi*. Ordinarily, these suffixes are simply added to the complete demonstrative pronominal stem: proximate predicative *-ngara-ṇingar*, unlocalised immediate *-ya-ṇingar*, localised immediate *-ya-ra-ṇingar*, distant *-na-ṇa-ṇingar*, anaphoric *-na-ṇga-ṇingar*, and so on for the Oblique forms and for the corresponding forms with *-ṇindi*. However, in the proximate nonpredicative forms we expect **-ṇa-ṇindi* and **-ṇa-ṇingar* but we get simply *-ṇindi* and *-ṇingar* added to the class/case prefix: *ṇi-ṇindi* *this one, going* and *ṇi-ṇingar* *this one, coming* are the MSg forms, for example. Synchronically we have to delete the stem *-ṇa-* before *-ṇindi* and *-ṇingar*. Historically, *-ṇindi* and *-ṇingar* may contain **-ṇa-* (in the form **-ṇi-*) plus following elements; **-ngar* in **-ṇi-ngar* is suspiciously similar to proximate predicative stem *-ngara*. Textual examples of proximate *-ṇ-ṇingar* are Texts 40.67, 40.82 and 41.20.

The suffixes *-ṇingar* and *-ṇindi* can, in principle, be used in demonstrative pronominal forms with nonzero case suffixes, hence *ṇa-ni-ṇa-ṇingar-yani* *from that one, who is coming* (cf. *ṇa-ni-ṇa*, Oblique form of MSg distant *ṇa-na-ṇa*). However, these forms (which can only be nonpredicative) are rather uncommon. As noted above,

-ñingar and -ñindi are regularly used when semantically appropriate in predicative forms, but can be omitted even when appropriate in nonpredicative forms where location is not foregrounded, and in morphologically complex nonpredicative forms, such as the Ablative form just quoted, they are likely to be omitted.

7.5. Definite Quasi-Demonstrative Pronouns in -yimar

For want of a better term, I will refer to forms in -yimar as 'quasi-demonstratives'. The 'quasi-' is because these forms differ in certain formal respects from the regular demonstrative pronouns of Table 7-2. To begin with, they make no distinction between Nominative and Oblique forms, so that the 'Nominative' form is used for transitive subject (normally Ergative) as well as for intransitive subject and transitive object (normally Nominative). The stem -yimar can take nonzero suffixes (e.g. Ablative -yimar-yani), though I had to elicit these since they were never used in texts, and even here no Oblique stem- or prefix-form was used although nouns and regular demonstrative pronouns (and even to some extent personal pronouns) have some kind of Nominative/Oblique opposition in the prefixes and/or the stems. A further difference between -yimar and the demonstrative pronouns is that all of the stems used in the latter also generate demonstrative adverbs, while there are no adverbial formations based on -yimar.

The Nominative forms of -yimar (the only ones used in texts) are shown in Table 7-5.

TABLE 7-5
Nominative Forms of -yimar

MSg	ŋanga-yimar
FSg	ŋa-yimar
Ne	n-ga-yimar
Du	wuru-yimar
Pl	wulu-yimar

Comparison with Table 6-1 suggests that forms with -yimar are formally just nominative third person pronouns (MSg *ṇaṅga-yi*, etc.) with an ending -mar. However, these pronouns are themselves very closely related to demonstrative pronouns (particularly immediate ones with root -ya-).

The forms in -yimar also agree with pronouns in -yi in not having a distinct Oblique form, whereas other demonstrative pronouns show a distinct stem and/or require distinct prefixes in the Oblique form. Thus 'Nominative' in Table 7-5 includes transitive subject function as well as the usual functions of the nominative.

I was able to elicit other case forms of -yimar, though these did not occur in texts or even in spontaneous sentences in elicitation sessions. The forms attested simply add the usual suffix to the forms shown in the table: MSg Ablative *ṇaṅga-yimar-yani*, Allative/Locative *ṇaṅga-yimar-yu(r)*, etc.

Forms in -yimar are exceptionally common in the long texts obtained from the informant Johnnie (Texts 40-42), for example *ṇaṅga-yimar* in Text 41.19 (this example shows *ṇaṅga-yimar* adjacent to coreferential MSg proximate *ṇi-ṇa* *this*, showing that -yimar is compatible with this as well as other demonstrative categories). Examples in texts from other speakers are uncommon, but we can mention *wuru-yimar* in Text 37.1 (speaker: Mack Riley).

By 'definite' we mean that quasi-demonstratives with -yimar are used to refer to something which is either well known or contextually definite. They are often used with a following noun (and preceding article), as in *ṇa-na ṇaṅga-yimar jaraḡadbuwa that chestnut rail (bird sp.)*. Because of its nature as a sort of anaphoric (rather than deictic) pronoun, -yimar competes directly with 'anaphoric' demonstratives in -na-ṅga (Oblique -ni-ṅga) described in 7.1. The latter can be used to refer to an entity which is in a *region* which is definite or well known, but -yimar is generally used when the referent itself is definite or well known. Consequently, demonstrative pronouns in -na-ṅga or -ni-ṅga are not very common, though in demonstrative adverbs (where -yimar does not occur) this stem is fairly common.

In some cases, forms with -yimar seem to be only weakly anaphoric or definite, and may function essentially as 'fillers' - taking up phonological 'space' while the speaker tries to remember the name or word for the referent in question. In this use it may compete with *wumbul what's-it?* (a more explicit filler which usually carries with it a certain degree of self-reproach). Speakers differ considerably

in the extent to which -yimar is used; it occurs constantly in the narratives of Johnny (ṇaṇuru), often clearly as a filler, while it is rare in the narratives of other speakers.

7.6. Demonstrative Adverbs (from Nominative Stem)

We have seen in 7.2 that demonstrative pronouns, like nouns, distinguish Nominative from Oblique forms, and that in the case of the demonstrative pronouns this is done in part by stem-variation (see especially Table 7-4). In demonstrative adverbs, which are formally related to Ne demonstrative pronouns, there is an analogous Nominative/Oblique opposition expressed by differences in the prefix and, except in the proximate, the stem as well.

Recall from 7.3 that, in the present positive for third person referent, demonstrative pronouns are used to predicate location (*is this* being used where English uses *to be here*, and so forth). These demonstrative pronouns are, as usual in predicate-nominal constructions (4.4), in the Nominative form: ṇanga-ya-ra *he is there* (immediate). Therefore it is not surprising that semantically locative demonstrative adverbs (*here, there*) are based on the Nominative Ne form. From n-ga-ya-ra *it (Ne) is there* we get adverb ga-ya-ra *there* (immediate), etc.

In the proximate (which distinguishes predicative from nonpredicative pronouns by using different stems), it turns out that locative adverbs can be constructed from either stem: gi-ña *here*, gi-ngara *here*. The predicative/nonpredicative opposition does not apply to demonstrative adverbs in their normal uses (nonpredicative); both are common, but I can find no clear semantic or syntactic distinction. It may be that gi-ña is more spatially restrictive (i.e. tends more to focus on a specific point, rather than a broad region) than gi-ngara, but this is only an impression.

However, gi-ngara is regularly used instead of gi-ña in the one instance where the locative adverb is predicative: with first or second person pronouns, as in ṇa-gi-ngara *I am here* and ṇi-gi-ngara *you are here* (cf. ṇi-ga-ya-ra *you are there*, etc.). The usual *to be here* construction (use of a demonstrative pronoun in predicative function) is blocked with non-3rd person pronominal subject, so gi-ngara and other adverbs are impressed into service here, and as we expect -ngara (which in demonstrative pronouns is predicative) is used instead of nonpredicative -ña in the proximate category.

The semantically locative (formally Nominative) demonstrative adverbs are shown in Table 7-6.

TABLE 7-6
Locative Demonstrative Adverbs

proximate (predicative)	gi-ngara
proximate (nonpredicative)	gi-ña
unlocalised immediate	ga-ya
localised immediate	ga-ya-ra
distant	ga-na-ña
anaphoric	ga-na-nga

From these simple locative forms we can construct adverbs of motion by adding Centripetal -ñingar or Noncentripetal -ñindi. Thus from gi-ña *here* (recall from 7.4 that -ña- *disappears* before -ñingar and -ñindi) we get gi-ñingar (*coming*) *along here* and gi-ñindi (*going*) *along that way*. The stem -ngara is apparently not used before -ñingar or -ñindi in adverbial constructions. With other stems -ñingar combines to produce ga-ya-ñingar, ga-ya-ñingar, ga-na-ña-ñingar, and ga-na-nga-ñingar, all meaning *along there (coming this way)*, differing only in the nuances of *there* in the translation (immediate, distant, etc.). Similarly, with -ñindi we get ga-ya-ñindi, ga-ya-ra-ñindi, ga-na-ña-ñindi, and ga-na-nga-ñindi, all meaning (*going*) *along there*.

These adverbs with -ñingar and -ñindi do not describe an entire transit (from point of departure to terminus). Basically, they specify a fairly restricted region in which some motion or vector was taking place at a particular point (this vector probably continued on, but the entire journey is not explicitly described by the adverb). That is, ga-na-ña-ningar *along there (coming this way)* does not tell us whether the referent in question eventually arrived *here*, though this is not ruled out. To specify arrival at a given terminus it is best to use an Allative adverb; to specify point of departure as such one should use an Ablative adverb (7.7).

Textual examples can be cited for all forms in Table 7-6, for most derivatives with -ñindi, but only for one derivative with -ñingar (proximate gi-ñingar), as follows:

gi-ngara in Texts 8.1 (ṅa-gi-ngara *I am here*), 16.2, 35.2, 38.6, and 40.16.

gi-ña (much more common than gi-ngara) in Texts 6.5, 7.3, 11.3, 19.1, 21.2, 22.2, 22.5, 23.15, 25.1, 26.1, 38.2, etc.

gi-ñindi in Texts 15.2, 22.3, 25.1, 37.2, 40.16, and many others.

gi-ñingar in Texts 29.3 and 41.13.

ga-ya in Texts 6.3, 6.5, 6.6, 6.8, 22.3, 23.3, 25.3, 26.2, 29.2, 34.2, 42.9, etc.

ga-ya-ñindi in Texts 9.3, 12.4, 26.1, 27.1, 40.33, 40.82, 42.7, etc.

ga-ya-ra in Texts 5.3, 7.6 (twice), 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 16.2, 21.2, 23.12, 23.16, 24.3, etc. (a little more common than ga-ya).

ga-ya-ra-ñindi (less common than ga-ya-ñindi) in Texts 9.4 and 24.3.

ga-na-ña in Texts 23.1, 39.2, 40.28, 40.64, 40.78, and 40.79 (fairly exhaustive list).

ga-na-ña-ñindi in Text 40.80.

ga-na-ṅga in Texts 5.1, 5.2, 23.15, 29.4, 37.1, 40.6, 40.70, 40.78, and 40.91 (fairly exhaustive list).

ga-na-ṅga-ñindi in Texts 22.5, 23.4, and 37.1.

Before bugi *still*, *just* gi-ngara and ga-ya-ra become gi-ngari and ga-ya-ri, respectively: gi-ngari bugi *right here*, ga-ya-ri bugi *right there*. These combinations are very common, cf. Texts 27.2 and 40.82, but the other adverbs do not seem to occur before bugi.

7.7. Demonstrative Adverb (from Oblique Stem)

As we saw in Table 7-4 above, the nonproximate demonstrative stems each distinguish Nominative from Oblique forms. Allative and Ablative demonstrative adverbs, unlike the semantically locative (formally Nominative) ones of 7.6, are based on the Oblique stems.

The adverbs in 7.6 are based on the Nominative Ne demonstrative pronoun form, which begins in n-gi- or n-ga-. This is reduced to gi- or ga- in the adverbs. We would expect the Allative and Ablative adverbs to use the corresponding Ne Oblique prefix ña-, hence something like ña-ri-ya-yu(r) *to there* and ña-ri-ya-yani *from there* using the localised immediate stem -ri-ya-.

These forms with ña- do occur, but are uncommon. Instead, Allative and Ablative adverbs are usually based on the same 'Nominative' form gi- or ga- of the Ne prefix, even though nowhere else do we get the combination of 'Nominative' class/case prefix with Oblique stem. However, there is a phonological perturbation: gi-/ga- becomes wi-/wa-

by morphophonemic rule P-6 (cf. 3.6). This phonological shift, more often than the usual replacement of *gi-/ga-* by *ña-*, is what marks the Oblique case in prefixes with demonstrative adverbs. This shift is redundant in the sense that no minimal pairs are differentiated solely by the *g-* vs. *w-* alternation.

In the proximate, whereas both *-ña* and *-ngara* are used in locative adverbs (*gi-ña* and *gi-ngara here*), and although only the former is used with Centripetal or Noncentripetal suffix (7.6), in the Allative and Ablative we find only *-ngara-*. The other stems used in Allative and Ablative adverbs are the usual nonproximate Oblique stems *-ri-ya-*, *-ri-ya-ra-*, *-ni-ña-*, *-ni-nga-* (see Table 7-4). The Allative has suffix *-y₂u(r)*, which for nouns is Allative/Locative but in these adverbs has exclusively allative sense. The Ablative has suffix *-y₁ani*, also used in this sense with nouns. The forms are therefore those shown in Table 7-7 and Table 7-8.

TABLE 7-7

Allative Demonstrative Adverbs

proximate	{ <i>wi-ngara-yu(r)</i> <i>ña-ngara-yu(r)</i>
unlocalised immediate	{ <i>wa-ri-ya-yu(r)</i> <i>ña-ri-ya-yu(r)</i>
localised immediate	{ <i>wa-ri-ya-ra-yu(r)</i> <i>ña-ri-ya-ra-yu(r)</i>
distant	{ <i>wa-ni-ña-yu(r)</i> <i>ña-ni-ña-yu(r)</i>
anaphoric	{ <i>wa-ni-nga-yu(r)</i> <i>ña-ni-nga-yu(r)</i>

TABLE 7-8

Ablative Demonstrative Adverbs

proximate	{ wi-ngara-yani ñā-ngara-yani
unlocalised immediate	{ wa-ri-ya-yani ñā-ri-ya-yani
localised immediate	{ wa-ri-ya-ra-yani ñā-ri-ya-ra-yani
distant	{ wa-ni-ñā-yani ñā-ni-ñā-yani
anaphoric	{ wa-ni-nga-yani ñā-ni-nga-yani

Allative adverbs indicate the terminus of a transit (*to here, to there*). Ablative adverbs indicate the point of departure (*from here, from there*).

There are no Pergressive or Purposive adverbs based on demonstrative stems (though cardinal-direction adverbs include some which are semantically pergressive).

I have found only one example in the texts of a form based on Oblique prefix ñā- but which lacks a case suffix: ñā-ngara *to here* (Text 8.2). This appears to be semantically Allative in context.

Textual examples can be cited for many of the Allative and Ablative adverbs listed in the tables above. The Oblique prefix ñā- is attested in ñā-ngara-yani *from here* once (Text 19.2) and in ñā-ni-nga-yani *from there* (Anaphoric) twice (Texts 15.2, 21.4). Examples of the others:

wi-ngara-yu(r) in Texts 15.2, 26.2, and 27.2.

wi-ngara-yani in Texts 28.1, 28.2, 29.1, and 38.1.

wa-ri-ya-ra-yani in Texts 25.5 and 37.2.

wa-ni-ñā-yani in Texts 22.1, 40.5, and 40.39.

wa-ni-nga-yani in Texts 3.2, 5.5, 8.1, 10.4, 13.6, 14.4, 15.2, 20.2, 21.3, 25.5, 37.2, 40.6, and others (very common, and often translatable *after that* as well as *from there*).

The relative infrequency of some of the Allative adverbs is due to their competition with forms based on Locative adverbs with suffix -ñindi or -ñingar (e.g. *ga-ya-ñindi that way* is often used in preference to *wa-ri-ya-yu(r) to there*).

7.8. Cardinal-Direction Adverbs

Languages in coastal Arnhem Land from Mara north (and south?) tend to have complicated morphological systems involving cardinal-direction adverbs (north, south, east, west, up, down). Of the languages I am familiar with, Mara takes the prize for the most complicated and irregular system. For each category (e.g. *north*) there is a series of six or so forms, usually involving stem-suppletion and/or various phonological perturbations on the stem.

The forms are set out in Table 7-9.

TABLE 7-9
Cardinal-Direction Adverbs

1. *west*:

<i>garga i</i>	simple locative (<i>in the west</i>)
<i>garga a</i>	distant locative (<i>far in the west</i>)
<i>garga-'rga a</i>	emphatic distant locative (<i>far in the west</i>)
<i>garga a-maryi</i>	pergressive (<i>along/across the west</i>)
<i>warga i(-r)</i>	allative (<i>westward</i>)
<i>warga i-yana</i>	ablative (<i>from the west</i>)
<i>warga-'rga i-yana</i>	lateral (<i>on the western side</i>)

2. *east*:

<i>gaŋu</i>	simple locative
<i>gaŋa</i>	distant locative
<i>gaŋa-gaŋa</i>	emphatic distant locative
<i>gaŋa-maryi</i>	pergressive
<i>ŋuwi-ri</i>	allative
<i>waŋga-yana</i>	ablative
<i>waŋga-'ŋga-yana</i>	lateral

3. *north*:

guymi	simple locative
guyma	distant locative
guyma-guyma	emphatic distant locative
guyma-maryi	pergressive
yimbi-ri	allative
yimi-yana	ablative
yimi-yimi-yana	lateral

4. *south*:

bayi	simple locative
baya	distant locative
baya-baya	emphatic distant locative
baya-maryi	pergressive
waybu-ri	allative
wa-yana	ablative
waya-wa-yana	lateral

5. *up (uphill, upriver, etc.)*:

garaja	locative
waraja	locative
waraja-maryi	pergressive
waraja-ri	allative (e.g. <i>uphill, upriver</i>)
garaja-wili	vertical allative (<i>straight up</i>)
waraji-yana	ablative
wara-'raji-yana	lateral

6. *down (downhill, downriver, under/inside, etc.)*:

yigal	locative (especially <i>inside, under</i>)
wu!uŋun	locative (<i>on the bottom</i>)
wu!uŋun-maryi	pergressive (<i>along the bottom</i>)
wu!uŋu-ñi	pergressive (<i>inside; along the bottom</i>)
wa!bu-ri	allative (<i>downward</i>)
wi!-yana	ablative (<i>from below</i>)
wi!ya-wi!-yana	lateral (<i>on the bottom side</i>)

Some regularities do emerge from this material, especially if we concentrate on the four compass points. We note first that the distant locative always ends in *a*, while the simple locative ends in *i* or *u* and is otherwise identical in form. The emphatic distant locative is just the reduplicated form of the (unemphatic) distant locative, though in some cases the expected process of Medial Lenition P-5 (3.5) does not operate (e.g. we would expect *gaŋa-'ŋa instead of gaŋa-gaŋa, and indeed the rule does operate in garga-'rgaŋa in the paradigm of *west*). The pergressive is the (unemphatic) distant locative plus suffix *-maryi* (which is used only with cardinal-direction terms). The allative involves stem-suppletion for *east*, *north*, and *south*, but ends in a suffix *-ri* in all three of these cases, while for *west* we get the usual stem and an optional suffix *-r*. The ablative shows stem-suppletion for the same three stems which have this in the allative; the suffix is *-yŋana* (the Ablative allomorph used with place names, but not with ordinary nouns, which use *-yŋani*, see 4.11). Finally, the 'lateral' adverb (*on the ... side*) is formally the reduplication of the ablative, though the two are not close semantically. Finally, note that for *west* we get a *g/w* alternation with the stop found in the locative forms and in the pergressive (which is built from one of the locatives), the continuant elsewhere. If *waybu-* and *wa-* are related to *bayi* (see *south*), we may have a similar *b/w* alternation; a somewhat different distribution for *g/w* is seen in *up*.

A reasonable indication of the semantics of the seven forms for each compass-point term can be given on the basis of available data. The simple locative is the least semantically marked locative form; I got this form in simple translations of *he is staying in the west*, etc. The distant locative tends to be used when specifying indefinite distant location in the particular direction. The corresponding reduplication is slightly more emphatic, but is still fairly common and should not be taken as an extremely emphatic form.

The pergressive form denotes the region (e.g. *over in the west*) in which motion or some kind of transit takes place. If the transit is parallel to *here*, an appropriate translation might be *across the west* or the like, but *through the west* or *along in the west* is a more generally applicable translation.

The allative is straightforward semantically: *to the west*, *westward*, etc. The ablative is also semantically simple: *from the west*, etc. The lateral indicates which side (e.g. of a river or other reference point) the region is in, using compass-point categories, hence *on the west side*, etc.

After observing the elaboration of such adverbial forms, readers will perhaps not be surprised to learn that Mara discourse is very compass-oriented. In mythical texts in particular I found that narrators (especially my chief informant, Mack Riley) used cardinal-direction (including compass-point) adverbs repeatedly, making sure that the direction of each portion of the totemic beings' zigzagging movements were clearly spelled out. Moreover, where in English we might be content to say *he is on the far side (of the river)*, in Mara we are likely to get an expression like *he is on the west side (of the river)* with a compass-point adverb.

Textual examples of the compass-point adverbs include (among many others) the following:

simple locative in Texts 23.3, 23.6, 30.2 (garga|i), 22.1, 26.1, 26.2 (gaŋu), 22.5, 22.6, 25.4, 39.1 (bayi), 34.2 (guyma).

distant locative in Texts 23.8, 23.12, 38.3 (garga|a), 23.13, 23.14 and 24.2 (guyma).

No examples of emphatic distant locative in texts (though they are moderately common in other elicited material).

pergressive in Texts 38.3 (gaŋa-maryi) and 40.34 (garga|a-maryi).

lateral in Texts 29.2, 30.2 (waya-wa-yana), and 38.6 (wanga-'ŋga-yana).

Examples of the allative and ablative types are omitted since they are very common and semantically straightforward.

The forms for *up* and *down* (sections 5 and 6 in the table) show some elements in common with the compass-point terms, but also some special features. In section 5, we see that instead of an opposition between three locatives (simple, distant, emphatic distant) there are only two forms, of similar meaning, differentiated only by initial consonantism. This paradigm also has a special form *garaja-wili*, indicating vertical height rather than position or motion up a slope.

In section 6, the adverb *yigal* means basically *inside* but in some contexts is interchangeable with *wu|uŋun under, on the bottom*. The pergressive in *-maryi* conforms to the general pattern, but there is also a form *wu|uŋu-ñi* which seems semantically similar to this (*-maryi* is more common in texts than *-yi*). The ablative *wi|-yana* and the allative in *wa|bu-ri* seem to show a basic root *wV|-in* common with locative *wu|uŋun*.

Textual examples of some of the *up* and *down* adverbs:

garaja in Texts 19.1, 22.3, 28.1, 30.3 and 30.5,

waraja in Texts 21.3, 22.5, 23.15 and 34.2.

waraja-maryi in Texts 23.1, 23.3, 23.7, 23.8 and 41.19.

waraja-ri in Texts 4.2, 5.2 and many others.

garaja-wili in Texts 5.2 (referring to the sun), 20.2, 22.2 and 39.1.

waraji-yana in Text 21.3 and elsewhere.

wara-'raji-yana in Texts 20.7, 21.2, 30.5, etc.

wu|un in Texts 7.6, 13.6, 23.3, 23.7, 23.8 and 42.9.

wu|un-maryi in Texts 22.1 and 34.4.

wa|bu-ri in Texts 5.1, 6.6 and many others.

wi|-yana in Texts 5.2 and 24.2.

In Text 40.23, it appears that wa|bu-ri is used as a noun, and takes Du nominative class/case prefix (wur-wa|bu-ri). This is most unusual for any allative adverb.

7.9. Other Demonstrative Forms

By adding the suffix -yana to a demonstrative pronoun (usually MSg), we get a form meaning *this kind* or *that kind*. Examples: ŋi-ña-yana *this kind*, ŋaŋga-ya-ra *that kind*. There is no Genitive adjunct (hence English *this kind of tree* is not easily expressed, though one can use an appositive expression like dabaliya ŋi-ña-yana *trees, this kind*).

The suffix -yana can, perhaps, be identified formally with Ablative -y|ani/-y|ana (the second allomorph being used with place names), but there is certainly no semantic resemblance. Examples of ŋi-ña-yana and the like are all Nominative in my material; I did not get any examples of Ergative-Instrumental forms (like *ŋa-ña-yana for MSg), nor of Oblique forms with case suffix.

The discussion of cardinal-direction terms in 7.8 can be supplemented by noting certain other adverbs, though none of these has anything like the range of specialised case forms seen in 7.8. The following are the most important:

ŋaŋi, ŋaŋi-yana	<i>behind</i>
ñawu	<i>behind</i>
yaŋgar	<i>ahead, in front, in the lead</i>
yingar	<i>(on) this side, (on) the near side</i>
law aw	<i>(on) the other (far) side</i>

The form *ṇaṇi-yana*, apparently with Ablative *-y₁ana* but without ablative meaning, is more common than *ṇaṇi* by itself (Texts 8.1, 40.60, etc.). The form *ṇawu* seems to be synonymous but is less common. The opposite of these is *yaṅgar*. The form *yingar* may be obscurely related to *-ngara is here* (7.2). The form *lawlaw* is historically the reduplication of *law*, a verb-particle meaning *to cross, to go across*. Examples of *yingar* and *lawlaw* are in Texts 39.1 and 40.57 respectively.

7.10. Articles

Prenominal articles (4.5) are used fairly often with demonstrative adverbs and very often with demonstrative pronouns. Indeed, they are probably more common with these demonstrative pronouns than they are with nouns. Although forms like MSg *ṇi-ṇa this one* do occur alone as NP's, more often we find *ṇa-na ṇi-ṇa* with MSg article *ṇa-na*. Whereas for nouns, articles are usually omitted in the Oblique, for demonstrative pronouns they are quite common even in Oblique categories: *ṇa-ni ṇa-ṇa this one* (MSg ergative), *ṇa-ni ṇa-ṇa-yani from this one*, etc.

The forms taken by the articles before demonstrative pronouns are the same as those taken before nouns of the corresponding class/case categories. However, before demonstrative adverbs we find some special features.

First, in those demonstrative adverbs based on the Nominative stem (i.e. the Locative and its derivatives), we have noted that the adverb itself begins with *ga-* or *gi-*, which is related to Ne *n-ga-* and *n-gi-* in demonstrative pronouns (*n-gi-ṇa this one*, Ne but adverb *gi-ṇa here*). When an adverb like *gi-ṇa* is preceded by an article, the same loss of *n-* occurs in the article as well, hence *ga-na gi-ṇa here* with article *ga-na* (cf. Ne Nominative article *n-ga-na*, as in *n-ga-na n-guruṇaran the beach*). Textual examples are *ga-na gi-ṇa here* (Text 35.2), *ga-na ga-ya there* (Text 26.2), and *ga-na gi-ṇindi this way* (Text 40.17), among others.

In those infrequent cases where a demonstrative adverb begins with Ne Oblique *ṇa-*, an accompanying article will also have this prefix (i.e. we will get the regular Ne Oblique prefix *ṇa-ni*, also used before nouns): *ṇa-ni ṇa-ngara to here* in Text 8.3. More often, though, the Oblique demonstrative adverb begins with *wa-* or *wi-*, derived from Nominative *ga-* or *gi-* by lenition of the initial consonant. In this even the same process occurs in the article, so we get *wa-ni*. An example of this is *wa-ni wi-ngara-yani from here* in Text 28.1.

Although articles are thus well-attested before various kinds of demonstrative adverbs, it should be pointed out that such adverbs are

more commonly found without the articles, so that *gi-ña here* is more common than *ga-na gi-ña*, and so forth.

Similarly, the article *ga-na* is occasionally (but not very frequently) found with cardinal-direction adverbs. In this instance it appears that only Nominative *ga-na* can be used, regardless of the 'case' of the adverb. For example, *wa|bu-ri downward* is semantically Allative, but instead of **ña-ni wa|bu-ri* or **wa-ni wa|bu-ri* with Oblique articles, we get *ga-na wa|bu-ri* (Text 40.42). In other words, for purposes of case 'agreement' between cardinal-direction adverbs and accompanying articles, the former are always treated as Nominative.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INTERROGATION

8.1. Yes-No Questions

There is no common yes-no interrogative particle. Consequently, yes-no interrogative sentences are normally identical formally to the corresponding indicative sentences, though perhaps with interrogative intonation.

An effort was made to elicit at least a tag-question word, since languages to the north often have such an element. However, prolonged badgering of the informant (Mack Riley) led only to the hesitant production of sentences with *ni ?* as the tag-question marker (here ? is a glottal stop). This is a local creole English yes-no tag-question marker and is not usual in Mara. Example:

wu-|ini ga-ya-ra-ñindi , ni ? . *He went that way, didn't he?*
he went that way yes?

8.2. Other Interrogative Words: General Remarks

Aside from yes-no interrogatives, there are several types of interrogative clause involving interrogative pronouns or adverbs such as *nani who?*, *ninjani what?*, and *ga-nguni where?*.

These interrogative words can function in indefinite as well as interrogative function, so that *nani* can be translated as *who?*, *someone*, or *anyone* in different contexts. The ordinary interpretation is *who?* so that in the following example the force is interrogative:

nani wu-|ini . *Who went?*
who? he went

However, if *jabay maybe* is added the force is to indicate the speaker's uncertainty, and it is not necessarily intended to evoke a reply from the addressee:

jabay ɲani wu-ɭini .
maybe who? he went

Appropriate translations for this are *I do not know who went* or *maybe someone went*.

Finally, in negative contexts a word like ɲani is translated *no-one* or *anyone*, as in this example:

ganagu wu-yurayi ɲani . *No-one went.*
not he went who?

Similarly, ga-ɲuni can mean *where?*, *somewhere*, *anywhere*, or *no-where* according to the context.

8.3. ɲani who?

This interrogative pronoun (human only) takes the following forms in the Nominative: MSg ɲani (i.e. Ø-ɲani), FSg n-ɲani, Ne n-ɲani, Du wur-ɲani, Pl wul-ɲani-ɲani. Notice reduplication in the last form. The Oblique forms are ɲa-ɲani, ya-ɲani, ña-ɲani, wiri-ɲani and willi-ɲani-ɲani. The class/case prefixes are entirely regular in the context of nominal morphology. Nonzero case suffixes can be added as usual to the Oblique stem, hence ɲa-ɲani-yur *to whom?*. The Nominative forms are used for transitive object and intransitive subject as with nouns; the suffixless Oblique form is Ergative. The Genitive is ɲa-ɲani jawuru (Oblique form, plus appropriate third person Genitive pronoun, here 3Sg jawuru), showing the same construction as for Genitive nouns.

The usual form is the MSg (Ø-ɲani, ɲa-ɲani-, etc.) and the others are used only when the class and/or number are explicitly presupposed. If, as is usually the case, the class and/or number are uncertain, the MSg form is used. The FSg and Ne forms are not common at all but it was possible to obtain them in formal elicitation sessions.

An example of MSg Ergative ɲa-ɲani *no-one* in a negative sentence is in Text 17. Other examples:

jabay wul-ɲani-ɲani ɾaŋ+bulg-añi .
maybe who? (Pl Nom) he killed them
I don't know whom (Pl) he killed.

ɲa-ɲani jawuru ɲaŋga-ya-ra gumbi .
who? (MSg Obl) his that meat (Nom)
Whose is that meat?

ɲa-ɲani-ni ɲa-ni-ganji ɲa-na mama .
for whom? (MSg Purp) you brought it the food (Nom)
For whom did you bring the food?

 ɲani wu-!ini ɲa-walba-yur .
who? (MSg) he went to the river
Who went to the river?

As the examples show, the interrogative word is usually clause-initial. It is possible to use the defocusser *ga-na* before the verb, hence *ɲani ga-na wu-!ini ɲa-walba-yur who was it who went to the river?*, but this is not especially common with *ɲani*.

8.4. ɲinjani *what?*

This is the interrogative pronoun used instead of *ɲani* for nonhuman referent. It is ordinarily a MSg noun, hence Nominative *ɲinjani* (i.e. Ø-*ɲinjani*), Ergative-Instrumental *ɲa-ɲinjani*, etc. Certain case forms are quite common: Purposive *ɲa-ɲinjani-ni what for?*, Instrumental *ɲa-ɲinjani with what?*, etc. However, the Allative/Locative form *ɲa-ɲinjani-yu(r)* and the Ablative form *ɲa-ɲinjani-yani* are not common; they are certainly not the common expressions for *(to) where?* or *from where?* (cf. following sections).

Examples of the negative sense *nothing, (not) anything* and of the indefinite sense *something, don't know what* are found in Texts 16.1 and 40.67, respectively. Examples of the interrogative sense:

ɲa-ɲinjani-ni wu-!ini .
for what? he went
Why did he go?

 ɲinjani ga-na ɾag+ɲi-'ñi .
what? you killed it
What did you kill?

The clause-initial position is typical, and the subordinator is occasionally used.

There are certain specialised uses of *ɲinjani* which should be pointed out. Firstly, it is often added to a NP as a sort of appositional adjunct best translated as *for example, among other things, or something like that*, etc. Hence in Text 42.2 we find *...ɖalaɖala ɲinjani boards, or something like that* (though this translation is a bit too awkward to convey the mild semantic contribution of *ɲinjani* here). A simpler translation such as *perhaps boards* might be more appropriate in some examples.

In this use we often find the sequence *ninjani nanga-ya* or *something like that*, with *nanga-ya that*. This is a frozen and recurrent expression, and other words for *that* such as the nearly synonymous *nanga-ya-ra* are not ordinarily used in place of *nanga-ya* here. An example is *na-na nurubu ninjani nanga-ya the rib or something like that* in Text 4.2 (cf. *na-na nurubu the rib*). Among many other textual examples we may mention Texts 5.5 and 9.4. There is one example of *ninjani na-na-nga* in similar sense, but with Anaphoric *na-nanga that, that same one* (see Text 6.8).

A reduplication *ninja-ninjani* is also common in the sense *anything, everything, all sorts of things*. Examples: Texts 5.4 and 7.1.

8.5. -nguni which?; where is...?

Although -nguni is usually translated *where is...?*, it is perhaps more appropriate syntactically to insist on the translation *which?* (emphasising that it is a kind of pronoun rather than an adverb). This is because it agrees in class with the referent; the derivative *ga-nguni* (cf. below) is the non-agreeing adverb *where?*.

In my data, -nguni as an interrogative pronoun is used chiefly in the Nominative, in predicative position, and the translation is *where is/are...?*. The Sg forms show the same prefixes characteristic of demonstrative pronouns, especially those based on the root -na- (7.2), hence MSg *na-nguni*, FSg *na-nguni*, Ne *n-ga-nguni* (cf. *na-na-ña, na-na-ña, n-ga-na-ña that*). In the Du and Pl, perhaps because forms like **wur-nguni* would be phonologically problematic, the stem is extended to -nganguni, hence Du *wur-nganguni* and Pl *wul-nganguni*. One thinks of the *na*-Insertion rule P-4, but since we will see -ngangu- below (next section) in other combinations it is probably best not to try to treat *wur-nganguni* and *wul-nganguni* as involving automatic insertion of -na- by a regular phonological rule, rather as a case of allomorphic variation.

Examples:

na-nguni na-na gaṛiyi-mar .
where is? the man (Nom)
Where is the man?

wul-nganguni wal-a wul-gaṛiyi .
where are? the men (Nom)
Where are the men?

This construction is ordinarily used only for present tense (positive). For past and future a different construction using the adverb *ga-nguni where?* (see below) is usual.

The translation *which?* is required in the few cases in my data where *-nguni* is not predicative. An example of it functioning as direct object:

na-nguni *bur+i-biliṇanji* .
which? (MSg Nom) *you want it*
Which one do you want?

It was possible to obtain Ergative forms (MSg *na-nguni*, FSg *ya-nguni*, Ne *ña-nguni*, Du *wiri-ṇanguni*, Pl *wili-ṇanguni*) but these did not occur frequently in spontaneous utterances:

ya-nguni *bur+a-'-biliṇama* .
which? (FSg Erg) *he/she wants it*
Which one (female) wants it?

Similarly, suffixed forms like Purposive MSg *na-nguni-ni* and so forth were obtained in elicitation sessions.

We have seen (Chapter Seven) that demonstrative adverbs like *gi-ña here* are reduced versions of Ne demonstrative pronouns like *n-gi-ña this one*. Something of the sort also applies to these interrogatives; alongside *n-ga-nguni which?* (Ne) we get *ga-nguni where?*.

Whereas pronominal forms of *-nguni* are used on predicative function in the present tense, *ga-nguni* translates *where?* in predicative function in other tenses, and in nonpredicative (genuinely adverbial) function in all tenses. Actually, in Mara it is not possible for *ga-nguni* (or *-nguni*) to be formally predicative in non-present tense, since instead of a formal equivalent of *where was he?* we get expressions like *where was he sitting?*. That is, a verb (usually a stance verb like *to sit*) is generally required, making the interrogative adverb nonpredicative.

Examples of *ga-nguni* :

ga-nguni w-anji .
where? he sat
Where did he sit? (i.e. Where was he?)

ga-nguni yaṇatwa-'-juḷu .
where? he is sleeping
Where is he sleeping?

Again, clause-initial position is regular and the particle *ga-na* is possible but not common (*ga-nguni ga-na w-anji*, etc.).

An additional restriction on pronominal -nguni is that it cannot be used with reference to first or second persons. To translate *where are you?* we do not get something like *ñiya-ra ñi-ngara (**you which?*). Moreover, although we might expect (on the basis of the pattern seen in demonstratives) to translate this as *ñi-ga-nguni (**you-where?*), this is likewise ungrammatical. The actual form for *where are you?* is ñi-ṅangu, with a slightly different stem described in the following section.

8.6. gangu, -ṅangu

These stems are related, in a somewhat irregular fashion, to -nguni (and its extension -ṅangu) mentioned in the preceding section. The relationship of gangu to Ne n-ga-nguni is parallel (except for the loss of final ni) to the relationship of demonstrative adverbs like gi-ña *here* to Ne demonstrative pronouns like n-gi-ña *this one*. However, the parallelism is not complete and it is probably best to take gangu (and its variant -ṅangu) as a distinct stem.

Firstly, gangu is used as a verb-particle, with Aux -mindini/-miyi (11.35), to form an all-purpose interrogative verb-complex. In the present positive gangu+ñi-manji, the most common translation is *what are you doing?* but others such as *how's it going, mate?* are also contextually possible. In past positive forms like gangu+ñi-ma the past tense equivalents of these translations are also possible, but a translation *what happened to you?* may also be possible (Text 42.13) although the formal structure of the Mara expression (intransitive, with 2Sg subject) is unlike that of the translation.

In the negative, this verb-complex means *to do nothing*, hence ganagu gangu+ṅa-miyi *I did nothing*. Similarly, in positive forms gangu as verb-particle can mean *to do something*, as in jabay gangu+ṅa-may *I might do something; I don't know what I'll do* (with jabay *maybe*).

We have seen that ga-nguni is the usual adverb *where?*. This is formally Nominative (hence, as with demonstratives, semantically locative). In other 'case' forms, however, we get gangu- or ṅangu- instead of ga-nguni-. Thus the usual expression for *to where?* is gangu-ñindi, with Noncentripetal -ñindi (7.4). The corresponding Ablative is wa-ṅangu-yani *from where?*. There is no parallel Allative form *wa-ṅangu-yu(r) since this function is carried out by gangu-ñindi.

gangu-ñindi ga-na ñi-ḷini .
to where? you went
Where did you go?

wa-ṅangu-yani ga-na ṅa-ni-ḷini .
from where? you came
From where did you come?

The particle *ga-na* is fairly common but certainly not obligatorily with these interrogative adverbs.

The form *-ṅangu* is used (instead of *-ṅuni* or *ga-ṅuni*) to translate predicative *where are/am ...?* in the present tense with first or second person prefix: *ṅi-ṅangu where are you (Sg)?*.

There is also a special reduplicated form *gangu-gangu*, which can be translated *how much/how many?* in some contexts:

gangu-gangu bur+i-biliṅanjī .
how much? you want it
How much do you want?

This form, however, is also used in the *what is ...'s name?* construction. Formally it is in apposition to the noun *n-ṅiṅin name(d)*, hence this example:

gangu-gangu n-ṅiṅin ṅa-na gaṛiyi-mar .
what? name(d) the man (Nom)
What is the man's name?

Literally this is not a possessive construction as suggested by the translation *the man's name*. Rather, it is literally *the man (is) what-named?* where *gangu-gangu* and *n-ṅiṅin* are appositive predicative constituents.

8.7. Other Interrogative Words: *wanguyar*, *ṅangunirña*, *wayi*, *ṅaṇi*

The word for *when?* is *wanguyar*. This may be segmentable historically as *wa-ngu-yar*, with *-ngu* (cf. *gangu*, etc.) preceded by *ga-* in its lenited Oblique form *wa-* (cf. demonstrative adverbs like *wa-ni-ṅga-yani from there*) and followed by a unique case-like suffix *-yar*. Its syntax is similar to other interrogative adverbs like *ga-ṅuni where?* and it takes the particle *ga-na* fairly often:

wanguyar ga-na ṅa-nuwu-ḷini .
when? you (Pl) came
When did you (Pl) come?

 wanguyar ṅuwu-jura .
you (Pl) will go
When will you go?

A form *ṇangunirña* *what kind?* can perhaps be segmented as *ṇa-ngu-nirña* with *-ngu-* preceded by MSg *ṇa-*, but the ending *-nirña* is otherwise unattested (unless it is a variant of *-yirña*, cf. 12.4). The answer to a sentence with *ṇangunirña* may be an ordinary noun, or perhaps a demonstrative expression like *ṇi-ña-yana* *this kind*.

Q: <i>ṇangunirña bur+i-biliṇanji</i> .	A: <i>ṇi-ña-yana</i> .
<i>what kind? you want it</i>	<i>this kind</i>
<i>What kind of thing do you want?</i>	<i>This kind of thing.</i>

An invariable interrogative form *wayi* (possibly from English) can be used, as an alternative to *-nguni*, in the sense *where is...?*, though it is much less common than *-nguni*.

<i>wayi</i>	<i>ṇa-na gaṛiyi-mar</i> .
<i>where is? the</i>	<i>man (Nom)</i>
<i>Where is the man?</i>	
<i>wayi</i>	<i>wal-a wul-gaṛiyi</i> .
<i>where is? the</i>	<i>men (Nom)</i>
<i>Where are the men?</i>	

The word *ṇaṇi*, usually without adjuncts, is a fairly uncommon all-purpose interrogative expression which can be translated by some vague expression such as *well?* or *how about it?*. It occurs, sporadically, in some neighbouring languages (e.g. Warndarang) as well.

8.8. Self-Interrogatives: *wumbul*, *wumbuli*

There are two self-interrogative nouns: *wumbul* *what's-it*, *whatchamacallit* and *wumbuli*. The latter is used specifically for place names, as in this example:

<i>wu-ḷini wumbuli</i> ,	<i>ṇumbulwar</i> .
<i>he went what's it?</i>	<i>Numbulwar</i>
<i>He went (to) what's it?, (to) Numbulwar.</i>	

This form *wumbuli* is syntactically somewhat similar to place names, as we might expect. It takes Ablative allomorph *-yḷana* (*wumbuli-yana* *from what's-it*); this is the allomorph used after place names but not ordinary nouns (which take *-yḷani*). The suffixless form *wumbuli* is normal in semantically locative and allative function, but in the latter it is also possible to use *wumbuli-ñindi* *to what's-it* with Noncentripetal *-ñindi* (4.19). Like many place names, *wumbuli* does not take class/case prefixes. It can take MSg article *ṇa-na* but this is rare.

The general self-interrogative noun is wumbul. It frequently takes MSg article ɲa-na (hence ɲa-na wumbul), and because it only occurs in the Nominative in its many occurrences in my data it is possible to analyse it as Ø-wumbul with MSg Nominative prefix Ø-. A Ne form n-ga-na n-wumbul is attested once (Text 6.10), but the overwhelming majority of instances are formally Nominative.

CHAPTER NINE

OVERVIEW OF THE VERBAL SYSTEM

9.1. Verb-Complexes

There are two types of verb-complex, both of which contain an inflected verb form (with pronominal prefix, inflectional suffix marking tense/aspect/mood, and perhaps other morphemes) based on one of the small number of directly inflectable verb stems. The simple verb-complex consists of this verb form without a preceding verb-particle. The extended verb-complex consists of this verb form along with a preceding verb-particle; in this event the verb-particle carries the main verbal motion and the directly inflectable verb stem is called an 'auxiliary' (Aux). Some directly inflectable verbs are used only as Aux's, some only as independent verbs (without verb-particles), while others can be used in both structures.

An example of the simple verb-complex is *na-!ini I went*. This begins with 1Sg intransitive pronominal prefix *na-*. The remainder contains the verb root and the inflectional ending; the morpheme break is usually not written between these two because of irregularities, phonological fusion, etc., but in this case is probably *-!i-ni*.

Forms of *to go* happen to be used as Aux's as well as in the simple form just exemplified. Thus, with verb-particle *mal to go up* we get *mal+na-!ini I went up*. Note that the symbol + is used at the morpheme boundary just after the verb-particle.

An example of an inflectable verb which cannot be used as an Aux is *-guluguluwuni*, as in *na-guluguluwuni I waited for turtle or dugong to surface*. An example of an inflectable verb used only as an Aux is *-jujuñi*, as in *ɖad+gu-jujuñi he was tying it up*.

The morphological structure (morpheme sequencing) of verb-complexes, including negative pre-verbs (*ganagu*, *ɲula*) is shown in Table 9-1. In the remaining sections of this chapter we will deal with the morphemes shown in the table, aside from pronominal endings (described in Chapter Eleven). Nominalised verbs are not accounted for in Table 9-1, but are dealt with in 12.2 and 12.3.

TABLE 9-1
Verb-Complexes

1. Negative (*gu-*, *ganagu*, *ɲula*)
2. Benefactive *ma-*, *ma|-*
3. Reduplication (by rule P-1)
4. Verb-Particle
5. + boundary
6. Centripetal *ɣ₁a-/ɲa-*
7. 3Pres *-w₁a-*
8. Pronominal Prefix
9. Reduplication (by rule P-2)
10. Reduplication (by rule P-1)
11. Durative Stem-Initial Prefix
12. Inflectable Verb Root
13. Inflectional Suffix (tense/aspect/mood)
14. Reflexive/Reciprocal *-!ana*.

9.2. The Major Verbal Categories

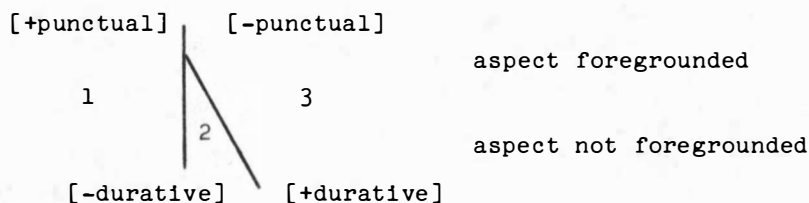
Some aspects of each morpheme-class (e.g. pronominal prefixes) in Table 9-1 can be satisfactorily described without reference to what is going on simultaneously in other 'slots' in the verb complex. The Reflexive/Reciprocal suffix, the Benefactive prefix, the Centripetal prefix, and to some extent reduplicative segments can be dealt with in individual sections of this grammar. However, to understand the major inflectional categories (tense, aspect, mood, negation) it is necessary to consider how the different morpheme-classes interact functionally.

Thus in careful speech, as in short utterances produced by informants in elicitation sessions, I obtained past punctual positive forms like *ɖad+gu-ji he tied it up* and past continuous durative positive forms like *ɖad+gu-jujuɲi he was tying/kept tying it up*. The latter form can be reduplicated (by P-1): *ɖa-dad+gu-jujuɲi he repeatedly tied it/them up*. Of the forms *ɖad+gu-ji* and *ɖad+gu-jujuɲi*, the latter seemed to be less marked (semantically specific) than the former; thus, while every paradigm has a past continuous form, a few lack a distinct past punctual (e.g. *-ja|i ate*, which is formally past continuous durative positive, has no punctual variant).

In the somewhat less careful speech typical of texts, however, we can get the third possibility: the past continuous nondurative positive: *ɖad+gu-juɲi he tied (was tying) it up*. This is used to describe a nonpunctual event which did not last a particularly long time, and is used when the aspectual nuance is not emphasised.

The best way to look at this (and, as we shall soon see, the way which accords best with the morphological expression of these categories) is in terms of two overlapping oppositions: punctual/continuous and durative/nondurative. In the former opposition, we have noted that the punctual is perhaps slightly more marked grammatically, but in the latter opposition the nondurative (which includes the punctual) is clearly unmarked since its frequency expands considerably in nonforegrounded contexts. Hence Figure 9-1.

FIGURE 9-1
Past Tense Aspect

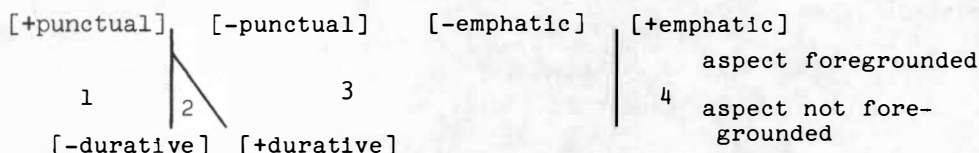


- Key: 1. past punctual positive (always nondurative)
 2. past continuous nondurative positive
 3. past continuous durative positive

As the diagram shows, the two oppositions effectively intersect at the top (with aspect foregrounded, as generally in careful speech), but diverge increasingly toward the bottom (as the range of the nondurative expands at the expense of the durative, while the punctual vs. nonpunctual - i.e. continuous - remains steady).

Reduplication by rule P-1 (as opposed to P-2, which is part of the durative/nondurative system) adds an additional complication, emphasising repetition or prolongation. It can occur, in the past positive, only with the continuous durative form (3 in Figure 9-1). If the reduplication is simply taken as the 'emphatic' form of this category, we can rewrite Figure 9-1 as Figure 9-2.

FIGURE 9-2
Past Tense Aspect (Revised)



- Key: 1. past punctual positive (always nondurative)
 2. past continuous nondurative positive
 3. past unemphatic continuous durative positive
 4. past emphatic continuous durative positive

Examples of the past punctual positive and past continuous durative positive abound in the texts. The following are some examples of the past continuous nondurative positive: *wu-yurañi he went* (Text 23.2, cf. durative *wu-jurañi*); *wili-wani they gave (it) to him* (Text 36.2, cf. durative *wili-wanani*); *wu-yañi he ate it* (Text 39.3, cf. durative *wu-jañi*); *wurg-aluni he kept them* (Du) (Text 36.3, cf. durative *wurgu-galuni*); *wu-wayingañi he hit him with thrown object* (Text 39.4, cf. durative *wu-bawayingañi*); *wala-'ndayaruñi-!ana they speared each other* (Text 15.1, cf. durative *wala-gandayaruñi-!ana*), *!urg+bulumbur-yañi they put them on platform* (Text 31.1, cf. durative *!urg+bulumbur-jañi*), and several examples in Text 39.5 including *biñ+gu-juñi it finished it* (cf. durative *biñ+gu-jujuñi*). This category is almost nonexistent in the texts obtained from Johnnie (the very long texts 40-42).

There is one apparent example of a reduplication based on the past continuous nondurative (not durative) positive: *wurg-al-aluni he kept them* (Du) in Text 36.4. The regular form, based on the durative, is

wurgu-gal-aluni (Text 36.3), and I think the form wurg-al-aluni is irregular, and is perhaps a reflection of the clumsy double gV sequence in the full form wurgu-gal-aluni.

In section 11.41 a detailed demonstration is given of how the system shown in Figure 9-2 operates in combination with other relevant morphological rules; the suffixal paradigm for the stem used in the examples is given in Table 11-6 and discussed in 11.8.

Figure 9-2 presents the maximal system, and is valid for most verb stems. However, there are some which, for phonological and/or morphological reasons, lack the nondurative/durative opposition. For these 'durative-less' stems we get the system shown in Figure 9-3. Stems for which this subsystem applies are -alungu|i *to wait for*, -arŋa|i *to scratch*, -|inma|i (Aux), -mbu|ma|i *to do this*, -niŋa|i (Aux), -ñambuni *to swear at*, and (with some complications, cf. 11.35) -mindini *to do this*.

FIGURE 9-3
Past Tense Aspect for Durative-Less Verbs

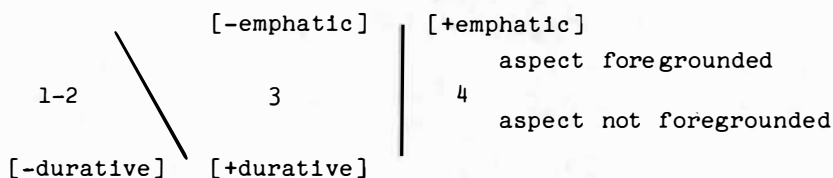
[+punctual]	[-punctual]	[-emphatic]	[+emphatic]
1	2-3		4
			aspect foregrounded
			aspect not foregrounded

Key: 1. past punctual positive
2-3. past continuous positive
4. past emphatic continuous positive

The remaining possibilities, which are limited to a handful of stems, are these: there happens to be no past punctual positive form (apparently because punctual aspect would not be semantically appropriate in view of the lexical meaning of the stems), and either a) there is a durative/nondurative opposition (*to eat*, past durative -ja|i, past nondurative -ya|i), or b) there is no durative/nondurative opposition (*to sit*, past positive -anji). Both of these types also have an emphatic (reduplicated) form; they are displayed in Figures 9-4 and 9-5.

FIGURE 9-4

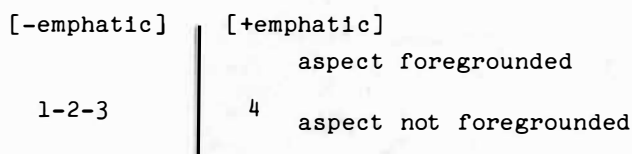
Past Tense Aspect for Punctual-Less Verbs



- Key: 1-2. past nondurative positive
 3. past unemphatic durative positive
 4. past emphatic durative positive

FIGURE 9-5

Past Tense Aspect for Durative-Less and Punctual-Less Verbs



- Key: 1-2-3. past unemphatic positive
 4. past emphatic positive

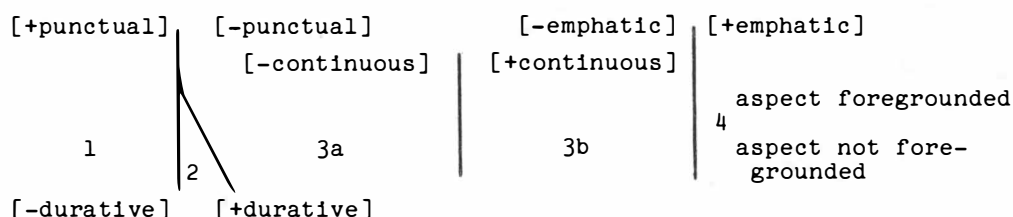
The set of stems to which Figure 9-4 applies are: *-galuni to hold*, *-ja|i to eat*, and *-jarawuni to take (dogs) hunting*. Figure 9-5 is relevant for *-anji to sit* and apparently *-guluguluwuni to wait for turtle or dugong to surface*. In the Key to Figure 9-5, 'emphatic' should be further specified as 'emphatic prolonged/repetitive'.

Although several stems show some form of suppletion for aspectual categories, in the past positive and elsewhere, in only one case does this result in a net complication in the number of aspectual categories which must be recognised. This is the verb *-|ini to go*, whose suppletive past punctual positive form is *-aṇa*. The usual past continuous form is *-|ini*, and this can be reduplicated (*-|ini-|ini*) for emphatic prolongation or repetition. This form has no durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition.

However, there is another form *-juraṇi* (durative) or *-yuraṇi* (nondurative) which seems to be aspectually intermediate between *-aṇa* and *-|ini*. Formally and semantically this is a past continuous positive form (the root is *-jura-*, found also in future positive *-jura*, and the

suffix *-ñi* is also found in the past continuous positive of other verb stems), although so far as I know it cannot be reduplicated. In effect, then, we have two past continuous forms (*-jurañi*, *-!ini*), with the second being somewhat *more* continuous aspectually than the first. The semantic difference is not sharp, however. We can diagram this by Figure 9-6.

FIGURE 9-6
Past Tense Aspect for *-!ini to go*



- Key:
1. past punctual positive
 2. past nonpunctual noncontinuous nondurative positive
 - 3a. past nonpunctual noncontinuous durative positive
 - 3b. past unemphatic continuous durative positive
 4. past emphatic continuous durative positive

Here the form *-jurañi* (and its nondurative variant *-yurañi*) have been labelled 'nonpunctual noncontinuous'. In preceding figures, 'continuous' is simply equated with the feature *[-punctual]*, but because we have a three-way opposition here we need to split this binary feature into two, *[±punctual]* and *[±continuous]*, with the *-jurañi* type doubly-unmarked. Neither of these features coincides exactly with the third principal feature, *[±durative]*.

An additional complication, not shown in Figure 9-6, is that for this verb the past punctual with *-aqa* can sometimes co-occur with a verb-particle reduplication, indicating an extended but bounded act of motion (for examples see 3.2). This happens chiefly with the verb-particles *mal to go up*, *gil to crawl*, and one or two others; examples of *mal-mal+w-aqa he went up* are in Texts 25.1 and 34.2.

We can see from Table 9-2 that the future positive has the same aspectual categories as the past positive: punctual, continuous durative, and continuous nondurative. There is also an emphatic (reduplicated) variant of the continuous durative, so there are, in all, four aspect categories in the future positive as in the past positive. Moreover, in addition to the maximal type shown in

Figure 9-2, with all four categories clearly distinguished, the future positive (like the past positive) has the partially neutralised subtypes seen in Figures 9-3, 9-4, and 9-5.

There is, however, an important difference in the distribution of these subtypes which distinguishes the future positive from the past positive. In the latter, the punctual/continuous opposition is formally maintained for the great majority of stems; only a small number of stems lack a special punctual form (apparently for semantic reasons) and thus show the subtypes in Figures 9-4 and 9-5. In the future, however, only a small number of stems (those whose root ends in *ma-*) make the punctual/continuous distinction, and even in this case there is a single suffix *-y*, so the opposition is expressed only by differential application of morphophonemic rules to the root-final vowel /a/. In the past punctual positive, we get /*ma-y*/ → *mi-Ø*, perhaps via intermediate /*mi-y*/, while in the corresponding continuous forms we get unaltered *ma-y*.

As it happens, there is only one root ending in *ma-* which also has a stem-initial durative/nondurative opposition. This is the transitive Aux *-jamaʔi*, whose future forms are these: past punctual *-yami*, past continuous nondurative *-yamay*, and past continuous durative *-jamay* (the latter optionally co-occurring with a reduplicated verb-particle, hence the past emphatic continuous durative). This is thus the only stem whose future (and past) positive paradigms are of the Figure 9-2 type.

Another stem ending in *ma-* is *-mindini* (root *-ma-*), an intransitive Aux. It has no durative/nondurative opposition; its future forms are future punctual positive *-mi* and future continuous positive *-may* (the latter can co-occur with a reduplicated verb-particle for the emphatic nuance). This paradigm is thus of the Figure 9-3 type in the future, as well as in the past.

Stems whose roots do not end in *ma-* must have future paradigms of the types in Figures 9-4 and 9-5. Those which lack the stem-initial durative/nondurative opposition show Figure 9-5 paradigms in the future, so that *-alunguʔi* *to wait* forms future (unemphatic) positive *-alunguy* (suffix *-y*), which can be reduplicated for the emphatic. Those which have the durative/nondurative opposition belong in Figure 9-4 in the future. For example, from *-baruʔi* *to defecate* we get future non-durative positive *-waru*, future unemphatic durative positive *-baru*, and future emphatic durative positive *-baru-waru* (reduplicated).

There are no parallels in the future positive to Figure 9-6. The stem *-ʔini* *to go*, which is the cause of Figure 9-6, has only durative

-jura and nondurative -yura in the future positive, and is thus of the Figure 9-4 type in that tense.

We summarise the situation for the future positive in Table 9-3.

TABLE 9-3

Aspect in the Future Positive

A. Roots Ending in ma-

1. with durative/nondurative opposition: like Figure 9-2
2. without this opposition: like Figure 9-3

B. Other Roots

1. with durative/nondurative opposition: like Figure 9-4
2. without this opposition: like Figure 9-5

9.4. The Future Indefinite Category

The 'future indefinite' is a rare verbal category (no examples to my knowledge in the texts). It is semantically future, but formally more closely related to the present tense forms. It is expressed by the Pr_3 suffixal category (even for first and second person forms), whereas in the present tense the Pr_3 suffix (see 11.1) is used only for third person forms. Therefore the difference between present positive and future indefinite positive, for first and second person forms, is expressed by the difference between the Pr_{1-2} and the Pr_3 suffixal categories. For third person forms (3rd intransitive, or 3rd + 3rd transitive) the difference is that the 3Pres morpheme -w₁a- is used just before the pronominal prefix in the present positive but not the future indefinite positive. Examples: present positive *na-!indiyi I am going* vs. future indefinite positive *na-!indu I might go* and present positive *wa-'-!indu /w₁a-w₁u-!indu/* vs. future indefinite positive *wu-!indu he might go*.

Although I have translated these with *might*, the future indefinite is by no means the usual way of translating English futures with *maybe* or *might*. The future indefinite, as noted, is rare and I have many examples of the other future categories (e.g. future punctual positive) with *jabay maybe*. Indeed, the examples of the future indefinite positive are so rare (only one spontaneous example in elicitation sessions, with others specifically elicited thereupon) that it is difficult to pin down the exact nuances. It may be that the future

indefinite positive indicates a conjectural sense involving a possible event at an indefinite time in the near future.

9.5. The Evitative Category

Mara has an equivalent to what I have called the 'evitative' mood in Ngandi, Nunggubuyu, and other languages. This indicates a possible future event or situation, normally undesirable or catastrophic, which may result if a certain unfortunate course of action is taken by someone. The most useful translation is with a 'lest' clause in English.

The evitation clause does not normally stand alone as a simple predication of impending doom (e.g. *he might die*). Instead, it is usually juxtaposed to a preceding clause or otherwise embedded in a discourse framework. There are only a few Evitative examples in the texts: *wur+a-'-nja lest the tide rise* and *ɲambud+ga-'-yuraɲa lest he drown* in Text 21.2 (preceded by *bigana because*), and *ɲa-'la-yuraɲa they might come* in Text 28.3. These are not the best examples one could have asked for; the comments above on what this category means are based mainly on directly elicited examples. A good example from this material:

ɲa-nangu-wa , wuninggi ɾaŋŋiŋg-anjiyi .
give (it) to me further lest I hit/kill you
Give it to me, or else I will hit/kill you!

Note that here the evitative indicates an undesirable event, which however can be avoided by prudent evasive action (here, giving the speaker what he wants). This is the semantic core of this verbal category.

The particle *wuninggi further, more, additionally* is very common - though not obligatory - in the evitative positive. This is not surprising since there are parallels in other languages in the area and in local creole English, where baymbay (i.e. *by and by*) means *later, in a little while* but is also common in 'lest' clauses (e.g. *give me that, baymbay I'll kill you* with some words de-creolised here to insure intelligibility).

There is no special evitative negative, but the appropriate nuance is conveyed by the future negative along with wuninggi. Example:

wu-!a ɲa-ri-ya-yur , wuninggi ɲula ɲingu-way .
go! to that (MSg) further not he will give you
Go to him, or else he won't give it to you!

9.6. The Past Potential

The past potential positive has roughly the same relationship to a past-tense reference point as the future positive has to the present-tense reference point of the speech act. It can often be translated as *was just about to*, but can also mean *should have* or *would have*.

Examples:

nula ŋi-wayi , ŋina-ra ŋangu-wayi .
not you would give him me (Nom) you would give me
You should not have given it to him, you should have
given it to me.

ŋa-wayiŋgayi galimba ŋad+g-aŋa .
I would throw at it and it ran away
I was about to kill it (with a boomerang), but it
ran away.

In the first example, the past potential positive is the second part (ŋina-ra ŋangu-wayi). The first part of that example shows the negative equivalent of the past potential, with negative particle *nula* (contrast past negative *ganagu ŋi-wayi you did not give it to him* with the indicative negative particle *ganagu*).

In the second example, we have the *was about to* sense, indicating an event which appeared to be imminent (but which did not in fact take place).

The past potential positive is also used frequently in some types of conditional constructions; see 13.7.

In the *should have* sense, where the speaker is pronouncing a value judgement, we sometimes find the particle *mandura thinking ...*; *I think that* Example:

mandura ŋala ŋa-ni-yurayi .
thinking today you would come
I think you should have come today.

9.7. The Imperative, Hortative, and Desiderative

The imperative positive is unusual in that, for intransitive verbs, the forms of the pronominal prefixes are 3rd rather than 2nd person. Thus, in indicatives we find 3Sg *w₁u-* and 2Sg *ŋi-* (*wu-!ini he went*, *ŋi-!ini you went*), but in the singular imperative we get *w₁u-* (*wu-!a go!*). For transitives, the 3rd → 3rd prefixes are used for semantic 2nd → 3rd in the imperative positive. Thus, whereas

indicatives have 3Pl + 3Sg *w₂ili-* and 2Pl + 3Sg *ḡuwu-* (*wili-naji* *they saw him*, *ḡuwu-naji* *you-Pl saw him*), we get imperatives like *wili-na see him* (Pl addressee)!

Put another way, the 3rd and 3rd + 3rd forms are really X and X + 3rd, where X is the unmarked (least semantically specific) person category. In indicatives this is the 3rd person (the 'non-person', the residual category left behind when the participants in the speech event are excluded), but in imperatives (which must have 2nd person subject) X is obviously 2nd person.

In the remaining possibility, transitive imperatives of the 2nd + 1st type, the same forms are used in indicatives and imperatives: *ḡangu-naji* *you saw me*, *ḡangu-wa* *give (it) to me!*. The 3rd + 1st forms are not used (in 2nd + 1st function, or any other) in imperatives, and thus cannot be relabelled as X + 1st.

The only possible ambiguity involving imperatives, then, is between 2nd person intransitive imperatives and 3rd person intransitive indicatives, between 2nd + 3rd transitive imperatives and 3rd + 3rd transitive indicatives, and between 2nd + 1st transitive imperatives and 2nd + 1st transitive indicatives. These potential prefixal ambiguities seem sufficiently serious to warrant having a distinct imperative positive verb form, distinct from all indicative forms.

As it happens, quite a few inflectable verbs do have a special imperative positive verb form. Sometimes this involves an ending *-ñi* (*-arñi* from transitive Aux *-arḡali*, *-waliñi* from *-baliḡali* *to go fetch*, etc.) or *-ji* (*-wayinji* from *-bawayinḡali* *to hit with thrown object*, *-waji* from transitive Aux *-bayḡali*, etc.), and sometimes with zero suffix contrasting with future positive *-y* (*-na* from *-minani* *to see*, cf. future positive *-nay*, etc.).

However, there are a number of verbs which have a single form for the imperative positive and the future punctual positive (and sometimes also for the future continuous positive forms). Thus from intransitive Aux *-mindini* (root *-ma-*) we get *-mi* in both 3Sg indicative *ḡaj+gu-mi* *he will sit down* and 2Sg imperative *ḡaj+gu-mi sit down!* (both with pronominal prefix *gu-* from *w₁u-*). Therefore the ambiguities mentioned above can indeed occur for this type of stem.

What we have said so far in this section applies only to positive imperatives. The imperative negative is expressed by the future negative (9.8), which thus obliterates the indicative/imperative opposition. These negative forms allow neither the special imperative inflectional forms in *-ñi*, *-ji*, or zero (using instead the regular future negative endings), nor the use of pronominal prefixes for 3rd person subject in 2nd person sense.

There is no separate hortative verb form (e.g. for *let's go* or *he ought to go*). For casual lInDu hortative we get simply the future form: *ṇa-jura you and I will go; let's go!*.

However, there is a curious use of the past punctual positive verb form for a sort of urgent lInDu or lInPl hortative. The form *wari+ṇaw-aṇa* means literally *we (InPl) went back*. However, it can also be used, with interjection-like pronunciation in a dangerous or other urgent situation, in the sense *let's get back in a hurry!* (more freely, perhaps, *let's get the hell out of here!*). This is not so much a suggestion as a command (though, unlike normal imperatives, it includes the speaker in its scope). A textual example is *guda ṇaw-aṇa let's (InPl) go!* in Text 38.4, where urgency is clear in the context.

There is also the curious verb-form which I call the desiderative. Phonologically, in most cases this is produced by changing the final vowel (a, u) of the Pr₃ verb (i.e. the suffixal form used for 3rd or 3rd → 3rd categories in the present positive) to i, hence *-ḷindu goes* becomes *-ḷindi*. However, if the Pr₃ form ends in ṇV- we get *n-ji* instead of **ṇ-i*, hence *-gandayarunu spears* becomes *-gandayarun-ji*.

The desiderative means *hopefully* and apparently requires a preverb *ṇariwa*. Thus from *wa-'-ḷindu he is going* we get *ṇariwa wu-ḷind-i hopefully he will go*, and from *ṇa-ḷindiyi I am going* we get *ṇariwa ṇa-ḷind-i hopefully I will go*. Note that although the first and third persons use different present positive endings (Pr₃ vs. Pr₁₋₂), in the desiderative there is just one ending (based on the Pr₃ form).

There is no special negative desiderative verb-form, but something like the sense intended can be conveyed by juxtaposing the particle *ṇariwa* to a future negative form: *ṇariwa ṇula wu-yura hopefully he will not go*.

There is a special form *ṇa-ga* meaning *let's go!*. This can be analysed as lInDu *ṇa-* and an irregular verb *-ga* which has no other inflectional forms. The form **ṇawu-ga* with lInPl prefix *ṇawu-* does not occur, however, so this analysis is synchronically questionable (*ṇa-ga* can sometimes be used for lInPl as well as lInDu subject). See Text 42.9.

A hortative particle *ṇaliga come on!* can be used with future verb forms with lInDu/Pl prefix, giving a kind of hortative utterance (see Texts 40.93 and 40.97 for examples).

9.8. Negative Verbs

As Table 9-2 shows, there are many positive verb forms with various aspectual and modal values, but these are collapsed into four categories in the negative: past negative, past potential negative, present negative, and future negative. For a small number of stems the first two are not distinguishable, though the great majority make this distinction.

The preverbs or prefixes used in the negative are these: preverb *ganagu* or prefix *gu-* in the past negative and present negative, and *ɲula* in the future negative and past potential negative. For example, from *-!ini to go* we get *ganagu ɲa-yurayi I did not go* (also *gu-ɲa-yurayi*), *ganagu ɲa-jurayi I am not going* (also *gu-ɲa-jurayi*), *ɲula ɲa-yura I will not go*, and *ɲula ɲa-yurayi I should not have gone*.

The future negative is used as the imperative negative as well: *ɲula ɲi-yura you will not go or don't go!*. There is no difference at all between the two forms. The pronominal prefixes used in the future negative (including imperative negative) are the regular 2nd and 2nd + 1st/3rd prefixes; we have seen that in the imperative positive we get what are elsewhere 3rd and 3rd + 3rd prefixes used for semantic 2nd and 2nd + 3rd.

We have seen that the four negative categories are partly differentiated by the use of *ganagu* (*gu-*) vs. *ɲula*. Of the two forms which have *ɲula*, the past potential negative involves the suffixal form which, without *ɲula*, produces the past potential positive (e.g. *ɲa-yurayi I should have gone*). The other form with *ɲula*, the future negative, shows the verbal form which without *ɲula* would be the future punctual positive (or, for verbs without a separate punctual suffix, the future nondurative positive), hence *ɲa-yura I will go*.

The past negative consists of *ganagu* or *gu-* plus what would otherwise be the past potential form: *ganagu ɲa-yurayi I did not go* vs. *ɲa-yurayi I should have/would have gone*.

For stems ending in *ma-*, the verb form used with the present negative is formally distinguished from that used in the past negative (and past potential). Even though the suffix is always *-yi* in both cases, the morphophonemic treatment of the root-final vowel differs, so that *-mindini* (root *-ma-*), an intransitive Aux, has *-miyi (/ma-yi/)* in the past negative and past potential, but *-mayi (ma-yi)* in the present negative: *ganagu mud+gu-miyi it did not break*, *mud+gu-miyi it would have broken*, but *ganagu mud+gu-mayi it does not break*.

For other stems, no such suffixal (or root-final) distinction between the two forms is possible. To maintain the past/present opposition in negative forms, what the language does is to specialise the durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition so that the non-durative stem-initial is used in the past negative (regardless of actual semantic aspect) while the durative is used in the present negative: *ganagu na-yurayi I did not go* vs. *ganagu na-jurayi I am not going*. In the case of suppletive paradigms, usually one stem is used in the past negative and the other in the present negative, hence *-niquyi* and *-jayi* (both with suffix *-yi*) in *ganagu jil+na-niquyi I did not show it to him* vs. *ganagu jil+na-jayi I am not showing it to him*. Because of this kind of specialisation, the past/present opposition is fairly consistently maintained in the negative.

However, there are some verbs which lack stem-suppletion, lack the durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition, and do not end in *ma-* (so they have no suffixal present/past contrast). For these stems there is no distinction between present and past negative: *ganagu na-'-njiyi I did not/do not sit*, *ganagu na-'lunguyi I did not/do not wait for him*.

The variation between *ganagu* and *gu-* in the past and present negative seems to be idiosyncratic. My principal informant, Mack Riley, showed a very strong preference for *ganagu* and was reluctant even to accept forms with *gu-* when I pronounced them. Exactly the opposite was true for another informant, Johnnie, who strongly preferred *gu-*. A third informant, Anday, used both.

Although *ganagu* seems to be phonologically a separate word (though invariably preceding a verb in a negative verb-complex, and thus not positionally free), it is likely that it is historically **ga-na gu-* (that is, the syntactic particle *ga-na* plus negative **gu-*). However, I see no strong reason for treating *ganagu* as *ga-na gu-* synchronically, and as just noted it seems to be a unitary, separate word phonologically.

Textual examples: past *ganagu dun+na-yurayi I did not go down* (Text 7.5), several present tense examples in Text 16, and future *gula na-yura we (InDu) will not go* in Text 40.17.

9.9. Distribution of the Durative and Nondurative Stem-Initials

For many inflectable verbs (including many Aux's), there is an opposition between a formally unmarked 'nondurative' stem-initial and a formally marked 'durative' stem-initial. The durative is formed

from the nondurative by some phonological perturbation at the beginning of the root of the verb (i.e. just after the pronominal prefix). The durative can be derived from the nondurative by a) a prefixation, b) hardening a stem-initial continuant or zero to a stop, and/or c) a special kind of reduplication. Processes (b) and (c) occasionally co-occur, but more often only one occurs for a given verb. Process (a) cannot co-occur with (b) or (c).

Examples, showing the past continuous positive verb in the non-durative and durative forms (in that order) are these: *ṇangu-nani* vs. *ṇangu-minani* *he saw me* (root -na- *to see*, durative with prefix -mi-); *jaj+gu-yañi* vs. *jaj+gu-jañi* *he chased him* (root -yV-, hardened to -jV-); *ḡad+gu-juñi* vs. *ḡad+gu-jujuñi* *he tied it up* (root -jV-, reduplicated to -jV-jV-); etc. See 3.3 for phonological details of the stem-initial durative changes.

The distribution of the two stem-initial categories over the set of major verbal categories (Table 9-2) is shown in Table 9-4.

TABLE 9-4
Durative/Nondurative Stem-Initials

stem-initial	category
1. ND	past punctual positive
2. D	past continuous durative positive
3. ND	past continuous nondurative positive
4. ND	past potential positive
5. ND	past potential negative
6. ND	past negative
7. D	present negative
8. D	present positive
9. ND	evitative positive
10. D	future indefinite positive
11. ND	future punctual positive
12. D	future continuous durative positive
13. ND	future continuous nondurative positive
14. ND	imperative positive
15. D	desiderative positive
16. ND	future negative

Abbreviations: D = durative
ND = nondurative

Because of the somewhat unusual distribution of the two stem-initials, the terms 'durative' and 'nondurative' need to be used with caution. The core of the semantic opposition is indeed aspectual, as we can see clearly in the past positive and future positive. Here the nondurative must be used with the punctual (suffixal) categories, and in careful speech or when aspect is foregrounded the durative must be used with the continuous (suffixal) categories, though the nondurative can creep in (as the unmarked member of the opposition) in casual speech when aspect is not foregrounded - see 9.3.

In other tense/mode categories, however, the durative/nondurative opposition is specialised in various ways. This skewing is manipulated by the language to create tense/mood oppositions for which there is no other formal manifestation.

It will be noticed that the present categories (positive and negative) invariably show the durative stem-initial. This may or may not be semantically predictable, but the language takes advantage of it to maintain grammatical oppositions only indirectly aspectual in nature. In particular, we notice first of all that the past negative is always nondurative, although there is no cogent semantic reason for this (indeed, in many languages - such as Russian and Nunggubuyu - the durative or imperfective is the only aspect possible in any negative sentence, regardless of tense). The correlation of past vs. present with nondurative vs. durative in the negative is interpretable in view of the fact that most nonsuppletive verbs have no suffixal opposition between past negative and present negative (both with suffix -yi, also found with the past potential), and the fact that the same negative preverb *ganagu* or (for other speakers) prefix *gu-* is used in both negative categories. In other words, the durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition bears the entire burden of keeping present and past distinct in negative forms for this important set of inflectable verbs. (Inflectable verbs ending in *ma-* have a suffixal opposition between present and past negative, but the other nonsuppletive verbs lack this opposition.) What was essentially an aspectual feature has been skewed to become a temporal feature in this context.

Moreover, in the positive forms we find a parallel opposition involving the durative/nondurative stem-initials. This time the new opposition is a combination of tense and mood; the present positive is distinguished from the evitative positive (semantically a type of future with certain modal implications, see 9.5) not by suffixes or preverbs but rather by using the durative in the present positive and

and the nondurative in the evitative. There is nothing inherently nondurative in the latter category, so again we must recognise that the durative/nondurative opposition has been diverted from its primary functions to fill a functional gap.

9.10. Stem-Suppletion

A number of paradigms involve complete stem-suppletion, depending on the verbal category in question. Usually there are two distinct stems, each used in certain categories. Broadly, the opposition of the two stems (P and Q) parallels the distribution of the durative and nondurative stem-initials for other paradigms, though as we shall see this correlation is not exact.

The clear cases of suppletion involve the following paradigms (the citation forms are past continuous durative positive and past potential positive): -niŋa!i/-yagayi (transitive Aux used with warj *to pick up, to get*); -!ini/-yurayi *to go* (also intransitive - rarely transitive - Aux); -jujuñi/-!arbuyi (transitive Aux); -jañi/-niŋuyi *to tell* (more common as transitive Aux); -ganji/-yagayi *to take*; -bayŋa!i/-yiŋayi (transitive Aux). In the case of -anji/-anjiyi *to sit*, present positive -wu!u and -wu!iyi might be taken as synchronically suppletive, but historically all are based on a root *-wV-.

In the case of -!ini/-yurayi *to go* there is also a third root, seen only in past punctual positive -aŋa.

Suppletive alternations are complicated in that some of the defective stems which help constitute paradigms distinguish nondurative from durative stem-initials. If a paradigm is built from two stems, P and Q, it may be that P has two variants, P_D and P_{ND}, determined by regular application of the rules for using the D and ND stem-initials (Table 9-4, above) to the extent that the defective paradigm of P cuts across the D/ND boundary.

The various suppletive paradigms differ considerably in the distribution of the two (or three) stems, though we can usually discern at least a tendency to align one stem (P) with the nondurative and the other (Q) with the durative categories, in terms of Table 9-4.

In Table 9-5 we show the distribution of the P and Q stems (and, for *to go*, also the third stem R) among the various verbal categories.

TABLE 9-5
Suppletive Stems

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1. past punctual positive	Q	Q _{ND}	P _{ND}	Q	R	P
2. past continuous durative positive	P _D	P(Q _D)	P _D	P _D	Q _D /P	P
3. past continuous nondurative positive	P _{ND}	P(Q _{ND})	P _{ND}	P _{ND}	Q _{ND}	P(Q _{ND})
4. past potential positive and negative	Q	Q _{ND}	Q	P _{ND} (Q)	Q _{ND}	Q _{ND}
5. past negative	Q	Q _{ND}	Q	P _{ND} (Q)	Q _{ND}	Q _{ND}
6. present negative	P _D	P	P _D	P _D	Q _D	P
7. present positive	P _D	P(Q _D)	P _D	P _D	P	P
8. evitative positive	Q	Q _{ND}	P _{ND}	P _{ND}	Q _{ND}	Q _{ND}
9. future indefinite positive	P _D	P(Q _D)	P _D	P _D	P	P
10. future punctual positive	P _{ND}	P(Q _{ND})	Q	P _{ND} (Q)	Q _{ND}	Q _{ND}
11. future continuous durative positive	P _D	P(Q _D)	Q	P _D (Q)	Q _D	Q _D
12. future continuous nondurative positive	P _{ND}	P(Q _{ND})	Q	P _{ND} (Q)	Q _{ND}	Q _{ND}
13. imperative positive	P _{ND}	Q _{ND}	P _{ND}	P _{ND} (Q)	P	Q _{ND}
14. desiderative positive	P _D	P	?	P _D	P	?
15. future negative	Q	Q _{ND}	Q	P _{ND} (Q)	Q _{ND}	Q _{ND}

- Key: A. paradigm of -bayṇaḷi/-yiṇayi (P_D -bayṇa-, P_{ND} -wayṇa-, Q -yiṇa-) (Table 11-7)
 B. paradigm of -ganji/-yagayi (P -ga-, Q_D -jagayaga-, Q_{ND} -yaga-) (Table 11-14)
 C. paradigm of -jañi/-niṇuyi (P_D -jV-, P_{ND} -yV-, Q -niṇu-) (Table 11-23)
 D. paradigm of -jujuṇi/-ḷarbuyi (P_D -jVjV-, P_{ND} -jV-, Q -ḷarbu-) (Table 11-28)
 E. paradigm of -ḷini/-yurayi (P -ḷV-, Q_D -jura-, Q_{ND} -yura-, R -aṇa) (Table 11-29)
 F. paradigm of -niṇaḷi/-yagayi (P -niṇa-, Q_D -jagayaga-, Q_{ND} -yaga-) (Table 11-36)

Parenthesised forms in Table 9-5 are occasional variants. For the actual forms and further discussion see the inflectional paradigms in Chapter Eleven.

It can be seen that there is a tendency to use the P stem in forms 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, and 14, while the Q stem predominates in forms 4, 5, 15, and (to a lesser extent) 10-12. In two cases the P/Q opposition distinguishes form 13 (imperative positive) from forms 10-12 (future positive). In four cases this opposition distinguishes form 8 (evitative positive) from form 7 (present positive). Form 1 (past punctual positive) is somewhat irregular, showing the P stem rather unexpectedly in two paradigms and the unique R stem (found in no other forms) for *to go*.

In those respects where the P/Q opposition does not correlate with the distribution of the durative and nondurative stem-initials (Table 9-4), this can usually be explained by noting that in most instances only one stem (P or Q) can be used with a particular suffixal category. Thus note that in Table 9-5, form 2 (durative) and form 3 (nondurative) are based on the same stem, with the possible partial exception of paradigm E (*to go*). Similarly, forms 10-12 all show the same stem, though 10 and 12 are nondurative while 11 is durative. This is because forms 2 and 3 belong to a single suffixal category, as do forms 11 and 12 (and, since none of these stems has a root ending in *ma-*, also form 10).

On the other hand, we have noted that several paradigms show stem P in the present positive (form 7) and Q in the evitative positive (form 8), although these are ordinarily based on the same suffixal forms. Moreover, forms 10 (future punctual positive) and 15 (future negative) usually have the same suffixal form, but in two cases the P/Q opposition distinguishes the two forms in these suppletive paradigms.

9.11. 3rd vs. Non-3rd Inflectional Endings

The inflectional suffixes added to inflectable verb stems mark tense/aspect/mood/negation. However, in the present positive there is a curious distinction between suffixes associated with 3rd (and 3rd + 3rd) pronominal prefixes, and suffixes associated with pronominal prefixes where at least one category is 1st or 2nd person (e.g. 1st and 2nd intransitive subject, and for transitives such combinations as 1Sg + 2Sg, 3Pl + 1ExPl, and 2Sg + 3Sg).

For example, the intransitive verb *-lini to go* has the present positive forms *-lindu* (3rd person) and *-lindiyl* (non-3rd person), as in *wa-'-lindu he is going*, *na-lindiyl I am going*, and *ni-lindiyl you (Sg) are going*. Similarly, transitive *-minani to see* has present positive *-minaja* (3rd + 3rd) and *-minajini* (all other combinations), as in *wa-'-minaja he sees him*, *wili-minaja they see him*, *wulumbur-minaja they see them*, *na-minajini I see him*, *ngangu-minajini he sees me*, *ngangu-minajini you (Sg) see me*, and *ngungu-minajini he sees you (Sg)*.

This 3rd/non-3rd opposition in the inflectional suffixes seems quite odd at first sight, since otherwise there is no interaction between pronominal marking and the choice of inflectional suffix. Since pronominal categories of subject (and transitive object) are marked in the pronominal prefixes, it appears totally superfluous to also mark them - even in part - in the inflectional suffix system. In fact, on closer inspection we can see that there is a functional justification for the occurrence of the two present positive forms.

In the first place, the forms *-lindu* (3rd) and *-minaja* (3rd + 3rd) are also used, for any pronominal category, in the future indefinite positive. This (somewhat uncommon) category consists of the verb form *-lindu* or *-minaja* (or the equivalent in other paradigms) plus the regular pronominal prefixes; the 3Pres prefix *-w₁a-* (used with 3rd and 3rd + 3rd prefixes in the present positive and evitative positive) is omitted, however. We thus get, corresponding to present positive *wa-'-lindu/w₁a-w₁u-lindu/ he is going* and *na-lindiyl I am going* the future indefinite positive forms *wu-lindu/w₁u-lindu/ he might go* and *na-lindu I might go*. In the case of *na-lindu*, there is no confusion with present positive *na-lindiyl* since the latter uses the non-3rd present positive inflectional form. In the case of *wu-lindu*, there is no confusion with present positive *wa-'-lindu* since, although the same inflectional form is used, the 3Pres prefix *-w₁a-* is missing in the former. Consequently, the opposition between *-lindu* and *-lindiyl* is significant in distinguishing present positive from future indefinite positive, though only in the non-3rd forms.

Similarly, from *-minaja* we get future indefinite positive *na-minaja I might see him*, *wu-minaja he might see him*, and so forth. The first of these contrasts by inflectional-suffix opposition with *na-minajini I see him*, while the second contrasts with *wa-'-minaja he sees him* by omitting 3Pres *-w₁a-*.

However, even within the present positive itself there is an important disambiguating function carried out by the oppositions of the type *-lindu/-lindiyl* and *-minaja/-minajini*. Because of the

occurrence of 3Pres $-w_1a-$ before 3rd and 3rd \rightarrow 3rd prefixes in this category, we get forms like $wa-'\text{-}\dot{l}indu$ *he is going* and $\eta a-\dot{l}indiyi$ *we (InDu) are going*, and similarly $wa-'\text{-}minaja$ *he sees him* and $\eta a-minajini$ *we (InDu) see him* where (aside from the difference in inflectional suffixes) the only difference between the 3rd and 1InDu forms is the initial w in the former vs. the initial η in the latter. When we look at extended verb-complexes (with verb-particle followed by inflected verb functioning as Aux), we get forms like $Part+wa-'\text{-}Aux$ and $Part+\eta a-Aux$ with these same pronominal prefixes. However, when the verb-particle ends in a liquid or semivowel, the $/w_1/$ in the first form is deleted, producing $Part+a-'\text{-}Aux$ (see phonological rule P-8 in 3.7). Similarly, when the verb-particle ends in an apical sonorant (such as a liquid), η (actually, underlying apicoalveolar $/n/$) in the second form $Part+\eta a-Aux$ is also deleted, hence $Part+a-Aux$. But this means that $Part+wa-'\text{-}Aux$ and $Part+\eta a-Aux$ are merged as $Part+a-Aux$ (or $Part+a-'\text{-}Aux$, which is phonetically identical) when the verb-particle ends in a liquid. Consequently, the fact that 'Aux' in these formulae is manifested by 3rd or 3rd \rightarrow 3rd present positive forms like $-\dot{l}indu$ and $-minaja$ in the first case, and by overtly distinct non-3rd forms like $-\dot{l}indiyi$ and $-minajini$ in the second case, means that this suffixal opposition (far from being redundant) is of crucial importance. For example, in $/bal+w_1a-w_1u-jana/ \rightarrow bal+a-'\text{-}jana$ *he marks it* and $/bal+na-janani/ \rightarrow bal+a-janani$ *we (InDu) mark it*, the suffixal opposition is what permits surface disambiguation.

The merger of 3Sg and 1InDu prefixes is directly attributable to the occurrence of 3Pres $-w_1a-$ before the former in the present (and evitative) positive. In other categories the 3Sg (and 3Sg \rightarrow 3Sg) form is simply w_1u- , which can never be confused with 1InDu (and 1InDu \rightarrow 3Sg) $\eta a-$ even if the consonants are deleted by phonological rules. Therefore it is not necessary, in these other inflectional categories, to have a suffixal opposition of the type 3rd vs. non-3rd.

9.12. Inflectional Suffix Categories

The system of inflectional suffixation as a whole can now be understood fairly well in the light of the preceding sections. The suffixal categories are these: PaPun, PaCon, PaPot, PrPot, Pr_3 , Pr_{1-2} , FutPun, FutCon, Imper, and Desid. These are merely labels for the suffixal categories and are not accurate glosses in all cases (e.g. FutPun is not only used in the future punctual positive, but also in the future negative).

The distribution of these suffixal forms is shown, along with other relevant morphological phenomena, in Table 9-6.

TABLE 9-6
Inflectional Suffix Categories

category	stem-initial and suffix
1. past punctual positive	ND PaPun
2. past continuous durative positive	D PaCon
3. past continuous nondurative positive	ND PaCon
4. past potential positive	ND PaPot
5. past potential negative	ND PaPot (preverb <i>ɲula</i>)
6. past negative	ND PaPot (preverb <i>ganagu</i>)
7. present negative	D PaPot (preverb <i>ganagu</i>)
8. present positive	{ D Pr ₃ (with 3Pres -w ₁ a-) D Pr ₁₋₂
9. evitative positive	{ ND Pr ₃ (with 3Pres -w ₁ a-) ND Pr ₁₋₂
10. future indefinite positive	D Pr ₃
11. future punctual positive	ND FutPun
12. future continuous durative positive	D FutCon
13. future continuous nondurative positive	ND FutCon
14. imperative positive	ND Imper
15. desiderative positive	D Desid
16. future negative	ND FutPun (preverb <i>ɲula</i>)

Table 9-6 is basically valid as a maximal inflectional schema. One minor difficulty is that in some paradigms there are 'irregularities' in the evitative positive and future indefinite positive. Thus, where Table 9-6 shows the same suffixal endings in

the evitative positive as for the present positive (Pr_3 , Pr_{1-2}), in some paradigms Pr_3 alone is used in the evitative positive.

In one case these forms do not use Pr_3 but rather a slightly different variant (-mama in forms 9 and 10 vs. -ma in form 8 for the intransitive Aux -mindini).

Aside from these details, the main problem is that no single verb makes all of these categorial distinctions, since it turns out that each stem a) lacks the PaPot vs. PrPot, and FutPun vs. FutCon, oppositions; b) lacks the opposition between the Imper form and the FutPun form; and/or c) lacks the durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition, at least in the precise form shown in the table.

The PaPot vs. PrPot and FutPun vs. FutCon oppositions are possible only for verbs whose roots end in *ma-*. Of these, only -jama|i (a transitive Aux) shows the durative/nondurative opposition. This stem happens to merge Imper with FutPun (-yami). It follows that no stem makes all the distinctions shown, though every paradigm makes most of them and every categorial opposition shows up in a significant number of paradigms. For stems whose roots end in *ma-* (other than -jama|i) forms 2 and 3 are merged, as are forms 11 and 14 and forms 12 and 13. For stems which do not end in *ma-* but do have the durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition, the regular mergers are between forms 1 and 3 and forms 11 and 13 (sometimes also 14). For stems not ending in *ma-* and lacking the stem-initial opposition, in addition to the preceding there is a merger between forms 4 and 5.

With the exception of this last merger (which applies to only a small set of stems, none of extreme text-frequency), the mergers just mentioned cause no great difficulties. Even the trimmed-down paradigms make about the same number of categorial oppositions as are found in other nearby languages, and they are of approximately the same type. The merger of imperative positive and future punctual positive for certain paradigms, for example, is less drastic than the (almost) complete lack of distinctive imperative forms in languages like Nunggubuyu to the north.

Examination of Table 9-6 shows clearly that the durative/nondurative stem-initials, the inflectional suffix system, distribution of 3Pres -w|a-, and the use of negative preverbs and prefixes, are tightly intertwined to constitute an overall system which functions quite smoothly, even though the details of the distribution of individual morphological categories often appear (in isolation) to be most bizarre. Moreover, we could add the pronominal prefix system to this list; the justification for the Pr_3 vs. Pr_{1-2} opposition cannot be fully elucidated without reference to these prefixes (9.11).

9.13. Benefactive *ma-*, *ma|-*

The Benefactive prefix takes the form *ma-* before a verb-particle: *ma-ɾaŋɳang-añi* *he killed (it) for me*. When there is no verb-particle in the verb-complex, the form *ma|-* is used, as in *ma|-ŋa-ganji* *I took (it) for him*.

The Benefactive prefix indicates that there is an indirect object (nearly always human) and that this object (rather than the underlying direct object, if there is one) is cross-referenced by the object-marker in the pronominal prefix. Thus in *ma-ɾaŋɳang-añi* above we see 3Sg + 1Sg prefix /*nangu-*/, and Benefactive *ma-* specifies that the 1Sg element designates the indirect (not direct) object. Contrast *ɾaŋɳang-añi* *he hit/killed me*, where the same pronominal prefix indicates that the direct object is 1Sg. Similarly, in *ma|ŋa-ganji* the prefix *ŋa-* (1Sg + 3Sg) indicates 3Sg indirect object; we cannot tell from the verb form alone what category the direct object is in (perhaps 3Sg, perhaps 3Pl).

A textual example, showing an underlying transitive verb, is *ma-wi|ŋalgu-ganji* *I tied up (spear) for them* (Text 12.3), with 1Sg + 3Pl *ŋalgu-*.

The Benefactive is not very common; it is quite possible in Mara (though not in some other languages) to simply add a Purposive noun in dative function, without cross-referencing it in the verb (4.17).

9.14. Centripetal *y₁a-*/*ŋa-*

The Centripetal prefix takes the form *y₁a-* before *-w₁u-* (in indicatives 3Sg, 3Sg + 3Sg; in imperatives 2Sg, 2Sg + 3Sg) and all pronominal prefixes beginning in *ŋ* (these are 1Sg forms like 1Sg or 1Sg + 3Sg *ŋa-*, 1Sg + 3Pl *ŋalgu-*, etc.). It takes the form *ŋa-* before all other pronominal prefixes.

Examples: *ya-ŋa-|ini* *I came*, /*ja|ab+y₁a-w₁u-|ini*/ + *ja|ab+ja-|-|ini* *he paddled this way*, *ŋa-na-|ini* *we (InDu) came*, *wari+ŋa-ni-|ini* *you (Sg) paddled this way*, *wari+ŋa-niri-|ini* *we (ExDu) came back*, *ŋa-'la-|ini* *they came*, etc. Examples with a transitive stem: *ya-ŋa-ganji* *I brought it*, *wari+ŋa-ni-'ñi* *you (Sg) brought it back*, etc.

There is a functional explanation for why the allomorph *ŋa-* is not used in all combinations. In the case of the pronominal prefix *-w₁u-*, Centripetal *y₁a-* combines with it to produce *ya-'*, and if Centripetal allomorph *ŋa-* were used instead this would be **ŋa-'*. This would be homophonous with 1Sg *ŋa-* (without Centripetal prefix), so that such important distinctions as *ŋa-|ini* *I went* vs. *ya-|-|ini* *he came* would

be obliterated. This explains why $\eta a-$, the dominant allomorph, is not used before $-w_1u-$ even though it is used before 3Du $-w_2ari-$, 3Pl $-w_2ala-$, etc. There is no similar functional reason why y_1a- instead of $\eta a-$ must be used before 1Sg $\eta a-$ and related forms; presumably some type of phonological dissimilation insures the preference for y_1a- here. Historically, it may be that y_1a- is the older form (cf. Warndarang $ya-$).

The Centripetal prefix in Mara is important since it permits semantic distinctions like *go/come* and *take/bring* which are not made by lexical oppositions. Thus $\eta a-!ini$ means *I went*, $ya-\eta a-!ini$ means *I came*, and so forth.

With *to go* and *to take* Centripetal $y_1a-/ \eta a-$ is effectively obligatory when semantically appropriate (i.e. when the motion or transfer actually did occur on a centripetal axis). On the other hand, with a verb like *ja!ab to paddle* the axis of motion tends not to be foregrounded, and in this case the Centripetal prefix is only occasionally used even when it is semantically possible: *ja!ab+gu-!ini he paddled along* (axis unspecified), *ja!ab+ja-!-!ini he came paddling this way*.

Textual examples of the Centripetal prefix are fairly common; we may mention *wari+ya- ηa -yagañi I brought it back* (Text 5.2). Here $ya-$ (y_1a-) is Centripetal and $-\eta a-$ is 1Sg + 3Sg, while *wari* is the verb-particle *to take back* (with this particular Aux *-yagañi*, from *-jagayaga!i/-yagayi*). The Centripetal prefix is also common with *-wanani/-wayi to give*, so the usual way to express the imperative *give it to me!* is $\eta a-nangu-wa$ rather than simply $nangu-wa$ (though the latter is, at least marginally, grammatical).

9.15. 3Pres $-w_1a-$

The prefix $-w_1a-$, which I label '3Pres', is obligatorily preposed to 3rd and 3rd + 3rd pronominal prefixes (all of which begin in $-w_1u$ or $-w_2V$) in the present positive and evitative positive. It cannot be used in other inflectional categories.

Because the following pronominal prefix begins with w_1 or w_2 , which are deleted in this position by phonological rule P-9 (3.7), contraction occurs. The combination $/-w_1a-w_1u-/$ becomes $-w_1a-'$, $/-w_1a-w_2ulumbur-/$ becomes $-w_1a-'\text{lambur-}$ (here rule P-19 has also applied), $/-w_1a-w_2ala-/$ becomes $-w_1a-'\text{la-}$, and so forth. In the last instance there may be no surface opposition ($-w_1a-'\text{la-}$ and $-w_2ala-$ being different ways of writing the phonemic sequence $-wala-$), but even here the two are

morphophonemically distinct in that w_1 and w_2 have different surface forms after some consonants. After a stop or nasal, w_1 becomes g and w_2 becomes b , hence *mun+ga-'la-nbuḍu they are bending over* (present positive) vs. *mun+bala-nbuni they bent over*. After some sonorants, w_1 is deleted while w_2 remains as w , hence *ḍay+a-'la-ma they are fleeing* vs. *ḍay+wala-ma they fled*. See rules P-7 (3.7) and P-8 (3.7) for details.

The net effect of $-w_1a-$, then, is to change the first (and sometimes) second vowel of the regular pronominal prefix, and to change initial w_2 to w_1 (for each prefix at least one of these changes is non-null, since no pronominal prefix begins with $-w_1a$).

The principal function of $-w_1a-$ is to distinguish the 3rd and 3rd + 3rd forms in the present positive (and, to a lesser extent, the evitative positive) from their counterparts in the future indefinite positive, which uses the same inflectional form of the verb (what I call 'Pr₃' in 9.13). Hence *wu-ḷindu he is going* is distinguished from *wa-'-ḷindu he might go*.

There is no need to use $-w_1a-$ with pronominal prefixes containing a 1st and/or 2nd person pronominal. These combinations use the 'Pr₁₋₂' form in the present positive (and evitative positive in many cases), but the 'Pr₃' form in the future indefinite positive: *ḡa-ḷindiyi I am going* vs. *ḡa-ḷindu I might go*. Since the inflectional opposition is expressed by suffixes, there is no need for an additional prefixal distinction. This explains why it is precisely the 3rd and 3rd + 3rd forms which need a special morpheme like $-w_1a-$.

The only problem created by using $-w_1a-$ is that 3Sg and 3Sg + 3Sg / $-w_1a-w_1u-$ / becomes $-w_1a'-$, which can be confused with *lInDu* and *lInDu* + 3Sg / $-na-$ / after certain consonants. This is because both w_1 and n are deleted (by separate rules) after liquids like l and r , as in /*bal+w₁a-w₁u-jaṇa*/ → *bal+a-'-jaṇa he marks it* vs. /*bal+na-jaṇani*/ → *bal+a-jaṇani we (InDu) mark it*. This fairly frequent surface merger may be partly responsible for maintaining the otherwise bizarre suffixal opposition between 'Pr₃' and 'Pr₁₋₂' forms, the latter used whenever at least one non-3rd pronominal category is marked in the pronominal prefix (hence 'Pr₁₋₂' is used in all forms involving *lInDu*). Note that in *bal+a-'-jaṇa* vs. *bal+a-jaṇani* it is this suffixal opposition which accounts for the surface distinction. This helps explain why it is precisely in the present (and evitative) positive that the 3rd vs. non-3rd suffixal opposition occurs; these are also the categories where $-w_1a-$ can occur, and hence the categories where 3Sg/*lInDu* surface mergers in the prefix system can occur. Cf. 9.11.

9.16. Reflexive/Reciprocal -|ana

This suffix is added to a transitive verb form with intransitive pronominal prefix. For example, contrasting with transitive *ɾag+ɳang-añi* (verb-particle *ɾan*) *he hit me* we get reflexive forms like */ɾaŋ+w₁u-añi-|ana/* + *ɾaŋ+g-añi-|ana* *he hit himself*. With non-singular intransitive pronominal prefix the reciprocal sense is also possible: *ɾaŋ+bala-'ñi-|ana* *they hit each other; they fought* (or *they hit themselves*). Note that -|ana is added to the verb form -añi (root -a-, cf. durative form -ga-), which includes an inflectional suffix (here past punctual). This structure thus contrasts formally with the reflexive and reciprocal forms of languages to the north, where a reflexive or reciprocal derivational suffix is added directly to the root, while inflectional suffixes follow (e.g. Root-Recip-Past).

Future positive forms ending in inflectional suffix -y often lose this consonant by phonological rule P-12 (3.8) before -|ana. Hence with -ay (-a-y), future nondurative form of -añi (-a-ñi) seen above, we get transitive *ɾag+ɳang-ay* *he will hit me* but reflexive *ɾaŋ+g-a-|ana* *he will hit himself* (not **ɾaŋ+g-ay-|ana*). For some exceptions see 3.8.

Since there is no special mediopassive form, the 'reflexive' sense of -|ana includes agentless mediopassive sense: *gur+u-ganji-|ana* *it (canoe) was being soaked* (Text 13.7), *ña|+u-ji-|ana* *it (hole in skin) became closed up* (Text 41.28).

When the Benefactive prefix *ma-* or *ma|-* occurs in the same verb-form as Refl/Recip -|ana, the available examples show this to be semantically the Refl/Recip of the Benefactive (e.g. *he got it for himself, they got it for each other*) rather than the Benefactive of the Refl/Recip (e.g. *he cut himself for her, they cut each other for her*). Example (Text 4.1): *ma-jaŋar+iwi-ganji-|ana* *we distributed it to/for each other* (not *we distributed each other for someone*).

CHAPTER TEN

PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

10.1. General

Each finite verb form must include a pronominal prefix attached to the inflected verb. The position of the pronominal prefix with respect to other morphemes in the verb-complex is shown in Table 9-1 at the beginning of Chapter Nine. All (intransitive) 3rd and (transitive) 3rd + 3rd pronominal prefixes require preceding 3Pres prefix *-w₁a-* in the present positive and evitative positive (9.15). This prefix cannot be used in other inflectional categories, and cannot be used if the pronominal prefix involves any non-3rd pronominal categories (hence it cannot be used before 3rd + 1st/2nd or 1st/2nd + 3rd prefixes - nor, of course, before 1st/2nd + 1st/2nd prefixes).

The pronominal prefix (which, outside of the analytical portions of the present chapter, is treated as an unsegmentable unit) cross-references the subject of an intransitive clause, and the subject and object of a transitive clause (including derived transitives with Benefactive *ma-* or *ma|-*, cf. 9.13). In the case of transitive pronominal prefixes, the object-marked category is that of the direct (rather than indirect) object, with two exceptions. First, the verb *-wanani/-wayi* to give to shows pronominal agreement with the indirect object (the recipient), never with the direct object: *ṇangu-waji* he gave (it) to me shows 3Sg + 1Sg *ṇangu-* rather than 3Sg + 3Sg *w₁u-* and does not mean *he gave me (to him)*. Second, whenever Benefactive *ma-* or *ma|-* is present in the verb-complex, the object-marked category is that of the indirect (benefactive) object, as in *ma-ṛag+ṇang-añi* he killed (it) for me in contrast to *ṛag+ṇang-añi* he killed (hit) me.

Predicate-nominal constructions use prefixes which are identical to intransitive pronominal prefixes of this chapter, except that in the third person the nominal class/case (here Nominative) prefixes occur:

ḡa-balwayi *I am big* (cf. ḡa-ḡini *I went*), ḡi-balwayi *you (Sg) are big* (cf. ḡi-ḡini *you went*), but Ø-balwayi *he is big* (cf. MSg Nominative Ø-balwayi *big one* and contrast Ø- in these forms with intransitive w₁u- in wu-ḡini *he went*). Similarly, in nonpredicative nominal forms it is possible to use first and second person intransitive prefixes, usually in nonsingular forms, as in ḡiwi-yawu-yawulba *we old people*, but in the third person the regular class/case prefixes are used. See 4.3, 4.4.

Pronominal prefixes are not used with nominalised verbs (12.2).

In the remainder of this chapter we will set out the intransitive and transitive pronominal prefixes in tables where readers can easily find such prefixes when they turn up in forms cited in other chapters or found in texts. We will also undertake a somewhat abstract analysis of the structure of the pronominal prefixes (notably the transitive ones), and in the course of this analysis we will break up prefixes like 3Sg + 1Sg ḡangu- into sequences of two or more morphemes (here /na-n-gu-/).

Phonological rules applicable to pronominal prefixes include VV-Contraction P-29, as in /ḡangu-añi/ → ḡang-añi, and especially Retroflexion P-28, also shown in this example. Many pronominal prefixes begin with /n/, which shows up as an apicoalveolar after Centripetal ḡa-, but is retroflexed to ḡ word-initially, after verb-particles, and after Negative prefix gu-. Hence the retroflexed forms are much more common than the apicoalveolar forms in texts. Cf. also P-13, P-14 (3.9).

For categories where Du and Pl forms are distinguished, the Pl forms indicate 3+ number.

The forms which are normally 3rd or (transitive) 3rd + 3rd prefixes are used, in the imperative positive, for 2nd and 2nd + 3rd. The 'imperative negative' is not a separate verbal category, rather is simply one meaning of the future negative, and in this category (like other primarily indicative categories) the regular 2nd and 2nd + 3rd forms are used to indicate second person subject. Even in the imperative positive, for second person subject and first person object the regular 2nd + 1st (not the usual 3rd + 1st) prefixes are used.

TABLE 10-1

Intransitive Pronominal Prefixes

ŋa-	1Sg
ni-ri-	1ExDu
ni-wi-	1ExPl
na-	1InDu
na-wu-	1InPl
ni-	2Sg non-Imper
nu-ru	2Du non-Imper
nu-wu-	2Pl non-Imper
w ₁ u-	3Sg; 2Sg Imper
w ₂ a-ri-	3Du; 2Du Imper
w ₂ a-la-	3Pl; 2Pl Imper

TABLE 10-2

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes (1Ex + 2; 1Ex + 3)

ni-ŋ-gu-	1Sg + 2Sg	ŋa-	1Sg + 3Sg
ŋa-r-gu-	1Sg + 2Du/3Du		
ŋa-l-gu-	1Sg + 2Pl/3Pl		
ni-ri-	1ExDu + 2Sg/3Sg		
ni-wi-	1ExPl + 2Sg/3Sg		
ni-m-bi-r-	1ExDu-Pl + 2Du-Pl/3Du-Pl		

TABLE 10-3

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes (1In + 3)

na-	1InDu + 3Sg
na-wu-	1InPl + 3Sg
na-m-bu-r-	1InDu-Pl + 3Du-Pl

TABLE 10-4

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes (2 → 3 Non-Imper)

ni-	2Sg → 3Sg
nu-r-gu-	2Sg → 3Du
nu-l-gu-	2Sg → 3Pl
nu-ru-	2Du → 3Sg
nu-wu-	2Pl → 3Sg
nu-m-bu-r-	2Du-Pl → 3Du-Pl

TABLE 10-5

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes (3 → 3; 2 → 3 Imper)

w ₁ u-	3Sg → 3Sg; 2Sg → 3Sg Imper
w ₂ u-r-gu-	3Sg → 3Du; 2Sg → 3Du Imper
w ₂ u-l-gu-	3Sg → 3Pl; 2Sg → 3Pl Imper
w ₂ i-ri-	3Du → 3Sg; 2Du → 3Sg Imper
w ₂ i-li-	3Pl → 3Sg; 2Pl → 3Sg Imper
w ₂ u-lu-m-bu-r-	3Du-Pl → 3Du-Pl; 2Du-Pl → 3Du-Pl Imper

TABLE 10-6

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes (2 → 1Ex; 3 → 1Ex)

na-η-gu-	2Sg → 1Sg	na-n-gu	3Sg → 1Sg
	ni-r-gu-	2Sg/3Sg → 1ExDu	
	ni-wi-η-gu-	2Sg/3Sg → 1ExPl	
na-m-bi-ri-	2Du → 1Sg/1ExDu-Pl	na-n-bi-ri-	3Du → 1Sg
na-m-bi-li-	2Pl → 1Sg/1ExDu-Pl	na-n-bi-li-	3Pl → 1Sg
		na-m-bi-ri-	3Du-Pl → 1ExDu-Pl

TABLE 10-7

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes (3 + 1In)

na-r-gu-	3Sg + 1InDu
na-wu-ŋ-gu-	3Sg + 1InPl
na-m-bi-ri-	3Du-Pl + 1InDu-Pl

TABLE 10-8

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes (3 + 2)

nu-ŋ-gu-	3Sg + 2Sg
nu-r-gu-	3Sg + 2Du
nu-wu-ŋ-gu-	3Sg + 2Pl
ni-m-bi-ri-	3Du + 2Sg
ni-m-bi-li-	3Pl + 2Sg
nu-m-bu-ru-	3Du-Pl + 2Du-Pl

10.2. Inventory of Morphemes

The basic pronominal morphemes in the prefixes can be seen in fairly transparent form in intransitive prefixes (Table 10-1). We can immediately identify Du -ri- and Pl -la- (3rd person) or -wu-/wi- (1st and 2nd persons), leaving the person-markers as 1Sg ŋa-, 1ExDu-Pl ni-, 1In na-, 2Sg ni-, 2Du-Pl nu-, 3Sg w₁u-, and 3Du-Pl w₂a-. I believe the latter to be identical to Pl allomorph -wu-/wi- with non-3rd persons, so that I recognise a morpheme -w₂V- marking Du-Pl (i.e. non-Sg) for 3rd and (3+) Pl for non-3rd persons in the intransitive prefixes.

Transitive prefixes are made up mainly with these same morphemes, often with phonological modifications. Vowels are variable in some morphemes, due either to assimilation or due to special allomorph rules. Du -rV- and Pl -lV- not only show vowel changes but also occur in vowelless forms -r- and -l- in some forms. The Du-Pl (non-Sg) morpheme shows up as -bV- after nasals, with regular hardening of w₂ to b. More seriously, 1Sg ŋa- and 1ExDu-Pl ni- become na- in some positions, resulting in some mergers not only between each other but also with 1In na-. 2nd and 3rd persons are merged (into the 3rd person form) in some 1st + 2nd/3rd and 2nd/3rd + 1st combinations.

There are also two morphemes found only in transitive prefixes. First, a morpheme *-gu-* is inserted at the end of a prefix under phonologically specifiable conditions. Specifically, it is added when the pronominal prefix would otherwise be of the shape CVC- (as opposed to CV-, CVCVC-, etc.), or would end in a nasal. Hence what would otherwise be **ŋa-r-* shows up as 1Sg + 2Du/3Du *ŋa-r-gu-*, preventing the unwanted CVC- shape for the prefix as a whole. Bisyllabic prefixes ending in a consonant (other than a nasal) are not extended, hence 1ExDu-Pl + 2Du-Pl/3Du-Pl *ni-m-bi-r-* (not **ni-m-bi-r-gu-*). A final nasal triggers addition of *-gu-* regardless of the number of syllables in the prefix, hence 1Sg + 2Sg *ni-ŋ-gu-* (not **ni-N-*) and 3Sg + 1InPl *na-wu-ŋ-gu-* (not **na-wu-N-*).

It is possible to consider 3Sg intransitive and 3Sg + 3Sg transitive *w₁u-* as another instance of this *-gu-*. The problem is that, although a base form /*w₁u-*/ would correctly become *-gu-* after a nasal by rule P-7, it should not become *-gu-* after a liquid, so /*ŋa-r-w₁u-*/ should become **ŋa-r-wu-* instead of attested *ŋa-r-gu-*, etc.

The correlation between *-gu-* and *w₁u-* is tantalising; we could say that the allomorph *w₁u-* is inserted in what would otherwise be a zero pronominal prefix (3Sg, 3Sg + 3Sg), thus retaining the essentially phonological basis for the morpheme. While keeping this in mind as a possible synchronic (and historical) analysis, I will keep *w₁u-* and *-gu-* separate in view of the phonological discrepancy. Both will, however, be regarded as epenthetic morphemes, though of slightly different sorts.

The other morpheme has two forms, *-n-* and *-N-*, the latter assimilating to the point of articulation of the following consonant (b or g) while the former resists assimilation. It is debatable whether these should be considered two different morphemes, or one morpheme whose morphophonemic behaviour depends on morphological as well as phonological context. Since the distribution of the two is so similar, I take them as two manifestations of a single morpheme.

The distribution of this morpheme can be described in terms of the person and number of the subject and object pronominals in the prefix. In the Sg + Sg forms, for example, we find *-n-/N-* in the following combinations: 1Sg + 2Sg *ni-ŋ-gu-*, 2Sg + 1Sg *na-ŋ-gu-*, 3Sg + 1Sg *na-n-gu-*, and 3Sg + 2Sg *nu-ŋ-gu-*. It does not occur, however, in 1Sg + 3Sg *ŋa-*, 2Sg + 3Sg *ni-*, or 3Sg + 3Sg *w₁u-* (in cases like '3Sg + 3Sg' we will not bother to point out constantly that these are also used with 2nd person instead of 3rd person subject in imperatives).

Moving now to Du-Pl \rightarrow Sg forms, we find -n/-N- in Table 10-6 with nonsingular 2nd or 3rd subject and 1Sg object (e.g. 3Du \rightarrow 1Sg na-n-bi-ri-), and in Table 10-8 with nonsingular 3rd subject and 2Sg object (e.g. 3Du \rightarrow 2Sg ni-m-bi-ri-). However, the morpheme is not present in 1ExDu \rightarrow 2Sg/3Sg ni-ri-, 1ExPl \rightarrow 2Sg/3Sg ni-wi-, 1InDu \rightarrow 3Sg na-, 1InPl \rightarrow 3Sg na-wu-, 2Du \rightarrow 3Sg nu-ru-, 2Pl \rightarrow 3Sg nu-wu-, 3Du \rightarrow 3Sg w₂i-ri-, or 3Pl \rightarrow 3Sg w₂i-li-.

The distribution of -n/-N- therefore appears to have something to do with pronominal hierarchies. If 1st and 2nd persons are grouped together as category X_1 , with 3rd person treated as X_2 , then we can sum up the distribution of -n/-N- in Sg \rightarrow Sg and Du-Pl \rightarrow Sg combinations as follows: -n/-N- is used in all *inverse* forms $X_2 \rightarrow X_1$; it is not used in *direct* forms $X_1 \rightarrow X_2$; it is used in $X_1 \rightarrow X_1$ *equipollent* forms but not in $X_2 \rightarrow X_2$ *equipollent* forms. The only additional proviso we need to make on the bases of the examples just mentioned is that in those forms where 2nd and 3rd persons are merged, the undifferentiated 2nd/3rd category is treated as X_2 . Hence 1ExPl \rightarrow 2Sg/3Sg ni-wi- does not take -n/-N- even in the 1ExPl \rightarrow 2Sg sense; if it were specifically a 1ExPl \rightarrow 2Sg form we would expect it to become *ni-wi-N- (and, with addition of -gu-, *ni-wi- η -gu-).

The rule just sketched works nicely for Sg \rightarrow Sg and Du-Pl \rightarrow Sg forms, but additional wrinkles turn up in the Sg \rightarrow Du-Pl and Du-Pl \rightarrow Du-Pl forms. As it happens, -n/-N- is found in all Du-Pl \rightarrow Du-Pl prefixes, even those which are semantically direct like 1ExDu-Pl \rightarrow 2Du-Pl/3Du-Pl ni-m-bi-ri-. In all such examples -m- (i.e. -N-) is directly followed by non-Sg -bu- or -bi- (related to 3rd non-Sg w₂a-).

In the Sg \rightarrow Du-Pl forms, -n/-N- is used only occasionally, but it appears that its absence from many of these forms is due only to its incompatibility with an immediately adjacent non-Sg morpheme -r- (Du) or -l- (Pl), which occurs in the middle of many of these forms and is automatically followed by -gu-. Examples are 1Sg \rightarrow 2Du/3Du η a-r-gu- and 1Sg \rightarrow 2Pl/3Pl η a-l-gu-. However, in the few Sg \rightarrow Du-Pl combinations where such a morpheme is not present (i.e. where Pl allomorph -wu- is used instead of -r- or -l-) we do indeed find -n/-N-, hence 2Sg/3Sg \rightarrow 1ExPl ni-wi- η -gu- and 3Sg \rightarrow 1InPl na-wu- η -gu-. It would appear, then, that the basic rule is that -n/-N- must be used in all Du-Pl object forms, subject to the constraint that it cannot co-occur with immediately adjacent -r- or -l-.

In the following section we will attempt to write rules for the generation of the prefixes (particularly the transitive ones, which

require various ordering, deletion, and other rules not applicable to intransitive prefixes. We will use the labels for individual morphemes indicated in Table 10-9, and will define a *pronominal* as either a subject- or object-marker (which may contain one or two morphemes), as shown in Table 10-10.

TABLE 10-9
Morphemes in Pronominal Prefixes

label	surface allomorphs
1SG	ŋa-
1EX	ni-, na-
1IN	na-
2SG	ni-, nu-
2PL	nu-, ni-
3EPEN	w ₁ u-
NSG	w ₂ a-, w ₂ u-, w ₂ i-, -wu-, -wi-, -bu-, -bi-
DU	-ri-, -ru-, -r-
PL	-la-, -li-, -lu-, -l-
INV	-n-, -m-, -ŋ-
EPEN	-gu-

Note: These are merely labels and are not semantically accurate in all combinations.

Mnemonics: NSG = nonsingular, EPEN = epenthetic, INV = inverse. Note that '3EPEN' and 'EPEN' are two different morphemes in this analysis.

TABLE 10-10

Pronominals

category	full form of pronominal
1Sg	1SG -
1ExDu	1EX - DU -
1ExPl	1EX - NSG -
1InDu	1IN - DU -
1InPl	1IN - NSG -
2Sg	2SG -
2Du	2PL - DU -
2Pl	2PL - NSG -
3Sg	(zero) -
3Du	NSG - DU -
3Pl	NSG - PL -

Note: As can be seen from these arrays, the NSG morpheme functions in 1st and 2nd forms as their equivalent of the PL morpheme in the 3rd person.

10.3. Generative Rules

In this section we provide a series of explicit generative rules which will produce the attested forms. Aside from several rather restricted phonological and allomorphic rules, this procedure requires rules which produce the attested morpheme sequences shown in the tables. It is not suggested that this generative procedure is psychologically real; it does, however, provide insight into the formal structure of the prefixes.

We begin with a combination of one or two pronominals; in the first case the pronominal is specified as IS (intransitive subject), in the latter the two pronominals are specified as TS (transitive subject) and TO (transitive object). Each pronominal can be spelled out in its full form (Table 10-10) with its constituent morphemes relatively ordered; however, in transitive prefixes we cannot assume that the TS

and TO pronominals as wholes are ordered relative to each other. That is, for 1ExPl + 3Du we take as our starting point a 1ExPl pronominal 1Ex-NSG- specified as TS, and a 3Du pronominal NSG-Du- specified as TO. We then need morpheme-combination rules to produce the attested string of elements (in this instance 1EX-INV-NSG-DU-); some such rules involve ordering, others deletions or conversions, others the introduction of relational or epenthetic morphemes.

We first introduce the basic ordering rule. Although its surface effects are partly distorted by later deletion rules, essentially this rule can be thought of as insuring the following order of pronominals: 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person. Thus in 1st + 2nd and 2nd + 1st transitive prefixes, the first person pronominal precedes the second person pronominal. Similarly, in 2nd + 3rd and 3rd + 2nd combinations, the second person pronominal comes first. Finally, in 1st + 3rd and 3rd + 1st combinations, the first person element comes first.

Since there are no 1st + 1st or 2nd + 2nd forms, it remains to determine the order of elements in 3rd + 3rd combinations. In these third person (equipollent) prefixes, it happens that the TS pronominal precedes the TO pronominal in the only relevant prefix ($w_2u-lu-m-bu-r-$ in Table 10-5); in the others we cannot tell since 3Sg is realised as zero whenever it co-occurs with another nonzero pronominal.

Examples of the '1st before 2nd' part of the rule are difficult to find because of later rules deleting one of the two person-marking morphemes (1Sg in 1Sg + 2Sg $ni-\eta-gu-$, otherwise 2SG or 2PL). However, in $ni-m-bi-r-$ (Table 10-2) we can see 1EX $ni-$ preceding $-bi-r-$, which (as we will see below) is what is left of the 2Du-Pl (also 3Du-Pl) TO pronominal. Similarly, all forms in Table 10-6 with 2nd (as well as 3rd) TS pronominal and 1st TO pronominal begin with a first person morpheme $ni-$ or $na-$. Some of these, like $na-m-bi-li-$, show a nonzero second person pronominal (here $-bi-li-$) following the first person element.

It is not difficult to find examples of the '1st before 3rd' and '2nd before 3rd' portions of the rule; cf. $ni-m-bi-r-$ in Table 10-2 with 1EX $ni-$ at the beginning, and the forms in Tables 10-4 and 10-8 beginning in 2SG $ni-$ or 2PL $nu-$.

The morpheme-combination rules presented in this section will be labelled with the abbreviation MC.

MC-1 (Basic Ordering Rule)

In transitive prefixes, if the TS and TO differ in person, then the order of the pronominals is 1st - 2nd - 3rd; if both pronominals are third person, the order is TS - TO.

The next rule that we need is one involving the neutralisation of some Du and Pl categories into a single Du-Pl (nonsingular) category. Some such neutralisations are brought about by the deletion, in certain positions, of the DU, PL and NSG morphemes, but for the moment we are not interested in these surface neutralisations, rather in cases where one of the morphemes (e.g. DU) is generalised to all nonsingular numbers at the expense of another morpheme (PL or NSG, for instance). This occurs in all instances of 3Du and 3Pl when the other pronominal (TS or TO) is nonsingular. Hence Du and Pl are merged (with the DU morpheme -rV- or -r- replacing PL -lV- or -l- at the end of the prefix, and vice versa nonfinally), in the following combinations: 1ExDu-Pl → 3___ (ni-m-bi-r-, Table 10-2), 1InDu-Pl → 3___ (na-m-bu-r-, Table 10-3), 2Du-Pl → 3___ (nu-m-bu-r-, Table 10-4), 3___ → 1ExDu-Pl (na-m-bi-ri-, Table 10-6), 3___ → 1InDu-Pl (na-m-bi-ri-, Table 10-7), 3___ → 2Du-Pl (nu-m-bu-ru-, Table 10-7), and 3___ → 3___ (w₂u-lu-m-bu-r-, Table 10-5). In these examples, it happens that the nonsingular 1st or 2nd pronominal also merges Du with Pl (by deletion rules to be mentioned later), but what concerns us here is the merger of Du with Pl in the third person (3___) pronominals. In all of the examples, we find prefix-final -rV- or -r- (i.e. the DU morpheme) functioning as semantic Du-Pl marker for the third person pronominal. In the last example (w₂u-lu-m-bu-r-), in addition to this we find -lu- (i.e. the PL morpheme) generalising to semantic Du-Pl function in the first of the two third person pronominals (as it happens, the TS marker).

MC-2 (DU/PL-Neutralisation)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{DU} \\ \text{PL} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{DU (at the end of the pronominal prefix)} \\ \text{PL (nonfinally in the pronominal prefix)} \end{array} \right.$$
 in 3rd person pronominals (TS or TO) if the other pronominal (TO or TS) is nonsingular.

The next rule is one which merges the 1SG morpheme with the 1EX morpheme, and the 2SG morpheme with the 2PL morpheme, when they are prefix-initial and when they are part of the TO pronominal. The resulting morpheme is the 1EX morpheme (for semantic 1Sg or 1ExDu-Pl) in the first case, and the 2PL morpheme (for 2Sg or 2Du-Pl) in the second case. Because the full forms of 1ExDu and 1ExPl are 1EX-DU- and 1EX-NSG-, respectively, so long as the -DU- and -NSG- morphemes are not deleted by later rules (as they often, but not always, are), it is possible to retain surface oppositions between them and 1Sg

even when the latter takes the surface form 1EX-. Similarly, the conversion of the 2Sg pronominal into 2PL- need not result in total surface merger with 2Du (2PL-DU-) or 2PL (2PL-NSG-), but mergers do occur when the -DU- and -NSG- morphemes are later deleted.

Examples of 1SG being replaced by 1EX (i.e. *ŋa-* becoming *na-*) in TO pronominals are found in Table 10-6, where all prefixes begin with 1EX *na-* or *ni-* and none with 1SG *ŋa-*. Examples of the replacement of 2SG (*ni-*) with 2PL (*nu-*, occasionally *ni-* by assimilation to following vowel) occur in Table 10-8. Because 2SG *ni-* and 2PL *nu-* and *ni-* are not always reliably distinguishable on the surface, the situation here is not as clear as with the 1st person morphemes, but the 2nd person forms are at least compatible with the same kind of number-neutralisation seen in the first person.

There is one exception to the rule replacing 2SG with 2PL. In Table 10-2, there is only one form beginning with a second person morpheme: 1Sg + 2Sg *ni-ŋ-gu-*. This shows 2SG morpheme *ni-*, not 2PL *nu-* (cf. 3Sg + 2Sg *nu-ŋ-gu-* in Table 10-8, where *ni-* is in fact replaced by *nu-*). Therefore the 1Sg + 2Sg form is an apparent exception to the generalisation that 2SG becomes 2PL prefix-initially in the TO pronominal.

However, there is a way to make this apparent counterexample fit into the analysis without regarding it as exceptional. 1Sg + 2Sg *ni-ŋ-gu-* is the only 1st + 2nd or 2nd + 1st form where the 2SG or 2PL morpheme is not deleted by a later rule. By our ordering rule MC-1, all 1st + 2nd and 2nd + 1st forms have the 1st person pronominal at the beginning and the 2nd person pronominal following it. Thus, if the rule converting 2SG into 2PL (and 1SG into 1EX) applies at this stage - before the rules deleting 1st and 2nd person morphemes - and is specified as occurring only in prefix-initial position, then 1Sg + 2Sg *ni-ŋ-gu-* (at this early stage 1SG-2SG-, though the final form *ni-ŋ-gu-* is 2SG-INV-EPEN-) will not undergo the conversion of 2SG into 2PL since the 2SG morpheme is not prefix-initial.

MC-3 (Object-Number Neutralisation)

$$\begin{cases} 1SG \rightarrow 1EX \\ 2SG \rightarrow 2PL \end{cases}$$

in TO pronominals in prefix-initial position.

The next rule is a neutralisation by which 2nd person pronominals in certain combinations are replaced by 3rd person pronominals. In Table 10-2, we see that 1Sg + 2Sg *ni-ŋ-gu-* is distinct from 1Sg + 3Sg

na-, but all other 1st + 2nd and corresponding 1st + 3rd forms are identical. In several such cases, the neutralisation can be taken as an accidental surface merger resulting from rules to be mentioned below which delete some morphemes in particular environments. However, in the case of 1ExDu-Pl + 2Du/3Du-Pl ni-m-bi-r-, the T0 pronominal -bi-r- (-NSG-DU-) is regular for 3Du-Pl but not for 2Du-Pl (which does not normally contain the NSG morpheme). It appears, then, that at least in the case of ni-m-bi-r- the 2nd person T0 pronominal has been replaced by the corresponding 3rd person T0 pronominal. This same analysis is possible, but not necessary, for all other forms in Table 10-2 except the forms ni-ŋ-gu- and na-).

In Table 10-6 we can see that, although some 2nd + 1st forms are distinct from corresponding 3rd + 1st forms, the two series are quite similar in structure; in some cases the actual string of morphemes is identical and the only difference is that INV remains -n- in the 3rd person forms, but assimilates to the following consonant in the 2nd person forms, hence na-ŋ-gu- vs. na-n-gu- and na-m-bi-ri- vs. na-n-bi-ri-. The only other difference is that rule MC-2, discussed above, applies when the TS is 3Du or 3Pl, but does not apply when it is 2Du or 2Pl, so we get -bi-ri- for 3Du-Pl TS on nonsingular 1st person object, while with such objects the 2nd person distinguishes 2Du from 2Pl TS (na-m-bi-ri- vs. na-m-bi-li-). Thus it would seem that the merger of 2nd with 3rd pronominals is found in Table 10-6 as well as in Table 10-2, but that this merger follows rule MC-2 so far as Table 10-6 is concerned, thus permitting indirect differentiation of 2nd and 3rd person pronominals.

In Table 10-2, however, it would appear that the 2nd/3rd merger precedes MC-2, since in 1ExDu-Pl + 2Du-Pl/3Du-Pl ni-m-bi-r- MC-2 (combining DU and PL morphemes into the DU morpheme -r-) applies not only when the object is semantically 3rd person, but also when it is 2nd person. We can either posit a kind of 'local ordering' with the two MC rules applying in different orders in different combinations, or we can slightly complicate MC-2 so that it applies to 1ExDu-Pl + 2Du-Pl forms as well as to those already handled by the rule. I have no strong feelings about this (and recall that we are not attempting psychologically 'real' analyses, so the question is of little theoretical significance), but for purposes of formally stating the rules we will adopt the local-ordering analysis.

As noted earlier, the exact range of the rule merging 2nd with 3rd persons is difficult to pin down because in several combinations

we have deletion rules which will (accidentally) bring about the correct mergers. We want to make sure, however, that the merger rule as such applies to the following combinations: 1ExDu-Pl \rightarrow 2Du-Pl (ni-m-bi-r- in Table 10-2 on the 2nd person reading), 2Du \rightarrow 1Sg/1ExDu-Pl (na-m-bi-ri- in Table 10-6), and 2Pl \rightarrow 1Sg/1ExDu-Pl (na-m-bi-li- in Table 10-6). We specifically want it not to apply to the 1Sg \rightarrow 2Sg combination (ni-ŋ-gu- in Table 10-2); in the remaining combinations it does not matter whether it applies since the output will be the same anyway. It is therefore simplest to formulate the merger rule in such a way that it applies only to 2Du and 2Pl categories, in a combination where a 1st person pronominal is also present.

MC-4 (2nd/3rd-Neutralisation)

2Du \rightarrow 3Du (i.e. 2PL-DU- becomes NSG-DU-)

2Pl \rightarrow 3Pl (i.e. 2PL-NSG- becomes NSG-PL-)

in transitive combinations where the other pronominal (TS or TO) is 1st person.

The next two rules are both reflections of the fact that only one 1st or 2nd person morpheme (1SG, 1EX, 2SG, 2PL) can occur on the surface in a prefix. In 1st \rightarrow 2nd and 2nd \rightarrow 1st prefixes, other than those which have become surface 1st \rightarrow 3rd and 3rd \rightarrow 1st prefixes by MC-4, at this point there is still a 1st person morpheme (1SG or 1EX) followed by a 2nd person morpheme (2SG or 2PL). As MC-4 is formulated, the remaining 1st \rightarrow 2nd and 2nd \rightarrow 1st combinations are 1Sg \rightarrow 2Sg, 1ExDu \rightarrow 2Sg, 1ExPl \rightarrow 2Sg, 2Sg \rightarrow 1Sg, 2Sg \rightarrow 1ExDu, and 2Sg \rightarrow 1ExPl. Note that the 2nd person pronominal is always 2Sg (though MC-4 could have been formulated a bit differently, allowing some combinations with 2Du or 2Pl pronominal to remain).

As it happens, the 1SG morpheme is deleted, allowing the 2SG morpheme to occur on the surface, in the 1Sg \rightarrow 2Sg form ni-ŋ-gu- (2SG-INV-EPEN-). In the other five prefixes, the 2nd person morpheme (2SG or 2PL) is deleted, though in the case of 2Du and 2Pl pronominals the remaining morpheme (DU or NSG) may remain. The clearest example of deletion is 2Sg \rightarrow 1Sg na-ŋ-gu- (Table 10-6), where na- is the 1EX morpheme and is followed by INV -ŋ- and EPEN -gu-, but not by 2SG ni-. In 1Sg \rightarrow 2Du (also 1Sg \rightarrow 3Du) ŋa-r-gu- (Table 10-2), we find 1SG ŋa- followed by DU -r-, and the latter morpheme is to be interpreted as what is left of the 2Du pronominal (-2PL-DU-) after the 2PL morpheme is deleted.

MC-5 (1st-Deletion)

$$1SG \rightarrow \emptyset // \text{---} - 2SG$$

where 1SG constitutes the subject-marker and 2SG the object-marker.

MC-6 (2nd-Deletion)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 2SG \\ 2PL \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset // \left. \begin{array}{l} 1SG \\ 1EX \end{array} \right\} (-X) - \text{---}$$

Note: MC-6 follows MC-5 and applies to those combinations not affected by MC-5.

Our next rule is Inverse-Insertion, which accounts for the insertion of INV morpheme -n-/N-. There are two distinct, but partly overlapping, situations in which this morpheme is added. Firstly, if we define set X_1 as consisting of 1st and 2nd pronominals, and set X_2 as containing all 3rd pronominals, then INV is added to the end of the TO pronominal in $X_2 \rightarrow X_1$ combinations like 3Sg \rightarrow 1Sg and 3Sg \rightarrow 2Sg, but is omitted in $X_1 \rightarrow X_2$ combinations like 1Sg \rightarrow 3Sg and 2Sg \rightarrow 3Sg. Moreover, INV is added to the end of the TO pronominal in $X_1 \rightarrow X_1$ combinations like 1Sg \rightarrow 2Sg and 2Sg \rightarrow 1Sg, but is not used in $X_2 \rightarrow X_2$ combinations like 3Sg \rightarrow 3Sg.

Examples of this 'inverse' use of INV are 3Sg \rightarrow 1Sg na-n-gu-, 3Sg \rightarrow 2Sg nu-n-gu-, 1Sg \rightarrow 2Sg ni-n-gu-, and 2Sg \rightarrow 1Sg na-n-gu-. Examples lacking INV are 1Sg \rightarrow 3Sg na-, 2Sg \rightarrow 3Sg ni-, and 3Sg \rightarrow 3Sg wlu-. For additional commentary on the INV morpheme see 10.2.

Counterexamples to this are 3Sg \rightarrow 1InDu na-r-gu-, 2Sg/3Sg \rightarrow 1ExDu ni-r-gu-, and 3Sg \rightarrow 2Du nu-r-gu-. At the point where Inverse-Insertion applies (i.e. before -gu- is inserted), these prefixes are of the form X-DU-, where X is some person-marking morpheme. Apparently, then, the INV morpheme cannot be added to a prefix-final DU morpheme. It can be added after DU when the latter is not otherwise prefix-final, but in this event DU will be deleted by a later rule. The INV morpheme can follow NSG, as in 3Sg \rightarrow 1InPl na-wu-n-gu- (1IN-NSG-INV-EPEN-). Since the PL morpheme occurs only in X_2 (3rd person) pronominals, the INV morpheme cannot be added to PL in its true 'inverse' sense; therefore we cannot tell, from these inverse forms, whether INV would be incompatible with prefix-final PL, as it is with prefix-final DU.

Aside from the 'inverse' examples with INV, we also find INV in all combinations with Du or Pl TS and Du or Pl TO, as in 2Du-Pl \rightarrow 3Du-Pl nu-m-bu-r- (2PL-INV-NSG-DU-). This combination is not semantically

inverse, and it is the only prefix in Table 10-4 which contains the INV morpheme. Consequently, we need a second part to Inverse-Insertion adding INV between the two pronominals. Since it happens that all relevant examples (i.e. those not already handled by the first part of the Inverse-Insertion rule) have the TS pronominal leftmost, followed by the TO pronominal (as in the example *nu-m-bu-r-* just mentioned), in these 'non-inverse' uses of INV it is attached to the end of the TS (rather than TO) pronominal.

It is impossible to determine whether the second part of the rule applies, in principle, to SG → Du-Pl as well as to Du-Pl → Du-Pl combinations. Its overt effects are only in the latter, but it could be thought of as 'applying' vacuously to the Sg → Du-Pl combinations as well, so that we could generalise the rule slightly by allowing it to apply in all prefixes with Du-Pl TO regardless of TS-number. This is because, excluding inverse Sg → Du-Pl combinations (where the first part of Inverse-Insertion has already accounted for the occurrence of INV), the remaining Sg → Du-Pl combinations (Tables 10-2, 10-4, and 10-5) would all otherwise end in prefix-final DU or PL. We have already seen that INV cannot follow DU in this position, and it is reasonable to assume that INV likewise cannot follow PL in this position since DU and PL are closely associated structurally and phonologically. Therefore it would be possible to allow the second part of Inverse-Insertion to apply to all combinations with Du or Pl TO, including the Sg → Du-Pl combinations, though its application is vacuous (because of its incompatibility with DU and PL at the end of a prefix) in the latter cases.

MC-7 (Inverse-Insertion)

- a) $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{INV} \quad // \quad X - \underline{\quad} - Y -$

where X is a 1st or 2nd TO pronominal and Y is any TS pronominal.

- b) $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{INV} \quad // \quad X - \underline{\quad} - Y -$

where X and/or Y are nonsingular pronominals.

Note: Only one of the two subrules can apply to a given pronominal prefix; there is also a restriction on both subrules preventing insertion of INV after what would otherwise be prefix-final DU (in other words, if Y is zero, then X cannot end in the DU morpheme in the formulae above).

The next rule has three parts. One part deletes either NSG or DU when this is followed by the sequence -INV-NSG-. The second part deletes NSG at the beginning of a TO pronominal when this is preceded by a nonzero TS pronominal, provided that INV does not intervene between the two. The third part deletes the DU morpheme in the lInDu pronominal (lIN-DU-) when it is used as IS or TS (but not TO) pronominal.

The first part of the rule can be seen in operation in Table 10-2, for example. Note that in ni-ri- and ni-wi- (with zero 3Sg TO pronominal), the lExDu and lExPl TS pronominals show up in their full forms, with DU -ri- or NSG -wi- following the person-marker ni-. However, in ni-m-bi-r- with 3Du-Pl TO pronominal, we get a surface sequence lEX-INV-NSG-DU-. Here the lExDu and lExPl pronominals are merged together, taking the simple form lEX-. Similar examples are na-m-bu-r- in Table 10-3, nu-m-bu-r- in Table 10-4, several examples in Table 10-6 (note that lExPl and lExDu can be merged also with lSg, which is the joint result of this Number-Deletion rule and MC-3, above), na-m-bi-ri- in Table 10-7, and nu-m-bu-ru- in Table 10-8. Curiously, w₂u-lu-m-bu-r- in Table 10-5 shows that PL (-lu-) is not deleted in the environment where DU and NSG are deleted in the other examples just mentioned; perhaps the retention of PL -lu- in w₂u-lu-m-bu-r- is a device to 'protect' the preceding NSG morpheme (w₂u-), since if -lu- were deleted so (presumably) would w₂u- have to be, creating a morphologically and phonologically unacceptable output *m-bu-r-.

The common factor in these deletions of DU and NSG is that they occur before the sequence -INV-NSG-DU- (where DU represents underlying DU and PL, cf. MC-2). Since these are the only cases where DU or NSG can directly precede the sequence -INV-NSG-, it is not necessary to mention the final -DU- morpheme in the environment in formulating the rule. However, the -NSG- morpheme is an essential part of the environment, since deletion does not take place when NSG is followed only by -INV-, as we can see in 2Sg/3Sg + lExPl ni-wi-ŋ-gu- (lEX-NSG-INV-EPEN-). Deletion thus occurs only before the sequence -INV-NSG-.

The second part of the Number-Deletion rule can be seen in operation in forms like lSg + 2Du/3Du ŋa-r-gu- in Table 10-2. At the present stage in the derivation, this combination has the form lSG-NSG-DU-, where lSG is the lSg TS pronominal and -NSG-DU- is the 3Du (including semantic 2Du) TO pronominal. The surface sequence is lSG-DU-EPEN-, so

we need a rule deleting NSG here. Other examples: *na-l-gu-* in Table 10-2, *nu-r-gu-* and *nu-l-gu-* in Table 10-4; note, however, that *w₂u-r-gu-* and *w₂u-l-gu-* in Table 10-5 are not affected (they do not become **r-gu-* and **l-gu-*). None of the examples of deletion of NSG involves position after INV, hence in *ni-m-bi-r-* in Table 10-2 the NSG morpheme *-bi-* is not deleted. We can sum the rule up by saying that NSG is deleted when it is the initial morpheme in the TO pronominal, it is preceded by a nonzero TS pronominal, and INV is not present. By specifying 'nonzero' we account for retention of NSG *w₂u-* in *w₂u-r-gu-* and *w₂u-l-gu-*.

The third part of the rule deletes DU in some examples of the lInDu pronominal, whose full form is lIN-DU- (*na-r-*). The full form is seen in *na-r-gu-* (Table 10-7), where the lInDu pronominal is the TO. When the lInDu pronominal is IS or TS, on the other hand, the DU morpheme is deleted even when it would not be deleted by the other subrules which can delete DU. Note in particular lInDu intransitive *na-* (Table 10-1) and lInDu → 3Sg *na-* (Table 10-3); if we did not have a rule deleting DU here these would turn up as **na-r-gu-* (homophonous to the 3Sg → lInDu prefix *na-r-gu-*).

MC-8 (Number-Deletion)

- a)
$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{NSG} \\ \text{DU} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset // \text{---} -\text{INV-NSG-}$$
- b)
$$\text{NSG} \rightarrow \emptyset // \text{X - ---}$$

where NSG is at the beginning of a TO pronominal, and X is a nonzero TS pronominal not ending in INV.
- c)
$$\text{DU} \rightarrow \emptyset // \text{lIN - ---}$$

where lIN-DU- is the lInDu pronominal in TS or IS function.

The rules presented so far account for all of the morphemes seen in the tables and their relative order, except that the epenthetic morphemes *w₁u-* and *-gu-* have not yet been introduced. Since these morphemes are added under phonologically specifiable conditions they are handled in the next section.

10.4. Phonological and Allomorphic Rules

The rules of the preceding section were formulated without any reference to the phonological shape of the morphemes in question. In this section, we will present what appear to be phonologically underlying representations for each nonepenthetic morpheme (some such

morphemes have two or more morphologically determined variants - these variants, since they are functionally distinctive, could be considered separate morphemes). Additional surface allomorphs will be derived by phonological rules, some of them highly restricted and specialised. The epenthetic morphemes *w₁u-* and *-gu-* will also be introduced by rules in this section (*-gu-* in particular cannot be inserted until after phonological specification of some prefix-final morphemes).

The underlying allomorphs of the nonepenthetic morphemes are dealt with by rule MC-9:

MC-9 (Allomorph-Assignment)

1SG	→	<i>ŋa-</i>
1EX	→	$\begin{cases} \text{na-} & // \text{ --- - INV} \\ \text{ni-} & // \text{ elsewhere} \end{cases}$
1IN	→	<i>na-</i>
2SG	→	<i>ni-</i>
2PL	→	<i>nu-</i>
NSG	→	$\begin{cases} \text{w}_2\text{a-} & // \text{ prefix-initially in IS function} \\ \text{-w}_2\text{u-} & // \text{ prefix-finally, or before DU or PL} \\ & \text{vowelless allomorphs} \\ \text{-w}_2\text{V-} & // \text{ elsewhere (underlying vowel indeterminate)} \end{cases}$
DU	→	$\begin{cases} \text{-r-} & // \text{ in TO function} \\ \text{-ri-} & // \text{ in IS or TS function} \end{cases}$
PL	→	$\begin{cases} \text{-l-} & // \text{ in TO function} \\ \text{-li-} & // \text{ in TS function} \\ \text{-lV-} & // \text{ in TS function (vowel indeterminate)} \end{cases}$
INV	→	<i>-n-</i>

We may observe in passing that there is little in the way of 'accusative' (IS=TS≠TO) or 'ergative' (IS=TO≠TS) patterning in this allomorphic rule. Only DU shows a clear accusative pattern; the parallel morpheme PL may show this pattern since *-li-* is a possible underlying form for *-lV-* (with vowel assimilating its surface quality from another syllable, see below). There is some tendency for differentiation of allomorphs found before INV from other allomorphs; note the two allomorphs for 1EX in this rule, and recall rule MC-8a, which has the effect of reducing bimorphemic pronominals to

monomorphemic ones before INV. However, since INV itself correlates only poorly with TO function in the preceding element, this in itself cannot be directly interpreted as showing accusative patterning. Recall also, however, that MC-8c has the effect of differentiating IS and TS form na- from TO form na-r- for the lInDu pronominal. So there is at least a little accusative patterning (as it happens, all real instances of this involve 1st and 2nd person pronominals).

It is now possible to introduce the epenthetic morphemes.

MC-10 (gu-Insertion)

a) $\emptyset \rightarrow -gu-$ // 'CV-C-___'

b) $\emptyset \rightarrow -gu-$ // '...-n-___'

where ' indicates the leftward and rightward boundaries of the pronominal prefix.

That is, -gu- is added after monosyllabic prefixes ending in a consonant (INV -n-, DU allomorph -r-, PL allomorph -l-), but is not added in part (a) to prefixes longer than one syllable (hence ni-m-bi-r- does not become *ni-m-bi-r-gu-, though na-r- does become na-r-gu-). Part (b) insures that -gu- is inserted after what would otherwise be prefix-final INV -n-. Since this environment overlaps with that of part (a), and since as formulated (a) actually bleeds (b) since the insertion of -gu- in (a) creates a structure to which (b) cannot apply, one might think that (b) was unnecessary. In fact it does apply, nonvacuously, when INV -n- occurs at the end of a nonmonosyllabic prefix, hence /ni-wi-n-/ \rightarrow ni-wi-n-gu-.

MC-11 (w₁u-Insertion)

$\emptyset \rightarrow w_1u-$ // '___'

where ' indicates the leftward and rightward boundaries of the pronominal prefix.

That is, when the prefix would otherwise be zero, w₁u- is inserted. This applies in the 3Sg and 3Sg \rightarrow 3Sg forms.

We now need a special rule converting /n/ into m before b and into ŋ before g in most combinations in which it occurs. It does remain as unassimilated n (before b or g) in three of the forms in the righthand column of Table 10-6. What these forms (na-n-gu-, na-n-bi-ri-, na-n-bi-li-) have in common is that they have third person TS and 1Sg TO (with lExDu-Pl TO assimilation does occur, as in the fourth form in that column, na-m-bi-ri-). Note in particular that although some

As the examples show, we find both progressive assimilation, as in (a,b,f,j), and regressive or anticipatory assimilation, as in (c,d,h,i). Part (e) contains examples of both, including a situation where a single underlying sequence /nu-m-bi-ri-/ produces two variants ni-m-bi-ri- and nu-m-bu-ru-, permitting surface expression of a semantic opposition which had apparently been neutralised by MC rules. In part (g) we have simultaneously progressive and regressive assimilation.

Note that in (h) the fact that 2SG ni- but not 1EX ni- undergoes assimilation before -r-gu- results again in surface expression of what would otherwise have been a phonologically neutralised opposition.

The only additional rule necessary to generate the forms shown in the paradigmatic tables is w-Hardening P-7 (3.7), a regular phonological rule which converts w_2 to b after a nasal or stop, hence /na-n- w_2 i-ri-/ → na-m-bi-ri-, etc. This rule should apply before Inverse-Assimilation MC-12.

The forms shown in the paradigmatic tables are themselves subject to additional phonological rules at the word-level; some of these are mentioned briefly at the end of 10-1.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

VERBAL INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

11.1. General

The basic structure of the verbal system was outlined in Chapter Nine. The role played within this system by the inflectional suffix categories was dealt with in 9.12 (cf. Table 9-6) and in 9.11.

We recognise the following as the basic suffixal categories: PaPun, PaCon, PaPot, PrPot, Pr₃, Pr₁₋₂, Imper, FutPun, FutCon, Desid. These are to be taken simply as labels for the suffixal categories; thus the 'Pr₃' form, in addition to its use in 3rd and 3rd + 3rd present positive forms, can be used for third person evitative positive and for any pronominal category with the future indefinite positive.

Although the evitative is not normally a separate suffixal category (it is distinguished from the present positive, for many verbs, by stem-initial changes), for a few paradigms it is necessary to distinguish it from the present forms (Pr₃, Pr₁₋₂) and thus to separately give Evit₃ and Evit₁₋₂ forms. This applies to suppletive paradigms where the present positive and evitative positive are formed on different stems (so that the suffixal categories are really not different), as in Table 11-7 (below). In one paradigm, what would normally be the regular Pr₃ form (-ma-ma) is in fact ordinarily used only for evitative positive and future indefinite positive (for any person), while an irregular form (-ma-Ø) is commonly used for third person present positive (Table 11-33, below).

Where Evit₃ and Evit₁₋₂ forms are not shown, and where the FutIndef form is not shown, readers can assume that the same suffixes used for present positive (Pr₃, Pr₁₋₂) are also used for evitative positive and future indefinite positive. In this case, if the Pr₃ and Pr₁₋₂ forms are shown with both 'D' (durative) and 'ND' (nondurative) stem-initials, the former is used for present positive and future indefinite positive, the latter for evitative positive (see 9.12).

For many verbs, the PaPot and PrPot forms are not distinguished suffixally (e.g. Tables 11-1 and 11-4). In this event, if both D and ND stem-initials occur, the former is used in the present positive and the latter in the past positive (hence, in Table 11-4, we get *ganagu ŋa-wari-yi I did not defecate* vs. *ganagu ŋa-bari-yi I am not defecating*). For paradigms without the D/ND opposition (e.g. Table 11-1) there is no surface distinction between the two.

Frequently the FutPun and FutCon are identical suffixally. In the case where there is a D/ND stem-initial opposition, the D form is used for future continuous durative positive, the ND form for future punctual positive, future continuous nondurative positive, and future negative. Hence, in Table 11-13, we get *war+u-ga-y he will sing* (future continuous durative positive), but *war+w-a-y he will sing* (future punctual positive and future continuous nondurative positive) and *ŋula war+w-a-y he will not sing*. If the Imper form is also merged suffixally with these future forms (e.g. Table 11-4), the imperative positive takes the nondurative initial (*wu-waru-Ø defecate!*).

Queried forms, like ?-wiliŋa-li in Table 11-8 are not attested but are parallel in structure to attested forms in other paradigms, and it is thought that they might occur in a larger textual corpus. They cannot be elicited in formal interview sessions and are generally forms which should occur only in casual speech. Parenthesised forms (as in Table 11-14) are attested but less common than the other variants given; this notational device is only used in the case of suppletive stems where both stems are possible in certain suffixal categories but where one is much more common than the other.

The inflectional paradigms are given in Tables 11-1 through 11-38. In section 11.2 of this chapter the basic outlines of the suffixal morphology are described. In subsequent sections individual remarks about each paradigm are made, including a description of the range of the paradigm in Aux and non-Aux structures. The emphasis in this chapter is on suffixal morphology, and although stem-initial alternations are shown in the paradigms they are not focussed on here (cf. 9.9).

Inflectable verbs are usually cited in the past continuous durative positive form, hence -!ini *to go* and -mindini *to do this*. They can also be cited with the past potential positive form added, hence -mindini/-miyi, since this shows whether the paradigm involves suppletion and/or stem-initial changes. For *to go* the irregular past punctual positive can also be added: -!ini/-yurayi or -!ini/-yurayi/-aŋa.

In this chapter, morpheme breaks are usually shown except in citation forms: -!i-ni, -mi-ndi-ni, -yura-yi, etc. The morpheme breaks are definitely shown in the tables. Outside of this chapter, and in texts, morpheme breaks between the inflectable verb root and the suffixes are usually omitted (-!ini, -mindini, etc.) except where the internal analysis of such a form is under analysis. Hence in *wari+ya-na-!ini I returned* several morpheme breaks are shown, but the verb form -!ini is written as a unit. This is simply to avoid overloading the reader with excessive morphological detail in contexts where the internal structure of the verbal stem (including inflectional suffixes) is not at issue.

TABLE 11-1

-alungu!i/-alunguyi *to wait for*

-alungu-Ø	PaPun
-alungu-!i	PaCon
-alungu-yi	PaPot, PrPot, Desid
-alungu-ma	Pr ₃
-alungu-ji	Pr ₁₋₂
-alun-ji	Imper
-alungu-y	FutPun, FutCon

TABLE 11-2

-anji/-anjiyi *to sit*

---	PaPun
-a-nji	PaCon
-a-nji-yi	PaPot, PrPot
-wu-!u	Pr ₃
-wu-!i-yi	Pr ₁₋₂
-a-Ø	Imper
-a-nu	FutPun, FutCon
-wu-!-i	Desid

Reduplication: PaCon -anj-anji, FutCon -an-anu

TABLE 11-3

-arṇaḷi/arṇayi to scratch

-arṇa-Ø	PaPun
-arṇa-ḷi	PaCon
-arṇa-yi	PaPot, PrPot
-arṇa-ma	Pr ₃
-arṇa-nji	Pr ₁₋₂
-ar-ñi	Imper
-arṇa-y	FutPun, FutCon
-arṇa-m-i	Desid

TABLE 11-4

-baliṇaḷi/-waliṇayi to go toward

	-waliṇa-Ø	PaPun
ND	-waliṇa-ḷi	PaCon
D	-baliṇa-ḷi	
ND	-waliṇa-yi	PaPot, PrPot, Desid
D	-baliṇa-yi	
ND	-waliṇa-ma	Pr ₃
D	-baliṇa-ma	
ND	-waliṇa-nji	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-baliṇa-nji	
	-wali-ñi	Imper
ND	-waliṇa-y	FutPun, FutCon
D	-baliṇa-y	

TABLE 11-5

-baruni/-wariyi to defecate

	-wari-Ø	PaPun
ND	?-waru-ñi	PaCon
D	-baru-ñi	
ND	-wari-yi	PaPot, PrPot
D	-bari-yi	
ND	-waru-ṇu	Pr ₃
D	-baru-ṇu	
ND	-waru-ṇu-ni	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-baru-ṇu-ni	
ND	-waru-Ø	FutPun, FutCon, Imper
D	-baru-Ø	
	(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-6

-bawayingali/-wayingayi to hit with thrown object

	-waying-a-Ø	PaPun
ND	-waying-a-li }	PaCon
D	-ba-waying-a-li }	
ND	-waying-a-yi }	PaPot, PrPot
D	-ba-waying-a-yi }	
ND	-waying-a-ma }	Pr ₃
D	-ba-waying-a-ma }	
ND	-waying-a-ji }	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-ba-waying-a-ji }	
	-wayin-ji	Imper
ND	-waying-a-y }	FutPun, FutCon
D	-ba-waying-a-y }	
	-ba-waying-a-m-i	Desid

Reduplication: PaCon -ba-wayi-waying-a-li, etc.

TABLE 11-7

-bayŋali/-yiŋayi (Aux)

	-yiŋa-Ø	PaPun
ND	?-wayŋa-li }	PaCon
D	-bayŋa-li }	
	-yiŋa-yi	PaPot
	-bayŋa-yi	PrPot
	-ba-ma }	Pr ₃
	?-bayŋa-ma }	
	-ba-nji }	Pr ₁₋₂
	-bayŋa-nji }	
	-yiŋa-ma	Evit ₃
	-yiŋa-nji	Evit ₁₋₂
	-wa-ji	Imper
ND	{ ?-wayŋa-Ø }	FutPun, FutCon
	{ ?-wayŋa-y }	
D	{ -bayŋa-Ø }	
	{ -bayŋa-y }	
	-yiŋa-y	FutNeg (rarely FutPun)
	-ba-m-i	Desid

TABLE 11-8
-bilingaŋi/-wilingayi (Aux)

	-wilinga-Ø	PaPun
ND	?-wilinga-ŋi}	PaCon
D	-bilinga-ŋi}	
ND	-wilinga-yi}	PaPot, PrPot, Desid
D	-bilinga-yi}	
ND	-wilinga-ma}	Pr ₃
D	-bilinga-ma}	
ND	-wilinga-nji}	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-bilinga-nji}	
	-wili-ñi	Imper
ND	-wilinga-y}	FutPun, FutCon
D	-bilinga-y}	

TABLE 11-9
-binngaŋi/-winnayi (Aux)

	-winnaga-Ø	PaPun
ND	?-winnaga-ŋi}	PaCon
D	-binnga-ŋi}	
ND	-winnaga-yi}	PaPot, PrPot
D	-binnga-yi}	
ND	-winnaga-ma}	Pr ₃
D	-binnga-ma}	
ND	-winnaga-nji}	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-binnga-nji}	
	-wi-ñi	Imper
ND	-winnaga-y}	FutPun, FutCon
D	-binnga-y}	
	(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-10
-buyini/-wuyi (Aux)

	-wuyi-Ø	PaPun
ND	?-wuyi-ni}	PaCon
D	-buyi-ni}	
ND	-wu-yi}	PaPot, PrPot
D	-bu-yi}	
ND	?-wuyi-ma}	Pr ₃
D	-buyi-ma}	
ND	?-wuyi-nji}	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-buyi-nji}	
ND	-wuyi-Ø}	FutPun, FutCon, Imper
D	-buyi-Ø}	
	-buyi-m-i	Desid

TABLE 11-11
-galuni/-aluyi to keep

	---	PaPun
ND	-alu-ni }	PaCon
D	-galu-ni }	
ND	-alu-yi }	PaPot, PrPot
D	-galu-yi }	
ND	-alu-ṇḍu }	Pr ₃
D	-galu-ṇḍu }	
ND	-alu-ṇḍi-yi }	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-galu-ṇḍi-yi }	
	-alu-Ø	Imper
ND	{ -alu-Ø -alu-y }	FutPun, FutCon
D	{ -galu-Ø -galu-y }	
	-galu-ṇḍ-i	Desid

Reduplication: PaCon -gal-alu-ni, Pr₃ -gal-alu-ṇḍu,
Pr₁₋₂ -gal-alu-ṇḍi-yi, FutCon -gal-alu(-y)

TABLE 11-12
-gandayaruñi/-andayariyi to spear

	-andayari-Ø	PaPun
ND	?-andayaru-ñi }	PaCon
D	-gandayaru-ñi }	
ND	-andayari-yi }	PaPot, PrPot
D	-gandayari-yi }	
ND	-andayaru-ṇu }	Pr ₃
D	-gandayaru-ṇu }	
ND	-andayaru-ṇu-ni }	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-gandayaru-ṇu-ni }	
ND	-andayaru-Ø }	FutPun, FutCon, Imper
D	-gandayaru-Ø }	
	-gandayaru-n-ji	Desid

Reduplication: PaCon -ganda-'ndayaru-ñi,
PaPot -anda-'ndayari-yi,
PrPot -ganda-'ndayari-yi,
FutCon -ganda-'ndayaru-Ø, etc.

TABLE 11-13
-ganji/-ayi (Aux)

	-a-ñi	PaPun
ND	-a-nji	PaCon
D	-ga-nji	
ND	-a-yi	PaPot, PrPot
D	-ga-yi	
ND	-a-nja	Pr ₃
D	-ga-nja	
ND	-a-nji-yi	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-ga-nji-yi	
	-a	Imper
ND	-a-y	FutPun, FutCon
D	-ga-y	
	-ga-nj-i	Desid

TABLE 11-14
-ganji/-yagayi to take

	-yaga-ñi	PaPun
ND	?-yaga-!i	PaCon
D	(-jaga-yaga-!i)	
	-ga-nji	
	-yaga-yi	PaPot
	(-jaga-yaga-yi)	PrPot
	-ga-yi	
	(-jaga-yaga-ma)	Pr ₃
	-ga-nja	
	(-jaga-yaga-nji-yi)	Pr ₁₋₂
	-ga-nji-yi	
	-yaga-ma	Evit ₃
	-yaga-nji-yi	Evit ₁₋₂
	-ya-ji	Imper
ND	-yaga-y	FutPun, FutCon
D	(-jaga-yaga-y)	
	-ga-y	
	-ga-nj-i	Desid

Reduplication: PaCon -ganj-aji, Pr₃ -ganja-'ja,
Pr₁₋₂ -ganj-aji-yi

Note: Parenthesised variants are attested but uncommon.

TABLE 11-15

-ganji!i/-njiyi (Aux)

	-nji-Ø	PaPun
ND	?-nji-!i	PaCon
D	-ga-nji-!i	
ND	-nji-yi	PaPot, PrPot
D	-ga-nji-yi	
ND	-nji-ma	Pr ₃
D	-ga-nji-ma	
ND	-nji-ji	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-ga-nji-ji	
	-nji-!i	Imper
ND	-nji-Ø	FutPun, FutCon
D	?-ga-nji-Ø	
	-ga-nji-m-i	Desid

TABLE 11-16

-gaṛaṛuni/-aṛaṛiyi (Aux)

	-aṛaṛi-Ø	PaPun
ND	?-aṛaṛu-ni	PaCon
D	-gaṛaṛu-ni	
ND	-aṛaṛi-yi	PaPot, PrPot
D	-gaṛaṛi-yi	
ND	?-aṛaṛu-ṇu	Pr ₃
D	-gaṛaṛu-ṇu	
ND	?-aṛaṛu-ṇu-ni	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-gaṛaṛu-ṇu-ni	
ND	-aṛaṛu-Ø	FutPun, FutCon
D	?-gaṛaṛu-Ø	
	-gaṛaṛu-n-ji	Desid

TABLE 11-17

-guluguluwuni/-guluguluwuyi
to wait for (dugong/turtle) to surface

---	PaPun
-guluguluwu-ni	PaCon
-guluguluwu-yi	PaPot, PrPot
-guluguluwu-ṇḍu	Pr ₃
-guluguluwu-ṇḍi-yi	Pr ₁₋₂
(?)	Imper
-guluguluwu-y	FutPun, FutCon
(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-18
-gunbuni/-nbuyi (Aux)

	-nbu-Ø	PaPun
ND	-nbu-ni	PaCon
D	-gu-nbu-ni	
ND	-nbu-yi	PaPot, PrPot
D	-gu-nbu-yi	
ND	-nbu-du	Pr ₃
D	-gu-nbu-du	
ND	-nbu-di-yi	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-gu-nbu-di-yi	
	-nbu-Ø	Imper
ND	-nbu-y	FutPun, FutCon
D	-gu-nbu-y	
	(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-19
-jagayaga!i/-yagayi (Aux)

	-yaga-ñi	PaPun
ND	-yaga-!i	PaCon
D	-jaga-yaga-!i	
ND	-yaga-yi	PaPot, PrPot
D	-jaga-yaga-yi	
ND	-yaga-ma	Pr ₃
D	-jaga-yaga-ma	
ND	-yaga-nji-yi	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-jaga-yaga-nji-yi	
	-ya-ji	Imper
ND	-yaga-y	FutPun, FutCon
D	-jaga-yaga-y	
	(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-20

-jalani/-yalayi to taste

	-yala-ji	PaPun
ND	?-yala-ni}	PaCon
D	-jala-ni}	
ND	-yala-yi}	PaPot, PrPot
D	-jala-yi}	
ND	?-yala-ja}	Pr ₃
D	-jala-ja}	
ND	?-yala-ji-ni}	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-jala-ji-ni}	
	-yala-Ø	Imper
ND	-yala-y}	FutPun, FutCon
	-jala-y}	
	(?)	Desid

Reduplication: PaCon -jala-yala-ni, Pr₃ -jala-yala-ja,
Pr₁₋₂ -jala-yala-ji-ni

TABLE 11-21

-jali/-yiyi to eat

	---	PaPun
ND	?-ya-!i}	PaCon
	-ja-!i}	
ND	-yi-yi}	PaPot, PrPot
D	-ji-yi}	
ND	-yi-nja}	Pr ₃
D	-ji-nja}	
ND	-yi-nji-ni}	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-ji-nji-ni}	
ND	-yi-Ø}	FutPun, FutCon, Imper
D	-ji-Ø}	
	-ji-nj-i	Desid

Reduplication: PaCon -jali-ya-!i, Pr₃ -jinja-yi-nja,
Pr₁₋₂ -jinji-yi-nji-ni

TABLE 11-22
-jama|i/-yamiyi (Aux)

	-yama-Ø	PaPun
ND	-yama- i}	PaCon
D	-jama- i}	
	-yami-yi	PaPot
	-jama-yi	PrPot
ND	-yama-ma}	Pr ₃
D	-jama-ma}	
ND	-yama-nji}	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-jama-nji}	
	-yami-Ø	FutPun, Imper
ND	-yama-y}	FutCon
D	-jama-y}	
	(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-23
-jañi/-niñuyi *to tell*

	-yi-Ø	PaPun
ND	-ya-ñi}	PaCon
D	-ja-ñi}	
	-niñu-yi	PaPot
	-ja-yi	PrPot
ND	-ya-ña}	Pr ₃
D	-ja-ña}	
ND	-ya-ña-ni}	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-ja-ña-ni}	
	-ya	Imper
	-niñu-y	FutPun, FutCon
	(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-24

-jarawuni/-yarawuyi to take (dog) hunting

	---	PaPun
ND	?-yarawu-ni}	PaCon
D	-jarawu-ni}	
ND	-yarawu-yi}	PaPot, PrPot
D	-jarawu-yi}	
ND	?-yarawu-ŋdu}	Pr ₃
D	-jarawu-ŋdu}	
ND	?-yarawu-ŋdi-yi}	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-jarawu-ŋdi-yi}	
	-yarawu-Ø	Imper
ND	-yarawu-y}	FutPun, FutCon
D	-jarawu-y}	
	(?)	Desid

Reduplication: Pr₃ -jara-yarawu-ŋdu, Pr₁₋₂ -jara-yarawu-ŋdi-yi

TABLE 11-25

-jaruñi/-yariyi (Aux)

	-yari-Ø	PaPun
ND	?-jaru-ñi}	PaCon
D	-jaru-ñi}	
ND	-yari-yi}	PaPot, PrPot
D	-jari-yi}	
ND	-jaru-ŋu}	Pr ₃
D	-jaru-ŋu}	
ND	-jaru-ŋu-ni}	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-jaru-ŋu-ni}	
ND	-jaru-Ø}	FutPun, FutCon, Imper
D	-jaru-Ø}	
	(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-26
-jinji/-yinjiyi (Aux)

	-ya-ŋa	PaPun
ND	-yi-nji }	PaCon
D	-ji-nji }	
ND	-yi-nji-yi }	PaPot, PrPot
D	-ji-nji-yi }	
ND	-yu-lu }	Pr ₃
D	-ju-lu }	
ND	-yu-li-yi }	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-ju-li-yi }	
	-ya-Ø	Imper
ND	-ya-na }	FutPun, FutCon
D	-ja-na }	
	-ju-l-i	Desid

TABLE 11-27
-jujuñi/-jiyi (Aux)

	-ji-Ø	PaPun
ND	-ju-ñi }	PaCon
D	-ju-ju-ñi }	
ND	-ji-yi }	PaPot, PrPot
D	-ji-ji-yi }	
ND	-ju-ŋu }	Pr ₃
D	-ju-ju-ŋu }	
ND	-ju-ŋu-ni }	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-ju-ju-ŋu-ni }	
	-ji-li	Imper
ND	-ju-Ø }	FutPun, FutCon
D	-ju-ju-Ø }	
	-ju-ju-n-ji	Desid

TABLE 11-28

-jujuñi/-!arbuyi (Aux)

	-!arbu-Ø	PaPun
ND	-ju-ñi	PaCon
D	-ju-ju-ñi	
ND	-ji-yi	PaPot
D	(-!arbu-yi)	
	-ji-ji-yi	PrPot
ND	-ju-ŋu	Pr ₃
D	-ju-ju-ŋu	
ND	-ju-ŋu-ni	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-ju-ju-ŋu-ni	
	-ji-li	Imper
	-!arbu-Ø	
ND	-ju-Ø	FutPun, FutCon
D	-ju-ju-Ø	
	(-!arbu-y)	
	-ju-ju-n-ji	Desid

Note: Parenthesised forms are fairly uncommon.

TABLE 11-29

-!ini/-yurayi/-aŋa to go

	-a-ŋa	PaPun
	-!i-ni	PaCon
ND	-yura-ñi	
D	-jura-ñi	
ND	-yura-yi	PaPot, PrPot
D	-jura-yi	
	-!i-ndu	Pr ₃
	-!i-ndi-yi	Pr ₁₋₂
	-yura-ŋa	Evit ₃
	-yura-ŋa-ni	Evit ₁₋₂
	-!a-Ø	Imper
ND	-yura-Ø	FutPun, FutCon
D	-jura-Ø	
	-!i-nd-i	Desid

Reduplication: PaCon -!ini-!i-ni, Pr₃ -!indu-!i-ndu,
 Pr₁₋₂ -!indi-!i-ndi-yi, FutCon -jura-yura-Ø,
 PrPot -jura-yura-yi

TABLE 11-30

-linma|i/-linmiyi (Aux)

-linma-Ø	PaPun
-linma- i	PaCon
-linmi-yi	PaPot
-linma-yi	PrPot
-linma-ma	Pr ₃
-linma-nji	Pr ₁₋₂
-linmi-Ø	FutPun, Imper
-linma-y	FutCon
(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-31

-mbu|ma|i/-mbu|miyi to do this

-mbu ma-Ø	PaPun
-mbu ma- i	PaCon
-mbu mi-yi	PaPot
-mbu ma-yi	PrPot
-mbu ma-ma	Pr ₃
-mbu ma-nji	Pr ₁₋₂
-mbu mi-Ø	FutPun, Imper
-mbu ma-y	FutCon
(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-32

-minani/-nayi to see

	-na-ji	PaPun
ND	-na-ni	PaCon
D	-mi-na-ni	
ND	-na-yi	PaPot, PrPot
D	-mi-na-yi	
ND	-na-ja	Pr ₃
D	-mi-na-ja	
ND	-na-ji-ni	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-mi-na-ji-ni	
	-na-Ø	Imper
ND	-na-y	FutPun, FutCon
D	-mi-na-y	
	-mi-na-j-i	Desid

Reduplication: PaCon -mina-mi-na-ni, Pr₃ -mina-mi-na-ja, etc.

TABLE 11-33

-mindini/-miyi to do this

-ma-Ø	PaPun
-mi-ndi-ni	PaCon
-mi-ndi-ni-ña	PaCon
-mi-yi	PaPot
-ma-yi	PrPot
-ma-Ø	Pr ₃
-ma-nji	Pr ₁₋₂
-ma-ma	Evit ₁₋₂₋₃ , FutIndef
-mi-Ø	FutPun, Imper
-ma-y	FutCon
-ma-m-i	Desid

TABLE 11-34

-nani/-niyi (Aux)

-ni-ji	PaPun
-na-ni	PaCon
-ni-yi	PaPot
-nayı-na-yi	PrPot
ND -na-ja	} Pr ₃
D -naja-na-ja	
(-nu-!u)	
ND -na-ji-ni	} Pr ₁₋₂
D -naji-na-ji-ni	
-ni-Ø	
-na-y	FutCon
(?)	Desid

Note: The parenthesised Pr₃ form is relatively uncommon.

TABLE 11-35

-niŋa!i/-niŋayi (Aux)

-niŋa-Ø	PaPun
-niŋa-!i	PaCon
-niŋa-yi	PaPot, PrPot
-niŋa-ma	Pr ₃
-niŋa-nji	Pr ₁₋₂
-ni-ñi	Imper
-niŋa-y	FutPun, FutCon
(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-36
-niŋa!i/-yagayi (Aux)

	-niŋa-Ø	PaPun
	-niŋa-!i } (-yaga-!i) }	PaCon
	-yaga-yi	PaPot
	-niŋa-yi	PrPot
	-niŋa-ma	Pr ₃
	-niŋa-nji	Pr ₁₋₂
	-yaga-ma	Evit ₃
	-yaga-nji-yi	Evit ₁₋₂
	-ya-ji	Imper
ND	-yaga-y	FutPun, FutCon
D	-jaga-yaga-y	
	(?)	Desid

Note: The parenthesised PaCon form is uncommon.

TABLE 11-37
-ñambuni/-ñambuyi to swear at

	-ñambu-Ø	PaPun
	-ñambu-ni	PaCon
	-ñambu-yi	PaPot, PrPot
	-ñambu-ɖu	Pr ₃
	-ñambu-ɖi-yi	Pr ₁₋₂
	-ñambu-Ø	Imper
	-ñambu-y	FutPun, FutCon
	(?)	Desid

TABLE 11-38

-wanani/-wayi to give to

	-wa-ji	PaPun
ND	-wa-ni	PaCon
D	-wan-ani	
ND	-wa-yi	PaPot, PrPot
D	-way-wa-yi	
ND	-wa-ju-ŋu	Pr ₃
D	-waj-a-ju	
	(but Refl/Recip -waj-a-ju-ŋu-!ana)	
ND	-wa-ji-ni	Pr ₁₋₂
D	-waj-a-ji-ni	
	-wa-Ø	Imper
ND	-wa-y	FutPun, FutCon
D	-way-wa-y	
	-waj-a-j-i	Desid

Reduplication: Pr₃ -waja-waj-a-ju, Pr₁₋₂ -waja-waj-a-ji-ni

11.2. Analysis of the Suffixal Paradigms

On the basis of suffix allomorphs, the paradigms can be grouped into 'classes' of verbs, some of which have 'subclasses'. Since there are only about forty verb roots (counting suppletive roots, except those which also occur in nonsuppletive paradigms), obviously none of the classes is very large, and a few classes or subclasses contain only one root.

The suffix alternations can be set out, for each class or subclass, as in Table 11-39.

TABLE 11-39
Suffixal Paradigms

	1A	1B	1C	2A	2B	2C	3A	3B	4A	4B	4C	4D	4E	5A	5B	5C	5D	6A	6B	7	8
PaPun	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	---	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	---	-ji	-ji	---	-ji	-na	---	-ñi	-ñi
PaCon	-ñi	-ñi	-ni	-ni	-ni	-ni	-ni	{-ndi-ni -ndi-ni-ña}	-li	-li	-li	-li	-li	-ni	-ni	-li	-ni	-nji	-nji	-nji	-li
PaPot PrPot	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	---	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi	-nji-yi	-nji-yi	-yi	-yi
Pr ₃	-ŋV	-ŋV	-ŋV	-ŋdu	-ŋdu	-ndu	-ma	{-ma -Ø}	-ma	-ma	-ma	-ma	-ma	-ja	{-ju -ju-ŋu}	-nja	{-ja -lu}	-lu	-lu	-nja	-ma
Pr ₁₋₂	-ŋV-ni	-ŋV-ni	-ŋV-ni	-ŋdi-yi	-ŋdi-yi	-ndi-yi	-nji	-nji	-nji	-nji	-nji	-nji	-nji	-ji-ni	-ji-ni	-nji-ni	-ji-ni	-li-yi	-li-yi	-nji-yi	-nji-yi
Imper	-Ø	-li	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-ñi	-ji	-Ø	-li	-jl	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-ji
PutPun PutCon	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-y	{-y -Ø}	---	-Ø or -y	-Ø or -y	-y	-y	-y	-Ø or -y	{-y -Ø}	-y	-y	-Ø or -y	-y	-na	-nu	-y	-y

Notes: V is a vowel which assimilates to the preceding vowel.

'-Ø' or '-y' means that there is a single form whose suffix could be either -Ø or -y in base forms.

{-y and similar bracketed pairs indicate two surface forms.
-Ø

A glance at the table shows that the PaPot/PrPot ending is -yi throughout, although in class 6 there is a preceding element -nji-. The PaPun is -Ø for classes 1 through 4 but has nonzero allomorphs after that. The Imper form is -Ø for several classes; it is interesting that its nonzero allomorphs (-ñi, -ji, -!i) in the others resemble the nonzero PaPun allomorphs (-ñi, -ji, -ŋa), although no one verb has identical nonzero PaPun and Imper endings. Except in class 6, the FutPun/FutCon ending is -y or -Ø (after root-final i, as in 3, 4D, and 5C, underlying -y and -Ø are not distinguishable).

The categories which vary the most, then, are PaCon, Pr₃, and Pr₁₋₂ forms, and the class distinctions are based chiefly on these forms. Note that in most cases the Pr₁₋₂ form is built by adding -yi or -ni to the Pr₃ form; in most cases the final vowel of the Pr₃ form is assimilated to i before -yi or -ni (but not in class 1, where the vowel of -ŋV- assimilates to the preceding vowel). However, when the Pr₃ form is -ma the Pr₁₋₂ form is -nji and is thus not built formally on the Pr₃ form (in class 8 the Pr₁₋₂ form is -nji-yi, which looks as though it is built on a Pr₃ form -nja as seen in 5C, but in fact the Pr₃ in class 8 is -ma).

Class 1A has a distinctive PaCon ending -ñi (not to be confused with PaPun -ñi in classes 7 and 8), along with an equally unique Pr₃ prefix -ŋV and the corresponding Pr₁₋₂ for -ŋV-ni. This subclass includes five stems, three with roots ending in u, two (both part of suppletive paradigms) ending in a. Abbreviating 'Table' as T, the stems in question are the following: -baruñi/-wariyi T11-5, -gandayaruñi/-andayariyi T11-12, -jaruñi/-yariyi T11-25, the root -ya- (-ja-) in suppletive -jañi/-niŋuyi T11-23, and the root -yura- (-jura-) in suppletive -!ini/-yurayi/-aŋa T11-29. The roots, given in nondurative form, are -waru-, -andayaru-, -yaru-, -ya-, and -yura-. In the cases of -ya- and -yura-, since they are part of suppletive paradigms not all endings are attested with them.

Class 1B is identical to 1A except that there is a special Imper suffix -!i. This subclass consists of -jujuñi/-jiyi (root: -ju-) T11-27 (also part of suppletive T11-28). Class 1C is identical to 1A except that the PaCon form is -ni rather than -ñi. This subclass consists of -gaŋaŋuni/-aŋaŋiyi (root: -aŋaŋu-) T11-16.

Class 2 consists of three closely related subclasses. 2A contains -guluguluwuni/-guluguluwuyi T11-17 (PaPun not attested), -jarawuni/-yarawuyi T11-24, -gunbuni/-nbuyi T11-18, and -ñambuni/-ñambuyi T11-37. The roots are -guluguluwu-, -yarawu-, -nbu-, and -ñambu-. In the cases of -nbu- and -ñambu-, following Pr₃ and Pr₁₋₂ suffixes

($\eta\dot{d}u$, $-\eta\dot{d}i-yi$) lose their nasal ($-\dot{d}u$, $-\dot{d}i-yi$) by phonological rule P-31 (3.21). Class 2B, which differs from 2A only in having a FutPun/FutCon variant in $-\emptyset$ alongside the usual $-y$, consists of $-\eta\dot{g}aluni/-\eta\dot{a}luyi$ T11-11 (PaPun not attested), the root being $-\eta\dot{a}lu-$. Class 2C consists of the root $-\eta\dot{l}i-$ in suppletive $-\eta\dot{l}ini/-\eta\dot{y}urayi/-\eta\dot{a}\eta\dot{a}$ T11-29; so far as its incomplete paradigm permits comparison, it differs from 2A only in showing unretroflexed Pr_3 $-\eta\dot{n}du$ and Pr_{1-2} $-\eta\dot{n}di-yi$ vs. $-\eta\dot{d}u$ and $-\eta\dot{d}i-yi$ in 2A (and 2B). Since the root $-\eta\dot{l}i-$ itself contains a retroflexed consonant, one can imagine some kind of dissimilation here at least as a historical possibility.

As a unit, class A is clearly defined by the combination of PaCon $-\eta\dot{n}i$ with Pr_3 $-\eta\dot{d}u$ ($-\dot{d}u$, $-\eta\dot{n}du$). The latter is unique to this class, while $-\eta\dot{n}i$ occurs also in a few other paradigms (1C, 3, 5ABD).

Classes 3A and 3B each contain a single stem, and 3B in particular is rather irregular. However, both show $-\eta\dot{n}i$ in the PaCon, $-\eta\dot{m}a$ in Pr_3 , and $-\eta\dot{n}ji$ in Pr_{1-2} . Neither of these is unique, since we have just noted the fairly broad range of $-\eta\dot{n}i$, while $-\eta\dot{m}a$ and $-\eta\dot{n}ji$ occur also in class 4 (and, with variations, in class 8); however, the conjunction of these three forms occurs only in class 3.

One irregularity of 3B, $-\eta\dot{m}indini/-\eta\dot{m}iyi$ T11-31 (root: $-\eta\dot{m}a-$), is the occurrence of a unique PaCon form with $-\eta\dot{n}\eta$ added to the simpler and more common PaCon form $-\eta\dot{m}i-\eta\dot{n}di-\eta\dot{n}i$ (hence $-\eta\dot{m}i-\eta\dot{n}di-\eta\dot{n}i-\eta\dot{n}\eta$).

Another irregularity of 3B is that the Pr_3 form is $-\eta\dot{m}a-\emptyset$ (root $-\eta\dot{m}a-$ and zero suffix), and is thus identical to the PaPun. We would expect Pr_3 $*-\eta\dot{m}a-\eta\dot{m}a$, and in fact this does occur as the Evit and FutIndef forms (which are normally identical to Pr_3 and are thus not shown for most paradigms in Table 11-39), and it can also be seen in Desid $-\eta\dot{m}a-\eta\dot{m}-i$ (this form is normally the Pr_3 plus $-i$, so that $-\eta\dot{m}a-\eta\dot{m}-i$ presupposes Pr_3 $*-\eta\dot{m}a-\eta\dot{m}a$). Details are given in Table 11-31.

Class 3A is morphologically unremarkable; it applies to $-\eta\dot{b}uyini/-\eta\dot{w}uyi$ T11-10 (root: $-\eta\dot{w}uyi-$).

Class 4 as a whole is defined by the conjunction of PaCon $-\eta\dot{l}i$ (also found in 5C and 8), Pr_3 $-\eta\dot{m}a$, and Pr_{1-2} $-\eta\dot{n}ji$ (the latter two also in 3 and, with modifications, in 8). This class differs from 8, additionally, in showing PaPun $-\emptyset$ instead of $-\eta\dot{n}i$.

4A consists of five stems whose roots end in $\eta\dot{a}$, as follows: $-\eta\dot{a}\eta\dot{a}li/-\eta\dot{a}\eta\dot{a}yi$ T11-3, $-\eta\dot{b}ali\eta\dot{a}li/-\eta\dot{w}ali\eta\dot{a}yi$ T11-4, $-\eta\dot{b}ili\eta\dot{a}li/-\eta\dot{w}ili\eta\dot{a}yi$ T11-8, $-\eta\dot{b}in\eta\dot{a}li/-\eta\dot{w}in\eta\dot{a}yi$ T11-9, and $-\eta\dot{n}i\eta\dot{a}li/-\eta\dot{n}i\eta\dot{a}yi$ T11-34 (also part of suppletive T11-35). The roots: $-\eta\dot{a}\eta\dot{a}-$, $-\eta\dot{w}ali\eta\dot{a}-$, $-\eta\dot{w}ili\eta\dot{a}-$, $-\eta\dot{w}in\eta\dot{a}-$, $-\eta\dot{n}i\eta\dot{a}-$. This subclass is defined chiefly by its Imper form

with -ñi added to the truncated root without ɲa (for discussion of truncation, see below).

4B consists of two stems whose roots end in NCV, namely -alunguɲi/-alunguyi T11-1 and -bawayiŋgaɲi/-wayiŋgayi T11-6 (roots: -alungu-, -wayiŋga-). The Imper ending is -ji, and the preceding root is truncated by dropping the final CV. A further apparent difference between 4B and 4A is that the former shows Pr₁₋₂ -ji while the latter shows -nji, but this is merely due to phonological rule P-31 (3.21) and the suffixal base form can be taken as /-nji/ for both subclasses. (In 4B, Pr₁₋₂ -ji is added to the untruncated root and thus is distinct from Imper -ji.)

4C contains -jamaɲi/-yamiyi T11-22, -ɭinmaɲi/-ɭinmiyi T11-28, and -mbuɭmaɲi/-mbuɭmiyi T11-29 (roots: -yama-, -ɭinma-, -mbuɭma-). Note that these all end in ma. The Imper form is not distinct from the FutPun/FutCon form for this subclass. 4D consists of -ganjiɲi/-njiyi T11-15, root -nji-, which takes Imper -ɭi.

In suppletive -bayŋaɲi/-yiŋayɪ T11-7, both roots (-wayŋa-, -yiŋa-) belong to class 4. In the case of -yiŋa- we cannot tell what the subclass is, since the Imper form is not based on this root. The root -wayŋa- has affinities to 4B since the Imper form is -wa-ji. However, it differs from 4B in that the FutPun/FutCon ending can be -∅ as well as -y, and it also shows irregular truncation to -wa- (-ba-) in some forms other than the Imper (for 4B only the Imper is truncated). Therefore -wayŋa- is assigned a special subclass, 4E.

Class 5 contains five paradigms and can be divided into four subclasses, one of which (5C) is rather divergent and might be considered a separate class. 5A contains -jalani/-yalayi T11-20 and -minani/-nayi T11-32 (roots: -yala-, -na-), both of which are verbs of sense perception (*to taste, to see*). This subclass shows PaCon -ni, Pr₃ -ja, and Pr₁₋₂ -ji-ni. Note also PaPun -ji, not found outside class 5.

5B is similar, but shows an irregular Pr₃ form (even though the Pr₁₋₂ form, which is usually based on the Pr₃, is regular in terms of 5A). This is the paradigm of -wanani/-wayi T11-38 (root: -wa-), where the Pr₃ form is -wa-ju-ɲu in the nondurative form (used in the evitative positive), but is -waj-a-ju/-waj-wa-ju/ (with durative reduplication by rule P-2) in the durative form (present positive, future indefinite positive). Curiously, when Refl/Recip -ɭana is added, the full form of the suffix occurs even in the durative: -waj-a-ju-ɲu-ɭana *give to each other*. The expected Pr₃ form is

*-wa-ja in terms of 5A, and this form is presupposed by Pr₁₋₂ -wa-ji-ni, but for some reason the Pr₃ ending is -ju or -ju-ŋu instead of -ja. The final suffix -ŋu in -ju-ŋu is reminiscent of assimilating -ŋV in class 1, but the element -ju- is unexplained.

Subclass 5C consists of -jaŋi/-yiyi T11-21, root -yV- (i.e. -ya- or -yi-), which has no PaPun form. Pr₃ -nja and Pr₁₋₂ -nji-ni can perhaps be taken as augmented variants of -ja and -ji-ni in 5A, but there is a further difference in that the PaCon form is -ŋi (vs. 5ABD -ni).

Subclass 5D consists of -nani/-niyi T11-34, which is probably historically distinct from -minani/-nanyi in 5A even though both have a root -na- and they share many paradigmatic peculiarities. (The latter may be due, historically, to convergence rather than to independent retention of archaic similarities.) The two differ in morphophonemic treatment of the root-final vowel (hence PaPun -na-ji vs. -ni-ji, etc., with different stem-shapes before identical suffixes), and differ significantly in stem-initial morphophonemics. From the point of view of suffix allomorphs, the only difference is that -nani/-niyi takes a Pr₃ form with suffix -ŋu (cf. class 6) in addition to the regular, and more common, Pr₃ form in -ja (the latter is shared with 5A).

Class 6 consists of two verbs differing only in the FutPun/FutCon form (-na vs. -nu). 6A is -jinji/-yinjiyi T11-26 (root: -yV-), while 6B is -anji/-anjiyi T11-2 (root: -a- or -wV-). The first of these is an Aux used after some stance verbs (among others) and related historically to a stem meaning *to stand* in Nunggubuyu (-ŋa-), Ngandi (-ŋV-), and other languages to the north; the second means *to sit* (N.B. a stance verb).

Both stems show -nji in the PaCon (cf. class 7), and (unlike 7) add PaPot/PrPot -yi to this (-nji-yi). The Pr₃ is -ŋu and the Pr₁₋₂ -ŋi-yi, which are unique except that -ŋu occurs as a variant in 5D. The FutPun/FutCon endings, -na (6A) and -nu (6B), are also unique to class 6. 6A has a PaPun ending -ŋa, also unique (except for -a-ŋa, PaPun of *to go* T11-29, the only form in that paradigm based on the suppletive root -a-). This category is missing from 6B, partly perhaps since the verb is inherently durative *to be sitting* (for punctual *to sit down* a different verb-complex is used with verb-particle *ɖaj* and Aux -mindini/-miyi), but also because the expected form *-a-ŋa would be homophonous to -a-ŋa *went* in suppletive T11-27.

Class 7 consists of -ganji/-ayi T11-13 while class 8 consists of -jagayaga|i/-yagayi T11-19 (roots: -a-, -yaga-). In the sense *to carry*, portions of the two paradigms are combined into the suppletive paradigm T11-14. As Aux's, with some verb-particles we get a complete paradigm of -ganji/-ayi, with others we get a complete paradigm of -jagayaga|i/-yagayi, while others can alternate between the two Aux paradigms.

Although the roots -a- (durative -ga-) and -yaga- look as though they might contain a common root *-ga-, it is important to emphasise that the first syllable of -yaga- cannot be identified synchronically with Centripetal prefix y₁a-/ŋa- for a whole series of reasons involving morpheme-slot position, the fact that the root -yaga- as a whole is reduplicated to form its durative stem -jaga-yaga- while Centripetal y₁a-/ŋa- cannot be included in reduplications, and so forth. There is no centripetal semantic nuance in the use of -yaga- as opposed to -ga-, and Centripetal y₁a-/ŋa- is frequently prefixed to forms of -ga-; it is also attested at least once with -yaga- (Text 5.2). Historically, it is possible that -yaga- is simply a reinterpreted and restructured centripetal form *ya-ga-, but this is not a valid synchronic analysis.

An important affinity between the paradigms in classes 7 and 8 is the shared PaPun allomorph -ñi, found in no other class. However, 7 and 8 differ in several other forms, including the PaCon (-nji in 7 matching class 6, -|i in 8 matching classes 4 and 5C) and Imper (-∅ in 7, -ji in 8 matching 4BD). The Pr₃ forms also differ (-nja in 7 matching 5C, -ma in 8 matching classes 3 and 4), but the Pr₁₋₂ forms are identical (-nji-yi, not -nji-ni as in 5C) even though these forms are ordinarily built from the Pr₃.

We have so far given descriptions of the suffixal characteristics of the different classes. However, these descriptions - and Table 11-39 itself - are misleading in that the morphophonemic treatment of the final segments of the root before various suffixes has not been mentioned.

Firstly, it must be pointed out that Imper allomorphs -ñi and -ji are added to a truncated form of the root, with the final CV thereof deleted. Thus from root -arŋa- in 4A we get -ar-ñi, while from roots -wayiŋga- (4B) and -yaga- (8) we get -wayin-ji and -ya-ji. The Imper allomorphs -|i and -∅ do not bring about truncation.

It is interesting that the roots which take Imper -ñi all have roots ending in ŋa, while those which take Imper -ji all have roots ending in ga. It is therefore conceivable that the root in -arŋa- is

really -ar-, with an augment -ŋa- which is added obligatorily in all non-Imper forms. Similarly, -wayiŋga- and -yaga- could be taken as -wayiN- and -ya- respectively, with -ga- added in non-Imper forms. Indeed, -ŋa- and -ga- can be taken as variants of a single morpheme, at least historically. Disregarding the highly irregular (and, historically, perhaps analogically reshaped) paradigm of -yaga- (class 8), the allomorphs -ŋa- and -ga- are distributed such that -ga- occurs after a nasal while -ŋa- occurs elsewhere. Note that Imper -ji is associated with -ga-, and Imper -ñi with -ŋa-, showing the same alternation of homorganic stop and nasal. The historical (and possibly synchronic) base forms should be taken as *-ŋa- and (Imper) *-ñi, with dissimilatory denasalisation following a nasal to -ga- and -ji.

If -yaga- in class 8 contains -a- (formerly *-ga-) *to carry* (cf. discussion of classes 7 and 8 above), its final *-ga- was originally entirely unrelated to stem-augment *-ga- from denasalised *-ŋa- in these other verbs. The development of Imper -ya-ji can be seen as a recent analogical development. Once stem-augment *-ŋa- and Imper *-ñi had become *-ga- and *-ji with stems like *-wayiN- and *-aluN- ending in nasals, we could get an analogical proportion

$$*-wayiŋga- : *-wayin-ji :: *-yaga- : x$$

and solving for x we get the attested Imper form -ya-ji. Similar analogies between -yaga- and class 4 stems can account for other paradigmatic divergences between -yaga- and -a- (class 7), which may originally have been based on the common root *-ga- and thus have had identical suffixal paradigms.

Having disposed of Imper -ya-ji as historically recent, we can establish a strong case for identifying -ŋa- and -ga- in class 4 (specifically, subclasses 4ABE) as historically segmentable non-Imper arguments.

The root -wayŋa- (durative -bayŋa-) in 4E is unusual in that it undergoes truncation to -wa- (-ba-) not only in the Imper -wa-ji but also optionally in Pr₁₋₂ -bayŋa-nji or -ba-nji, and usually (?always) in Pr₃ -ba-ma (*-bayŋa-ma is unattested). Here it appears that final CCV (not just CV) is truncated, in contrast to the 4B truncations (like -wayiN- from -wayiŋga-). However, the truncation as such may account for the deletion only of the final CV, producing /-way-/ or durative /-bay-/, with the /y/ then being deleted by another rule somewhat similar to P-12 (which deletes /y/ before Refl/Recip -[ana]). In Imper /-way-ji/ → -wa-ji and Pr₁₋₂ variant /-bay-nji/ → -ba-nji the /y/ would have to be deleted to satisfy constraints against certain

types of clusters, and if *ym is another unacceptable cluster we can similarly motivate the loss of /y/ in the remaining form, Pr₃ /-bay-ma/ → -ba-ma.

Having dealt with final truncation, it remains to discuss the treatment of root-final vowels. Here one problem is that in cases like FutPun -mi-Ø from root -ma- (-mindini/-miyi in class 3B) we have to decide whether to take the FutPun 'morpheme' as a suffix /-y/, with /-ma-y/ → /-mi-y/ → -mi-Ø, or whether to simply say that the 'morpheme' consists of a morphophonemic change in the root-final vowel (a kind of 'ablaut'). As it happens, in the FutPun we can justify the suffixal base form /-y/ since the suffix shows up as -y after several stems ending in a or u which do not alter the vowel in this combination (e.g. -a-y from -a- in Table 11-13). However, the Imper and PaPun categories never show surface -y, so if we allow /-y/ in base forms we must posit *obligatory* shifts of the types /a-y/ → /i-y/ → i-Ø and /u-y/ → /i-y/ → i-Ø. It seems best in the Imper and PaPun examples of final vowels becoming i to take this as a direct morphophonemic process rather than trying to posit underlying /-y/, although in some instances at least the correct historical reconstruction may involve positing suffix *-y.

At any rate, Table 11-39 is deficient in not showing such root-final vocalic changes. In paradigms which Table 11-39 shows as having -Ø both in the PaPun and FutPun/FutCon, the two forms are actually distinguished by root-final vowel changes. Thus in class 1A (e.g. Table 11-12) we get PaPun -andayari-Ø vs. FutPun/FutCon (and Imper) -andayaru-Ø (the root is -andayaru-).

In the FutPun/FutCon forms with /-y/, the shifts of /a-y/ and /u-y/ to i-Ø occur with stems ending in ma- (and also the root -na- in Table 11-34, though not -na- in Table 11-32), but only in the FutPun sense, hence FutPun mi-Ø or -ni-Ø vs. FutCon ma-y or -na-y.

It is interesting that the only cases where the Imper form shows shift of root-final /a/ or /u/ to i are those cases where the FutCon shows /a-y/ or /u-y/ becoming i-Ø.

The same stems ending in ma- (and -na- in Table 11-32) convert stem-final /a/ to i before PaPot/PrPot suffix -yi, but only in the PaPot sense, hence PaPot mi-yi and -ni-yi vs. PrPot ma-yi and (reduplicated) -nayi-na-yi. Class 1 roots (but not, e.g. class 2 roots) convert root-final /u/ to i before PaPot/PrPot -yi in both PaPot and PrPot senses (hence contrast Table 11-5 from root -waru- with Table 11-24 from root -yarawu-).

A minor truncation process occurring before PaPot/PrPot *-yi* is the contraction of root *-wuyi-* (Table 11-10) to *-wu-*, hence *-wu-yi* for expected **-wuyi-yi-*. This is obviously an instance of haplology.

Progressive vowel-assimilation occurs in Pr₃ *-ŋV* and Pr₁₋₂ *-ŋV-ni* in class 1 (e.g. *-baru-ŋu* and *-baru-ŋu-ni*, but *-yura-ŋa* and *-yura-ŋa-ni*). The reverse, regressive assimilation of root-vowel to following suffix-vowel, occurs in the paradigm of *-jinji/-yinjiyi* (root: *-yV-*) in Table 11-26, hence *-ya-na*, *-yi-nji*, and *-yu-!u*. Apparent counterexamples like *-yu-!i-yi* and *-ju-!i* involve forms which are built from Pr₃ *-yu-!u* or *-ju-!u*, and we can account for the *u*-vocalism of the root either by surface analogy from the basic to the derived forms, or by analysing *-yu-!i-yi* as */-yV-!u-yi/* etc., and allowing the assimilation rule, applying left to right, to convert */-yV-/* into *-yu-* before */-!u-/* becomes *-!i-*.

Other examples of this type can be seen in Table 11-34 (*-nu-!u* from root *-na-*) and Table 11-2 (*-wu-!u* etc., from a root which is *-a-* in most forms, probably reflecting **-wa-*).

11.3. *-alungu!i/-alunguyi* (Table 11-1)

This is a transitive root of class 4B. It can be used in simple verb-complexes with the sense *to wait for*, *to await*. As an Aux, it is used only with verb-particle *yaɖ*, producing an extended verb-complex with the same meaning.

This root has no durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition, so it relies entirely on suffixal oppositions to keep the major inflectional categories distinct. The Pr₂ form *-alungu-ji* shows *-ji* from */-nji/*.

11.4. *-anji/-anjiyi* (Table 11-2)

This is an intransitive root, and is the only member of class 6B. There is no durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition, which is not surprising since this stem is almost always semantically durative. There is no PaPun form, and no distinction between FutPun and FutCon forms, for the same reason. The Imper form is uncommon, and occurs only in extended verb-complexes, hence *gul+w-a Stay!* but not **w-a Sit!*.

In simple verb-complexes the root means *to sit*, *to be in sitting position*, hence *w-anji he was sitting*. It is basically stative; for the event *to sit down* we get a different verb (verb-particle *ɖaj* plus Aux *-mindini/-miyi*).

The root *-anji/-anjiyi* is not common as an Aux, but does occur with stative sense after a few verb-particles. Attested examples include *gul to stay (at a place)*, *to stop*, *biḍ to be assembled*, *ḍab to be wrapped up*, *jal to droop*, *lib to be bathing*, *ḡarg to be hidden*, *waṇan to be away (from a place)*. Most of these also occur with other Aux's in different nuances (see dictionary entries of *ḍab*, *lib*, *ḡarg*, *waṇan*). The Aux *-jinji/-yinjiyi* is similar (in its intransitive uses) to the Aux *-anji/-anjiyi*, and the relative frequency of *-jinji/-yinjiyi* accounts for the infrequency of *-anji/-anjiyi* as Aux. Cf. also 11.20.

Synchronically, it might seem that the paradigm of *-anji/-anjiyi* involves two roots, *-a-* and *-wu-*. Historically, at least, these reflect a single root **-wV-* (**-wa-*, **-wu-*). The form with u-vocalism (*-wu-*) occurs before *Pr₃ -lu* and its formal derivatives (like *Pr₁₋₂ -li-yi*), and can thus be accounted for as an instance of assimilation (cf. class parallels in the paradigm of *-jinji/-yinjiyi*, Table 11-26). The root *-a-* shows irregular loss of **w* in **-wa-*. That this is a recent development is shown by the PaCon reduplication *-anj-anji* (simple PaCon *-anji*), where the second *nj* does not contract to *j* as is normal when *nj* is preceded by a nasal-stop cluster in the immediately preceding syllable; this suggests that the not-too-distant prototype was **-wanji-wanji* (presupposing simple **-wanji*), where the second **nj* cluster was not subject to contraction.

11.5. *-arṇaḷi/-arṇayi* (Table 11-3)

This is a transitive root of class 4A. It lacks a stem-initial durative/nondurative opposition. In the evitative positive category, *Pr₃* is usually used in all person categories (thus *Pr₁₋₂* is ordinarily not used in this category): *ṇang-arṇama lest he scratch me* (also future indefinite positive) vs. present positive *ṇang-arṇanji he is scratching me*.

As a simple verb this means *to scratch*, as in these examples. As an Aux, the root is used chiefly in causative or factitive sense, though it is not the most common Aux in this function. In examples where *-arṇaḷi/-arṇayi* and some other root are equally possible as causative/factitive Aux's, the form with *-arṇaḷi/-arṇayi* usually indicates a more vigorous effort (particularly manual effort). Hence *ḍalg* (with intransitive Aux *-mindini/-miyi* meaning *to burst*) has two causative/factitive forms, one with Aux *-jujuṇi/-jiyi* and the other with *-arṇaḷi/-arṇayi*. Forms like *ḍalg+ṇa-jujuṇi I burst it* are fairly

neutral so far as nuances of effort are concerned, but forms like *ɖalg+ŋa-'rŋaɭi* imply considerable effort and difficulty: *I finally burst it, I burst it after much effort* (creole *I bin hard-work bust-im*). Other examples where *-arŋaɭi/-arŋayi* and *-jujuñi/-jiyi* compete in this fashion are forms of *baɾaj* to mould in hands, *muñur* to make soft, and *giɖaj* to hook up (of these, only *muñur* occurs in intransitive forms).

Other verb-particles attested with *-arŋaɭi/-arŋayi* include *bilg* to make weak, *buñ* to do a good job, *garj* to get a handful, *ɖab* to tie around, *duñul* to make into scraps, *ŋambud* to drown or submerge (something) (also used with *-ganji/-ayi*), and *giɖ* to choke, to strangle. This list is not exhaustive but covers most of the attested examples.

11.6. *-baliŋaɭi/-waliŋayi* (Table 11-4)

This is a transitive root of class 4A. It has a stem-initial durative/nondurative opposition, and hence has a rather full paradigm.

The nondurative *Pr₃* and *Pr₁₋₂* forms are used in the evitative positive sense as expected: *wa-'waliŋama* lest he look for him, *ŋangu-waliŋanji* lest he look for me. The nondurative future form *-waliŋa-y* is used in future nondurative positive (*wu-waliŋa-y* he will look for him) and future negative (*ŋula wu-waliŋa-y* he will not look for him), as expected given our rules from Chapter Nine. Similarly, by these rules the form *-waliŋa-yi* is used in past potential positive and past negative forms (e.g. *ganagu wu-waliŋa-yi* he did not look for him), while durative-initial *-baliŋa-yi* is used in present negative (*ganagu wu-baliŋa-yi* he is not looking for him). Since details of this sort are largely predictable from the rules of Chapter Nine, we will not repeat such information in each section of this chapter except where the rules are indeterminate or are violated.

This root occurs principally in simple verb-complexes and means to hunt for, to head for, to go looking for. It is attested as Aux only with *baɭ* in the sense to sneak up on (someone).

11.7. *-baruñi/-wariyi* (Table 11-5)

This is a transitive root of class 1A. The usual meaning is to defecate or to lay (egg). The object is normally 3Sg, hence *ŋa-baru-ñi* I defecated. However, the root can also be used, with variable object category, in the sense to defecate on (someone, something), hence *ŋangu-baru-ñi* he defecated on me.

The form *-waru-ñi* (past continuous nondurative positive) is not attested but is presumably possible in casual speech. The forms *-waru-ŋu* and *-waru-ŋu-ni* are used in the evitative positive, as usual: *ŋa-waru-ŋu-ni lest I defecate*.

This root is not used as an Aux.

11.8. *-bawayiŋga|i/-wayiŋgayi* (Table 11-6)

This is a transitive root of class 4B. The durative forms begin with *-ba-*, which is to be understood as a reduplication */-wa-/* by rule P-2, hardened to *-ba-* by rule P-3. Reduplication by the main reduplication rule, P-1, can be superimposed, in which case the P-1 reduplication *-wayi-* follows the P-2 reduplication *-ba-*, hence *-ba-wayi-wayiŋga-|i* etc. The *Pr₁₋₂* ending *-ji* reflects */-nji/*.

This root is used chiefly in the sense *to hit (or kill) with a thrown object*. The most common reference is to fighting or hunting with boomerangs. The direct object is the victim, and if the thrown object is specified it normally turns up in instrumental case: *ŋangu-ba-wayiŋga-|i ŋa-mulwari he hit me with a boomerang* (*mulwari boomerang* in instrumental form).

This root is occasionally used as an Aux, but does not deviate substantially from its lexical sense. The attested combinations involve *ya|i* in the sense *to throw (weapon) past*, and *wi|i* in the sense *to smash with thrown object*. The notion of throwing a weapon is not inherent in these verb-particles, but rather is indicated by using this particular Aux.

11.9. *-bayŋa|i/-yiŋay* (Table 11-7)

This is a suppletive paradigm. The root *-wayŋa-* (*-bayŋa-*) belongs to class 4E, while the other root *-yiŋa-* is in class 4 (subclass indeterminate). The *FutPun* and *FutCon* are attested with or without final *-y*, depending on the informant; Mack Riley used *-bayŋa-Ø*, while his younger brother Tom used *-bayŋa-y*.

The chief irregularity of this paradigm is the contraction of *-bayŋa-* to *-ba-*, optionally in *Pr₁₋₂* *-bayŋa-nji* (*-ba-nji*), and regularly (always?) in *Pr₃* *-ba-ma*. Contraction of *-wayŋa-* to *-wa-* in *Imper* *-wa-ji* is not unusual since other class 4 subclasses show contraction in this form.

This suppletive paradigm is used only as a transitive Aux. A list of verb-particles, with their senses before this Aux, is as follows (fairly exhaustive): *yunguḍ to smoke (tobacco)*, *buñ to suck*, *jag to*

chew, *junjun to suck on*, *to kiss*, *murj to crunch*, *nar to smell*, *wur to sink (something)*, *ya! to throw (something) past*. Note that the first few of these involve oral functions, while *nar* brings in the olfactory sense. The other three (*murj*, *wur*, *ya!*) involve forcible changes of the object's state or position.

11.10. -bilinga!i/-wilingayi (Table 11-8)

This is a transitive root of class 4A. There is a durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition.

This root is used only as a transitive Aux, and is not very common. It is used somewhat like -jañi/-niñuyi (which is much more common), since the verb-particles used with both Aux's involve directing some kind of 'force' toward the object. The verbs used with -bilinga!i/-wilingayi are *bur to like*, *to want*, *ɲaja to ask (someone, for something)*, *ɲi!* (same meaning), *ɲari to fight (someone)*, and *wara to aim at*. In the cases of *ɲaja* and *ɲi!* the object marked in the pronominal prefix is the person asked, rather than the requested object. Hence *ɲaja+ɲangu-bilinga-!i he asked me (e.g. for food)*.

The verb-particle *ɲaja* is also used with Aux -mindini/-miyi in the intransitive sense *to make a request*. The verb-particle *wara to aim at* is also used with -jañi/-niñuyi in essentially the same sense, and the latter Aux is more common.

11.11. -binga!i/-winɲayi (Table 11-9)

This is a transitive root of class 4A. There is a durative/nondurative opposition. The form -winɲa-!i is unattested but could presumably occur in casual speech.

This is a rare transitive Aux. It is attested with verb-particle *wur* in the sense *to sink (something)*. This can also occur with -bayɲa!i/-yiñayi in a similar sense; the intransitive counterpart is with -gunbuni/-nbuyi (*something to sink, to become submerged*).

11.12. -buyini/-wuyi (Table 11-10)

This is an intransitive root of class 4C. The Imper is not distinct from the other future forms on the surface, though it is possible (by analogy to other classes) that the Imper ending is really -Ø while the future forms end in /-y-/. There is a durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition. The forms -wu-yi and -bu-yi show haplology

from /-wuyi-yi/ and /-buyi-yi/. The evitative is not attested (mainly for semantic reasons).

This is a rare intransitive Aux used with verb-particle *waɹ* in the sense *to have vision, to be able to see, to have eyes open*, and with *bul* *to be blind*. The usual form for *to see, to look at* (transitive) is -minani/-nayi (cf. below), so -buyini/-wuyi is used only with verbs indicating ability to see.

11.13. -galuni/-aluyi (Table 11-11)

This is a transitive root of class 2B. There is a stem-initial durative/nondurative opposition. For FutPun and FutCon the forms ending in -y are more common than those ending in -Ø (Mack Riley preferred -Ø but used -y occasionally; Tom Riley and Johnnie used only -y). When -Ø is used in this sense these future forms are identical to the Imper form. The forms -alu-ŋdu and -alu-ŋdi-yi are attested in the evitative: *ŋa-'lu-ŋdi-yi lest I keep it*, etc.

This root is used chiefly in simple verb-complexes, and means basically *to have, to keep*, or occasionally *to hold*. It is not common as an Aux, but is attested with three verb-particles: *biɖ* *to hold on one's back*, *gal* *to hold in teeth*, and *junjun* *to kiss*. The first of these (*biɖ*) is more common with -jañi/-niŋuyi or with -jagayaga|i/-yagayi in the sense *to carry on back or shoulders*, where motion is implied, so -galuni/-aluyi is used chiefly when position is static. The verb *gal* is common with -jinji/-yinjiyi in the sense *to bite*, so again -galuni/-aluyi emphasises static position. Finally, *junjun* is more common with -bayŋa|i/-yiŋayi in the sense *to kiss*.

11.14. -gandayaruñi/-andayariyi (Table 11-12)

This is a transitive root of class 1A. There is a durative/nondurative opposition. The forms -andayaru-ŋu and -andayaru-ŋu-ni are used in the evitative, hence *ŋang-andayaru-ŋu-ni lest he spear me*. The form -andayaru-ñi is not attested but presumably is possible in casual speech. There is no Imper form distinct from the future forms.

It is conceivable that this rather long root contains -jaruñi/-yariyi etymologically. This would point to *-ganda- as some kind of compounding initial.

The root -gandayaruñi/-andayariyi is used chiefly in simple transitive verb-complexes with the sense *to spear, to hit or kill with a spear*. The only examples where this functions as an Aux involve

the same notion, hence with *ya|* it means *to throw (spear) past (someone)*, and with *yara|a|a* it means *to wound (someone) with a spear*.

11.15. -ganji/-ayi (Table 11-13)

The root here is -a- (durative -ga-). This root is used, in the durative form -ga-, as part of the suppletive paradigm for the simple verb-complex *to carry, to take* (11.16). Here, however, we are concerned with this root (-a-, -ga-) in its Aux functions, where it has a full paradigm of its own. Whereas in simple verb-complexes meaning *to carry* we find only the durative form -ga-, as an Aux we find both nondurative -a- and durative -ga- in their usual distribution.

The paradigm is of class 7. The forms -a-nji and -a-y are attested (in fairly casual speech, sometimes also even in careful speech). The forms -a-nja and -a-nji-yi are used in the evitative, hence *jaw+ṅang-a-nji-yi* *lest he harpoon me*. The Imper form -a is homophonous with Imper -a in the paradigm of intransitive -anji/-anjiyi (11.4), but since the latter is very rare in the imperative this is no problem.

This root is used as a transitive Aux with a great many verb-particles. It is, along with -jujuñi/-jiyi and -jañi/-niṅuyi, one of the three most common transitive Aux's. All three of these tend to be used in particular logical relationships to intransitive Aux's. In the case of -ganji/-ayi, the most common alternations involve intransitive Aux -|ini/-yurayi/-aṅa (which as simple verb means *to go*). Examples: *ḍid* with -ganji *to pluck* and with -|ini *to fall out*, *jigid* with -ganji *to skin (tree, etc.)* and with -|ini *to lose one's skin*, *bi|i* with -ganji *to put in* and with -|ini *to go in*, *ḍilg* with -ganji *to pull (rope) taut* and with -|ini *to become taut*, *bañaj* with -ganji *to bring out* and with -|ini *to come out*, and *lib* with -ganji *to immerse* and with -|ini *to become immersed, to bathe*. These all show a causative sense for -ganji/-ayi, reflecting its basic sense as simple verb *to carry* (causative of -|ini/-yurayi/-aṅa *to go*).

Some other verb-particles used with -ganji/-ayi are *ba|a* *to bear, to give birth to*, *ḍu|* *to sing (the song) for*, *jaw* *to harpoon, to pierce*, *maṛa* *to hit hard*, *miliw* *to bring lightning*, *ñiw* *to band, ṛaṅ* *to hit, to kill*, *waḍara* *to think about*, and *wu|* *to lie to*. Note that there is a considerable semantic range, not at all confined to various semantic nuances of *to carry*. Several of the verbs involve the notion of damaging or affecting the shape of the object.

11.16. -ganji/-yagayi (Table 11-14)

This is a suppletive paradigm, consisting of some forms from the paradigm of -ganji/-ayi (cf. 11.17) plus some forms of -jagayaganji/-yagayi. The forms from -ganji/-ayi are used essentially in durative categories, while those from -jagayaga|i/-yagayi are used in the remaining forms. Moreover, in those forms where -ganji/-ayi is used, it is also possible to use forms of -jagayaga|i/-yagayi, though the latter are not common.

The forms -yaga-ma and -yaga-nji-yi are used in the evitative positive, so -ga-nja and -ga-nji-yi are used only in the present positive and (-ga-nja only) in the future indefinite positive. Similarly, -yaga-yi is used as PaPot form, while -ga-yi is the usual form for PrPot.

The forms of -ganji/-ayi in this suppletive paradigm do not permit the nondurative form of the root (-a-), so that the durative form (-ga-) is regular. This applies even in the future form -ga-y, although when -ganji/-ayi is used as an Aux (cf. 11.15) nondurative forms like future -a-y are fairly common.

The paradigm of -ganji/-yagayi is used in transitive simple verb-complexes meaning *to take*, *to carry*. Examples: *ḡa-yagaṇi I carried it* (past punctual positive), *ḡa-ganji I was carrying it*.

11.17. -ganji|i/-njiyi (Table 11-15)

This is a transitive root of class 4D. The durative is indicated by the prefix -ga-. The past continuous durative form is -ga-nji-|i. It is not known whether the expected nondurative counterpart, ?-nji-|i (which is not attested), could be used. Ordinarily such forms can turn up in casual speech, but in this particular paradigm there could be ambiguity since the Imper form is also -nji-|i.

The forms -nji-ma and -nji-ji are attested in the evitative as expected: *jaṇ+angu-nji-ji lest he choke me* with *jaḡ*.

This is an uncommon transitive Aux. It has been found with *biḡ* *to make a heap of*, *ḡi* *to remove lice from*, and *jaḡ* *to choke*, *to strangle*. As might be expected, some confusion between this Aux and the much more common transitive Aux -ganji/-ayi seems to have occurred; of the three verb-particles, *biḡ* and *ḡi* are attested with -ganji/-ayi as well as with -ganji|i/-njiyi.

11.18. -gaṛaṛuni/-aṛaṛiyi (Table 11-16)

This is a transitive root of class 1C. Note that the PaCon ending is -ni, not -ñi (as in 1A and 1B). The forms -aṛaṛu-ṇu and -aṛaṛu-ṇu-ni, which would be the normal evitative forms are not attested since (for semantic reasons) I was unable to elicit evitative forms with this Aux.

This is an uncommon transitive Aux, attested with two verb-particles: *balg* to *ignite*, and *jid* to *burn (rubbish)*. The first of these is also found with -ḷinmaḷi/-ḷinmiyi in basically the same sense, and with Aux -nani/-niyi in the intransitive (to *catch fire*, to *become ignited*). Note that both verb-particles which permit -gaṛaṛuni/-aṛaṛiyi involve setting fire to objects; recall, though, that -ḷinmaḷi/-ḷinmiyi can be used in similar contexts (among others), so -gaṛaṛuni/-aṛaṛiyi is sharply restricted.

11.19. -guluguluwuni/-guluguluwuyi (Table 11-17)

This is a transitive root of class 2B, although the PaPun and Imper forms are not attested. There may not have been any PaPun form at all (other paradigms, such as that of -jaḷi/-yiyi, clearly lack this form). On the other hand, the difficulty in eliciting the Imper form was because of semantic difficulties.

There is no durative/nondurative opposition, so the overall set of inflectional categories for this root is relatively small.

This is used in transitive simple verb-complexes, with the sense to *wait (in boat) for dugong or turtles to come to the surface*. This term is used, naturally enough, in descriptions of hunting dugong or marine turtles by harpoon; when alerted, the animals dive well below the surface, then eventually re-emerge to breathe. The direct object is 3Sg, presumably referring to the animals ('3Sg' usually applies to all numbers for nonhuman nouns).

11.20. -gunbuni/-nbuyi (Table 11-18)

This is an intransitive root of class 2A. The durative stem-initial is marked by a prefix -gu-. However, because the root tends to be semantically nondurative, there is some skewing of the durative/nondurative opposition in favour of the nondurative.

For example, given two Pr3 forms, nondurative -nbu-ḍu and durative -gu-nbu-ḍu, one would expect (applying the rules of Chapter Nine) that -nbu-ḍu would be used only for evitative positive and -gu-nbu-ḍu

would be used in the present positive and future indefinite positive. In fact, -nbu-*du* can sometimes be used in the latter categories as well, hence *ḡalag+a-'-nbu-du he is falling, he falls* as an optional variant of *ḡalag+a-'-gu-nbu-du*. (Only *ḡalag+a-'-nbu-du* can be used as evitative *lest he fall*.) Similarly, in the past positive and future positive the nondurative forms -nbu-*ni* and -nbu-*y* are more common than the corresponding forms in other paradigms.

This is an intransitive Aux, chiefly indicating punctual events ('durative' and 'continuous' forms either indicate events caught in progress or, more often, repetitions of events which are, taken individually, punctual). It is especially common with verbs of falling, like *ḡalag to fall*, *ḡiwan to fall into fire*, and *ḡarad to fall into hole*. The verb *ḡiwan* means *to cook (on coals)* with -*jujuṇi/-jii* or -*bayṇaḡi/-yiṇayi* as Aux.

Other verbs involving a more gentle descent are *baḡa to be born*, *jumbud to have head leaning forward*, *wur (sun, etc.) to set*, and *wurwaj to sit in a group in the shade*. Another verb referring to the behaviour of a celestial body is *wir to be new moon*.

Because of its punctual sense, it is not surprising that -*gunbuni/-nbuyi* is used in complementary fashion to the two basic stative intransitive Aux's, -*anji/-anjiyi* and -*jinji/-yinjiyi*, with some verb-particles. Examples with -*gunbuni/-nbuyi* and -*anji/-anjiyi* include *ḡar to hide*, *jaḡg to get bogged*, *mun to bend over*, and *ṇaḡ to shut*. Examples with -*gunbuni/-nbuyi* and -*jinji/-yinjiyi* include *bay to stand*, *guḡ to drink*, *jiḡ to rain*, *ḡud to get stuck*, *ḡurg to be up in tree fork*, *wab to be warm*, and *yaṇa to sleep*. The forms with -*gunbuni/-nbuyi* are used chiefly with the punctual sense (hence *to become hidden*, *to become stuck*, etc.), while the other Aux has a more stative sense (*to be or stay hidden*, *to be in stuck state*, etc.).

Note that in these examples, -*gunbuni/-nbuyi* has lost its focus on falling or descent.

11.21. -*jagayagaḡi/-yagayi* (Table 11-19)

This is a transitive root, the only member of class 8. The durative forms show -*jaga-*, a reduplicative segment (by rule P-2) which has also undergone hardening (/y/ → j) by rule P-3.

As explained at the end of 11.2, this root (in its simplest form -*yaga-*) is probably historically just a derivative of -*ganji/-ayi* (root: -*a-* or -*ga-*), and in those forms where the paradigm of -*yaga-*

diverges from that of *-(g)a-* the divergences can be explained as due to analogy with roots of the class 4B. The final syllable in **-ya-ga-*, in other words, was confused with root-final **-ga-* in the relevant 4B roots, with some reshaping of the paradigm of **-ya-ga-* as a result.

As noted in 11.16, the paradigm of *-ganji/-yagayi* *to take, to carry* is a suppletive paradigm in which several forms of *-jagayaga!i/-yagayi* occur. The nonsuppletive paradigm of *-jagayaga!i/-yagayi* itself is used as a transitive Aux with a few verb-particles, of which the most important are perhaps *ɖud* *to find* and *ɲad* *to take along*. A few verb-particles, like *wari* *to take back* and *mal* *to take up* can be used, in the senses indicated, with either *-jagayaga!i/-yagayi* or *-ganji/-ayi* (and, in intransitive senses *to go back* and *to go up*, with the Aux *-!ini/-yurayi/-aŋa*). However, *ɖud* *to find* at least does not occur with *-ganji/-ayi*, and there are many verbs which can take *-ganji/-ayi* but not *-jagayaga!i/-yagayi*.

11.22. *-jalani/-yalayi* (Table 11-20)

This is a transitive root of class 5A. There is a durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition. The evitative forms (*-yala-ja*, *-yala-ji-ni*) are unattested because of their semantic incongruity. The form *-yala-ni* is also unattested, but could probably occur in casual speech.

This is used in simple verb-complexes and means *to taste*. It is not used as an Aux.

11.23. *-ja!i/-yiyi* (Table 11-21)

This is a transitive root of class 5C. There is a stem-initial durative/nondurative opposition. There is no PaPun form; we would expect something like **-ya-Ø* but this does not occur and was rejected by informants when pronounced by the linguist. Perhaps the existence of *-ya* as the Imper of another paradigm, that of *-jañi/-niŋuyi*, is partly responsible for the absence of **-ya* in the PaPun of *-ja!i/-yiyi*, or perhaps this verb just doesn't need an aspectual opposition within the past positive. The forms *-yi-nja* and *-yi-nji-ni* are used in the evitative positive: *wa-'-yi-nja* *lest he eat it*.

This is used in simple verb-complexes meaning *to eat*. It is not used as an Aux.

11.24. -jama|i/-yamiyi (Table 11-22)

This is a transitive root of class 4C. Note that the stem-final vowel changes from a to i in the PaPot, thus distinguishing this from the PrPot although both have the ending -yi. Similarly, the FutPun shows /a-y/ → /i-y/ → i-Ø and is thus merged with the Imper and distinguished from the FutCon form, which retains a-y on the surface (-jama-y).

This is a transitive Aux used with only a few verb-particles, but some of these are common: *ɖiw* to throw away, *wari* to send back, *ɖirwu* to push into water, and *ɖuɭ* to send. The notion of sending or otherwise propelling the object is found in all of these; *wari*, for example, has a basic lexical meaning of return (i.e. to go back or to take back with various other Aux's), so the Aux -jama|i/-yamiyi is responsible for the notion of sending in to send back.

11.25. -jañi/-niɣuyi (Table 11-23)

This is a suppletive paradigm. The root -ya- (-ja-) has a partial paradigm of class 1A. It is impossible to identify the class of the other root, -niɣu-, since it occurs only before PaPot -yi and FutPun/FutCon -y, both of which are widespread and thus of almost no diagnostic value so far as verb-class affiliation is concerned.

The root -ya- occurs chiefly in the durative form -ja- in terms of text-frequency of the forms (the most common being -ja-ñi, -ja-ɲa, and -ja-ɲa-ni), but the nondurative root -ya- occurs in several less common forms. The root -niɣu- has no stem-initial oppositions.

The root -niɣu- is not to be confused with the root -niɲa- seen in -niɲa|i/-niɲayi and also playing a role in the suppletive paradigm -niɲa|i/-yagayi.

The present paradigm, -jañi/-niɣuyi, is used as a transitive simple verb-complex meaning to tell (someone). It often follows a quotation Q, hence Q ɲangu-yi he told me, 'Q'.

This paradigm is also one of the three most common transitive Aux's. One particularly characteristic function of this Aux is to transitive an intransitive verb-complex, not by adding an agent and making the underlying intransitive subject the surface object (causative), rather by adding a new object. Hence *gaw* with Aux -mindini/-miyi means to call out, to shout, but with -jañi/-niɣuyi it means to call or shout to (someone). Similar examples are *ɖiw* to fly over or around (something) from intransitive to fly (with Aux -ɭini/-yurayi/-aɲa) *baɭa* to go around (something) from intransitive to go around (with Aux

-|ini/-yurayi/-aŋa), and *jug to spit on (someone)* from intransitive *to spit* (Aux -|ini/-yurayi/-aŋa).

Not all forms with -jañi/-niŋuyi fit this pattern, however. In a couple of cases a causative sense is found: *waja to make wet* from intransitive *to be wet* (with Aux -mindini/-miyi), *!urg to put up in tree fork* from intransitive *to be up in tree fork* (Aux -jinji/-yinjiyi or -gunbuni/-nbuyi).

Some other verb-particles used with -jañi/-niŋuyi are *birib to fill up (a space)*, *ɖay to chase away*, *guju to tickle*, *jaj to chase*, *jalɔ to stab*, *mu|ij to roll up*, *ŋa| to speak to*, and *ñil to cover*. Some of these lack intransitive counterparts (aside from reflexives and reciprocals). Note that there is a considerable semantic variety, and we have only given a sample of the many verb-particles which can take this Aux.

11.26. -jarawuni/-yarawuyi (Table 11-24)

This is a transitive root of class 2A. The PaPun, which ought to be *-yarawu, is not attested and the PaCon forms seem to have been preferred, as was the case with -guluguluwuni/-guluguluwuyi in the same subclass. There is a durative/nondurative opposition. The evitative forms could not be elicited for semantic reasons.

This is used in transitive simple verb-complexes with the sense *to take (dogs) hunting*. This indicates one of several clearly defined types of hunting, where dogs are taken along mainly in order to locate and pin down goanna lizards in their burrows or in trees, whereupon the hunter can catch them.

11.27. -jaruñi/-yariyi (Table 11-25)

This is a transitive root of class 1A. It has a durative/non-durative opposition. The durative and nondurative stem-initials are distributed in the usual way.

We have noted above (11.14) that the verb -gandayaruñi/-andayariyi may contain -jaruñi/-yariyi etymologically.

The verb -jaruñi/-yariyi is used as a transitive Aux with *ɖub to hold*, *to grip* and *ɖir to copulate with*. The latter verb-particle, curiously, occurs with Aux -mindini/-miyi in the sense *to fart*.

11.28. -jinji/-yijiyi (Table 11-26)

This is one of the very few inflectable verbs which can be either transitive or intransitive. It belongs to class 6A, and is the only

member of that subclass; it shares several paradigmatic features with -anji/-anjiyi in subclass 6B. There are some semantic similarities between the two as well.

The verb -jinji/-yinjiyi has a durative/nondurative opposition. The basic root is perhaps -ya-, seen fairly clearly in Imper -ya-Ø. The other forms, -yi- and -yu- (and their durative variants -ji- and -ju-) can be explained by vocalic assimilation.

As an intransitive Aux, -jinji/-yinjiyi has a basically stative sense rather like that of -anji/-anjiyi. Examples: *bib (tide) to be high*, *biḍbiḍ to lie face-down*, *bulwul to sail along*, *ḍira to be tied up*, *gul to be dark*, *guḷ to drink*, *jarb to be straight*, *jiḍ (liquid) to drip*, *ḷir to get firewood*, *mal to be on top*, *mīrg to be jealous*, *muḷij to be rolled or coiled*, *ṇaṇi to come behind*, *ṇil to be covered*, and *wuḍuy to shake, to tremble*. This is a nearly exhaustive list.

A smaller number of verb-particles are used with -jinji/-yinjiyi in its function as a transitive Aux. These are *gal to bite*, *garj to pick up (many)*, *guwaḍa to hear, to listen to*, *jin to adhere to*, and *wiḍid to capsize (something)*.

Two verb-particles fluctuate between intransitive and transitive forms with -jinji/-yinjiyi. These are *jiḷ to rain; to rain on (something)* and *wal to step; to step on*.

The criterion for deciding whether -jinji/-yinjiyi is intransitive or transitive in a given case is the form of the pronominal prefix with 3Du or 3Pl subject, and whether the noun functioning as subject is in ergative or nominative case. Thus in *ḍira+wari-jinji they (Du) were tied up* the pronominal prefix *wari-* is clearly 3Du intransitive. By contrast, in *gal+wiri-jinji they (Du) bit him* we see 3Du + 3Sg transitive prefix *wiri-*. In the example with *ḍira*, if the subject is *two men* we get nominative *wur-gaṛiyi-mar*, while the same subject with *gal* shows up as ergative *wir-aṛiyi-mar*. With the bivalent verb-particles *jiḷ* and *wal* both types occur.

11.29. -jujuṇi/-jiyi (Table 11-27)

This is a transitive root of class 1B, and is the only member of this subclass. It differs from the large subclass 1A only in its special Imper suffix -ḷi. It has a durative/nondurative opposition, with the durative formed by reduplication (P-2).

This is one of the three most important transitive Aux's. Like -ganji/-ayi, it is chiefly causative in those instances where a given verb-particle occurs both with it and with an intransitive Aux. This

sets these two Aux's apart from -jañi/-niñuyi, which is occasionally causative but more characteristically adds an object (rather than an agent) to the intransitive case-frame.

Whereas -ganji/-ayi is usually the causative of forms which show -!ini/-yurayi/-aṇa in the intransitive, -jujuñi/-jiyi is commonly the causative of forms with intransitive Aux -mindini/-miyi. Examples: wi! *to smash* (with -mindini *to become smashed*), muñur *to make soft* (with -mindini *to become soft*), ḡamaṛ *to warm up* (with -mindini *to become warm*), buralḡ *to make white* (with -mindini *to become white*), and bunji *to make dry* (with -mindini *to become dry*). Several of these verb-particles are also nouns with adjective-like meaning (e.g. bunji *dry*), though in some cases the nominal sense requires suffix -min (buralḡ-min *white*). Since -mindini/-miyi is the usual inchoative intransitive verbaliser for these nouns, -jujuñi/-jiyi is the most common factitive Aux (*to make X* where *X* is some adjective).

Some of the many other verb-particles which take this Aux are bab *to block*, ba!a *to cause to revolve*, biḡ *to clap boomerangs*, burj *to clap (hands)*, ḡalag *to knock down*, ḡira *to tie up*, jaṛ *to pull*, *to drag along*, jaṛag *to make*, !iw *to make crooked*, mirḡ *to be jealous of*, and ña! *to shut*. Some of these have no intransitive counterparts.

11.30. -jujuñi/-!arbuyi (Table 11-28)

This is a suppletive paradigm which includes many forms from the paradigm of -jujuñi/-jiyi. The other root is -!arbu-, which is used chiefly in the PaPun form, but is also optionally used in certain other categories (those where the nondurative stem-initials are used for some other roots). In cases where two forms are possible for a given category, the form based on the root -!arbu- is less common than that based on -jV-, but in the PaPun the only possibility is -!arbu-Ø (i.e. PaPun -ji-Ø in Table 11-27 cannot be used in this suppletive paradigm).

This is a transitive Aux sometimes competing with -ganji/-ayi with the same verb-particle. Intransitive counterparts may show -!ini/-yurayi/-aṇa (baṇ, biṇ) or -mindini/-miyi (wi!, ya! ~ ya!ja!) or there may be no (attested) intransitive form. I have found these: bambir *to spray up water*, baṇ *to split*, bidiṛingur *to drill hole in*, biṇ *to be finished with*, bulḡ (*tide*) *to rise or to swell up*, ḡuj *to break or cut off*, gad *to break in half*, gurb *to carve wood*, warwaj *to show, slap at, or compel*, wi! *to smash*, and ya! *to take past* (different sense with -ganji/-ayi, intransitive ya!ja!).

11.31. -!ini/-yurayi/-aŋa (Table 11-29)

This is the only triply suppletive paradigm: the roots are -a- (only in PaPun -a-ŋa), -yura- (durative -jura-), and -!V- (-!i- or -!a-). The root -a- is followed by PaPun suffix -ŋa, suggesting an affinity with class 6A (-jinji/-yinjiyi, PaPun -ya-ŋa). The root -yura- has a partial class 1 paradigm (subclass indeterminate). The root -!V- constitutes class 2C, but differs from 2A and 2B only in showing Pr₃ -ndu rather than -ŋdu.

Historically, -yura- is probably *-Ru-ra-, with augment *-ra- added to a form of the root *-RV- which also underlies -!V-. Here *R is a symbol for *r/*y, probably *r in some forms and *y in others, showing an alternation found sporadically in many languages in this area. Mara ! often reflects *r. Cf. Warndarang -ra-, augmented -ra-ra-, the cognate of this Mara *-RV-. Whatever the original manifestations of *R, Mara shows y now before u-vowel and ! (reflecting *r) before i- and a-vowels for this root. It is possible that -a- in PaPun -a-ŋa also reflects *-RV-.

This paradigm is unusual in that there are two PaCon forms, one with -!V- (-!i-ni) and one with -yura- (-yura-ñi, durative -jura-ñi). The form -!i-ni is the most common, and only this one can be reduplicated for emphatic repetition or prolongation. The forms in -yura-, then, are a little less 'continuous' than those in -!V-, and this is also suggested by the distribution of the two roots in the rest of the paradigm (e.g. -!V- is found in the present positive, a basically durative category, while -yura- is used in the evitative counterparts, which are usually treated as nondurative in this language). However, note that even within the past continuous forms based on -yura-, there is a further aspectual distinction expressed by the durative/nondurative opposition (-yura-ñi vs. -jura-ñi). Thus, counting PaPun -a-ŋa and PaCon -!i-ni, this paradigm has the luxury of four unreduplicated past positive forms for different aspectual nuances.¹

These forms, in simple verb-complexes, mean *to go*. With Centripetal prefix y₁a-/ŋa- we get *to come*, hence ŋa-!i-ni *I went* but ya-ŋa-!i-ni *I came*.

This is also a very common Aux. With jadba *to chop down, to cut badly* we get transitive forms, hence jadba+wiri-!i-ni *they (Du) chopped it down*. This contains the pronominal prefix wiri- (3Du + 3Sg) which can only be transitive (3Du intransitive is wari-).

With all other verb-particles -|ini/-yurayi/-aṇa is intransitive. A few examples: ba| to *sneak along*, ba|a to *revolve*, bañaj to *come out*, jaguḍ to *be dying*, |ib to *bathe*, ṇar to *have an odour*. In some such examples the notion of motion is, at best, tenuous, and since this is so productive as an intransitive Aux we cannot expect tight semantic uniformity. Still, motion in some sense is usually involved and this is the only general distinction between forms with this Aux and those with the other most common intransitive Aux, -mindini/-miyi.

Some verb-particles which take either of these Aux's are: baḍabaḍa to *shake*, baṛa to *look around*, bu to *set fires*, ja|ab to *paddle*, ja|ababa (sea) to *be rough*, mud to *break*, and waṇan to *get lost* (the latter also occurs with -anji/-anjiyi in the sense to *be lost*). In some of these examples there is no consistent semantic difference between the two Aux's.

The verb-particle ḍalag occurs with -gunbuni/-nbuyi in the sense to *fall*, but with -|ini/-yurayi/-aṇa we get the special sense to *pass away* (somewhat euphemistic expression, cf. ṇabaṛ with -mindini/-miyi to *die*).

11.32. -|inma|i/-|inmiyi (Table 11-30)

This is a transitive root of class 4C. There is no durative/nondurative opposition.

This is used as a transitive Aux, generally with causative sense in those cases where the same verb-particle has intransitive forms with another Aux. At least three verb-particles which take -nani/-niyi in the intransitive take this Aux for the transitive (causative): ba|g to *ignite*, bu| to *dry out*, and ḍay to *make fire spread*. Others, showing the intransitive Aux in parentheses, are bay to *stand* (-gunbuni/-nbuyi or -jinji/-yinjiyi), ḍaj to *cause to sit* (-mindini/-miyi), yaṇa to *sleep* (-gunbuni/-nbuyi or -jinji/-yinjiyi), ḍirwu to *cause to bathe*, to *immerse* (-|ini/-yurayi/-aṇa), ṇarg to *conceal* (-anji/-anjiyi). Notice the number of instances where the closely related stative intransitive Aux's -jinji/-yinjiyi and -anji/-anjiyi, as well as the corresponding punctual Aux -gunbuni/-nbuyi, are used.

11.33. -mbu|ma|i/-mbu|miyi (Table 11-31)

This is an intransitive root of class 4C. There is no durative/nondurative opposition. The forms -mbu|ma-ma and -mbu|ma-nji are used in the evitative positive as well as present positive.

This is used in intransitive simple verb-complexes with the sense *to do it*. It is a sort of indefinite 'pro-verb', and is often used when the speaker cannot remember the appropriate verb form, just as *wumbul what's-it?* is often used when a noun or a name has been forgotten.

11.34. -minani/-nayi (Table 11-32)

This is a transitive root (-na-) belonging to class 5A. The durative is marked by the prefix -mi-.

This is the verb meaning *to see, to look at* in simple verb-complexes. It is uncommon as an Aux, though it does occur in two combinations where its basic sense is retained: *jal to watch for (someone)*, *maɽu to dream of, to see in dreams*.

The paradigm is similar to that of -nani/-niyi, an intransitive Aux (see below, and Table 11-34). With the exception of one Pr₃ variant, the forms of the suffixes in the two paradigms are identical, but the two are distinguished by the absence of durative -mi- in -nani/-niyi, by differences in the treatment of root-final /a/ before suffixes -yi and -y, and by the unusual use of reduplication in present tense forms of -nani/-niyi. There is little chance of confusion anyway, since -nani/-niyi is an intransitive Aux while -minani/-nayi is transitive and is much more common in simple than in extended verb-complexes.

11.35. -mindini/-miyi (Table 11-33)

This is an intransitive root (-ma-), the only member of the rather unusual class 3B. In -mi-ndi-ni and -mi-ndi-ni-ña, we seem to have PaCon ending -ni as in some other classes, but the augment -ndi- is unique to this stem. The variant with -ña is also quite unusual; it seems to be used as a past continuous nondurative form (contrasting with -mi-ndi-ni, which is past continuous durative), though for all other paradigms the durative/nondurative opposition is expressed by stem-initial alternations. Thus -mi-ndi-ni-ña occurs chiefly in texts (rather than in more careful utterances in elicitation sessions), and is found in textual passages where other past continuous nondurative forms are found nearby: see Texts 9.4, 14.3, 36.4, 39.1, and 39.2. A further indication of this is that -mi-ndi-ni but not -mi-ndi-ni-ña is found in reduplicated verb-complexes: *gaɽ-gaɽ+wala-mi-ndi-ni they danced and danced*.

The other important peculiarity of this paradigm is the Pr_3 and related forms. Ordinarily we would expect Pr_3 *-ma-ma, since -ma is the usual Pr_3 ending when the Pr_{1-2} form ends in -nji. As it happens, -ma-ma does occur but is used only in the evitative positive (for all pronominal categories) and future indefinite positive. In the present positive itself, we get -ma-Ø, which is identical to PaPun -ma-Ø (the two are normally distinguishable since 3Pres prefix -w₁a- is used in the present positive but not the past punctual positive). Hence we get the following 3Sg forms: past punctual positive wu-ma-Ø, present positive wa-'-ma-Ø, evitative positive wa-'-ma-ma, and future indefinite positive wu-ma-ma.

As usual, there is a single verb form (-ma-ma) for future indefinite positive for all pronominal categories, so in addition to 3Sg wu-ma-ma we get 1Sg ŋa-ma-ma (not *ŋa-ma-nji in this sense). For this particular paradigm (unlike the others), there is likewise no difference between the Evit₁₋₂ and Evit₃ forms (for the others these are expressed by the nondurative forms of Pr_{1-2} and Pr_3 , respectively, and are thus differentiated). Hence -ma-ma is not only the future indefinite positive form for this paradigm, but is also the only evitative form (i.e. Evit₁₋₂₋₃). Thus, in addition to 3Sg evitative positive wa-'-ma-ma, we get 1Sg ŋa-ma-ma.

As an intransitive simple verb-complex, this verb means *to do that*, *to say that*. It is generally accompanied by some kind of quotation (in the sense *to say that*), or perhaps a gesture. It is thus not really indefinite semantically, as is -mbu|ma|i/-mbu|miyi, though it does not by itself further specify the nature of the event it designates.

This is also a very common intransitive Aux. The only other intransitive Aux which rivals its productivity is -|ini/-yurayi/-aŋa. One important function of -mindini/-miyi is its use as an inchoative verbaliser (*to become X*) when it accompanies an adjective-like noun (*X*); the latter functions as 'verb-particle'. Hence from bunji *dry* we get bunji+wu-ma-Ø *it became dry*. Here the essential function of -mindini/-miyi is to act as a prop for tense-aspect marking and the like.

11.36. -nani/-niyi (Table 11-34)

This is an intransitive root (-na-) of class 5D. Note the unusual reduplication (by P-2) in the present tense forms (-nayi-na-yi, -naja-na-ja, -naji-na-jini), though in the Pr_3 there is also a less

common variant -nu-!u (this form suggests an affinity with class 6). Aside from -nu-!u, the suffixes are the same as for -minani/-nayi in Table 11-32, and because the roots are also identical (-na-) it might be suspected that the two are split-off reflexes of a single etymon. However, the suffixal similarities may be due to analogical convergence, since both roots have cognates in languages to the north such as Nunggubuyu, where the two -na- roots have entirely distinct paradigms.

The verb -nani/-niyi is used as an intransitive Aux with a fairly small number of roots which indicate something to do with fire, heat, or associated phenomena such as light: *jaḍ to be hot, be burning, gar (meat) to be roasting in oven, balg to emit light, bul to be dry, malarg to be light, jir to warm oneself at a fire, wuñ to become hot, and ḍay (fire) to spread*. Some of these have causative counterparts with -!inma!i/-!inmiyi (11.32), and see also -garaḇuni/-aḇariyi (11.18).

11.37. -niṇa!i/-niṇayi (Table 11-35)

This is a transitive root of class 4A. It also figures as part of the suppletive paradigm -niṇa!i/-yagayi (Table 11-36). There is no durative/nondurative opposition.

This Aux is based on a root -niṇa-, which appears to be unrelated to -niṇu-, which forms part of the suppletive paradigm -jañi/-niṇuyi (Table 11-23).

This is a transitive Aux used with the verb-particles *niṛ to breathe, to open up guts of* and *maṇ to adhere to*. The latter can also occur in all verbal categories with -jagayaga!i/-yagayi. This is distinct from the situation with *warj to pick up* (cf. next section) where certain forms use -niṇa!i/-niṇayi while other forms use -jagayaga!i/-yagayi, constituting a single suppletive paradigm with only marginal overlapping of the two defective paradigms.

11.38. -niṇa!i/-yagayi (Table 11-36)

This is a suppletive paradigm consisting of some forms from -niṇa!i/-niṇayi (Table 11-35) and others from -jagayaga!i/-yagayi (Table 11-19). The latter paradigm has a durative/nondurative opposition, but in this suppletive paradigm this opposition shows up only in the future.

This paradigm is used only with the important transitive verb-particle *warj to get, to pick up, to take (away)*. Hence *warj+gu-niṇa-Ø he got it, warj+gu-yaga-y he will get it*.

11.39. -ñambuni/-ñambuyi (Table 11-37)

This is a transitive root of class 2A. There is no durative/nondurative opposition. The suffixes -ðu and -ði-yi reflect underlying /-ŋðu-/.

This is used as a transitive simple verb-complex, meaning *to swear at*, *to quarrel with*.

The Pr₃ form -ñambu-ðu is used in the evitative positive for all persons: ɲangu-ñambu-ðu *lest he swear at me*, etc. In the event that either the subject or object (or both) is non-3rd person, the use of Pr₃ (instead of Pr₁₋₂) results in ambiguity between evitative positive and future indefinite positive. However, this 'ambiguity' is of no pragmatic importance for this particular verb since it describes a generally undesirable activity, so that a future indefinite form would be pragmatically similar to an evitative form. Since this verb has no durative/nondurative opposition, the merger of evitative positive with future indefinite positive (for non-3rd person forms only) has the beneficial function of permitting distinctions between present positive and evitative positive (*he is swearing at me* vs. *lest he swear at me*), which is a pragmatically significant opposition. For 3rd + 3rd forms, there is no difference between present positive and evitative positive (wa-'ñambu-ðu *he is swearing at him* or *lest he swear at him*).

11.40. -wanani/-wayi (Table 11-38)

This is a transitive root (-wa-) of class 5B, and is the only member of this subclass. The durative is marked by reduplication (P-2) of the form CVC-, as seen most clearly in -way-wa-yi.

The Pr₃ forms are quite unusual. Since the Pr₁₋₂ suffix is -ji-ni, we expect Pr₃ suffix -ju. This does occur in the durative form (i.e. in the present positive and future positive) -waj-a-ju. However, before Refl/Recip suffix -!ana the suffix -ju is extended by adding -ŋu-, hence wa-'!a-waj-a-ju-ŋu-!ana *they give (it) to each other*. Possibly the -ŋu- syllable here is related somehow to assimilating -jV in the class 1 Pr₃ form. Moreover, the evitative form for 3rd + 3rd persons is (unreduplicated) -wa-ju-ŋu with the same ending -ŋu, hence wa-'!i-wa-ju-ŋu *lest they give (it) to him*.

This is the usual verb for *to give* in simple verb-complexes. The object marked in the pronominal prefix is the recipient, not the gift: ɲangu-wa-ji *he gave (it) to me*. It is used as a transitive Aux in a few combinations where its basic meaning is still evident: bil *to give food to*, ɖul *to give food to*, and gu! *to give something to drink to*.

The latter verb *gu* means *to drink* with intransitive Aux *-jinji/yinjiyi*.

11.41. How the Rules Work: Some Examples

The paradigms presented in this chapter, along with the rules for combining the inflected verb forms with prefixes described in Chapter Nine, suffice to generate the correct verb-complexes. It is appreciated, however, that it is difficult for readers to piece all of these strands together, and in this section we will take a closer look at how the rules work in practice. We will take the verb *-bawayingga* *li/-wayingayi* (Table 11-6) *to hit (with thrown object)* as our example.

Let us look first at the past tense forms. In the positive, we have these forms for 3Sg → 1Sg:

<i>ṇangu-wayingga-Ø</i>	<i>he hit me</i>	past punctual positive
<i>ṇangu-wayingga-!i</i>	<i>he hit me</i>	past continuous nondurative positive
<i>ṇangu-ba-wayingga-!i</i>	<i>he hit me</i>	past continuous durative positive

The two most common forms are the first and third. The second belongs to a category which is moderately common in texts and generally in casual speech, but is rare in careful speech (9.3). Of the three, only the third can be reduplicated by P-1: *ṇangu-ba-wayi-wayingga-!i* *he kept hitting me*.

Other past tense forms are past potential positive *ṇangu-wayingga-yi* *he was about to/should have hit me*, past negative *ganagu ṇangu-wayingga-yi* *he did not hit me*, and past potential negative *ṇula ṇangu-wayingga-yi* *he should not have hit me*. These show the nondurative (unmarked) stem-initial.

The present negative is identical to the past negative except that the durative stem-initial is used: *ganagu ṇangu-ba-wayingga-yi* *he is not hitting me, he does not hit me*. In the table (here Table 11-6) the PaPot and PrPot forms are not differentiated, since these tables are concerned only with *suffixal* oppositions. However, if the durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition is considered, present negative and past negative can often be overtly distinguished, as with this verb. Note also that the past potential has the same suffixal form as past and present negative, but it lacks negative preverb *ganagu*.

Since no special Evit forms are shown in the paradigm, we can infer that the *Pr₃* and *Pr₁₋₂* (specifically, their nondurative forms) are

used in the evitative positive. The durative forms of these suffixal categories are used in the present positive. Moreover, as usual, the durative form of the Pr₃ is also used, for all pronominal categories, in the future indefinite positive.

For the 3Sg + 1Sg combination, we therefore get these forms:

ṇangu-ba-wayiṅga-ji	<i>he is hitting me</i>	present positive
ṇangu-wayiṅga-ji	<i>lest he hit me</i>	evitative positive
ṇangu-ba-wayiṅga-ma	<i>he will hit me</i>	future indefinite positive

Since the pronominal prefix 3Sg + 1Sg includes at least one non-third person element (1Sg), in the present positive and evitative positive the Pr₁₋₂ ending -ji (underlying /-nji/) instead of Pr₃ -ma is used. However, for the future indefinite positive the Pr₃ in -ma is used for all pronominal categories. Thus the present positive and evitative positive are distinguished from each other by the stem-initial durative/nondurative opposition, and both are distinguished from the future indefinite positive by the Pr₁₋₂ vs. Pr₃ suffixal opposition.

For 3rd + 3rd prefixes the distinctions are made in a different way. The Pr₃ ending -ma is used in all three categories. The present positive and evitative positive are distinguished from each other by the durative/nondurative opposition. The future indefinite positive has the same suffix, and has the same durative stem-initial as the present positive. The difference is that the 3Pres prefix w_{1a}- is preposed to the pronominal prefix in the present positive (and, redundantly, the evitative positive), but is not used in the future indefinite positive:

wa-'-ba-wayiṅga-ma	<i>he is hitting him</i>	present positive
wa-'-wayiṅga-ma	<i>lest he hit him</i>	evitative positive
wu-ba-wayiṅga-ma	<i>he will hit him</i>	future indefinite positive

Here we see 3Sg + 3Sg wu- (actually w_{1u}-); the sequence wa-'- is the surface output for /w_{1a}-w_{1u}-/ with 3Pres prefix w_{1a}- prefixed before -w_{1u}-.

The Imper form -wayin-ji is used in the imperative positive. In 2nd + 3rd imperatives, the prefixes are those which are ordinarily reserved for 3rd + 3rd transitives in indicative categories, hence wu-wayin-ji *hit him!* with w_{1u}- (2Sg + 3Sg in imperative positive forms, 3Sg + 3Sg as shown a moment ago in indicative categories). For 2nd + 1st imperatives, the usual 2nd + 1st (not 3rd + 1st) prefixes are used: ṇangu-wayin-ji *hit me!* with 2Sg + 1Sg ṇangu- (not 3Sg + 1Sg

ŋangu-). There is no special imperative negative form; it is absorbed into the future negative (cf. below).

In the future positive, Table 11-6 shows that there is no punctual/continuous opposition in the suffixes, though there is a durative/nondurative stem-initial opposition. Hence there are two unreduplicated future positive forms:

ŋangu-wayiŋga-y *he will hit me* future nondurative positive

ŋangu-ba-wayiŋga-y *he will hit me* future durative positive

In careful speech, the second of these is somewhat more common than the first, but as speech becomes increasingly casual the likelihood of getting the first form increases. These two forms are much more common than the uncommon future indefinite positive form mentioned above in connection with the present tense forms.

Since no special FutNeg form is shown, we infer that the nondurative future form -wayiŋga-y is used in the negative form: ŋula ŋangu-wayiŋga-y *he will not hit me*. With 2nd person subject this can be either imperative or indicative: ŋula ŋangu-wayiŋga-y *you will not hit me; don't hit me!*

Finally, the uncommon desiderative form -ba-wayiŋga-m-i is used, with preverb ŋariwa *hopefully*, in the type ŋariwa ŋangu-ba-wayiŋga-m-i *hopefully he will hit me*.

NOTE

1. Another possible irregularity is seen in Text 28.3, lines two and three, where what is formally the evitative seems to be used in a sense approaching the future indefinite.

CHAPTER TWELVE

STEM-FORMATION

12.1. Compounds

We saw in the preceding chapter that two inflectable verbs appear, at least historically, to be composed of two elements, the second of which was the original inflectable root. Thus *-gandayaruñi/-andayariyi* (root *-andayaru-*) *to spear* may contain *-jaruñi/-yariyi* (root *-yaru-*), an Aux, so that **(g)anda-* is isolated as a compounding initial. Similarly, the Aux *-jagayaga!i/-yagayi* (root *-yaga-*) may contain the root of *-ganji/-ayi* (root *-a-*, from **-ga-*) *to take*, so that **-ya-* is isolated as the compounding initial (perhaps a specialised instance of Centripetal **ya-*).

However, this kind of compounding within the inflectable stem (i.e. between pronominal prefix and inflectional suffix) is unproductive. The two examples just mentioned are now quite frozen; indeed, *-jagayaga!i/-yagayi* has now diverged considerably from *-ganji/-ayi* even in its inflectional suffixation. If there are any other traces of such compounding, it is in the occasional paradigm where the durative stem-initial is expressed by a prefix, hence in *-minani/-nayi* *to see* the root is *-na-* and its durative form is *-mi-na-* with a prefix *-mi-* not found elsewhere (see 3.3); these now function just like other morphophonemic processes which express the durative.

There is, however, one other type of compound, or at least quasi-compound. Consider a structure of the form N VC, where N is a noun stem and VC is a verb-complex. Such a construction could at least approach compound status if the noun regularly occurred directly before the VC, and if the noun regularly omitted its usual affixal paraphernalia, its articles, and so forth.

Such structures are, admittedly, not sharply distinguishable from chance collocations of a noun (which happens to be without nominal adjuncts) to a verb-complex. However, there are some indications

that body-part nouns in particular can be used in such quasi-compound constructions; these are precisely the most common compounding initials in other nearby languages where compounds are clearly distinguishable formally from accidental collocations.

An example, from Text 6.8, is this: *bi|bar |ar+iw-añi we cut up its throat* with *bi|bar throat* preceding a VC meaning *we cut it (turtle) up*. The noun *bi|bar* is ordinarily a Ne noun and thus should be preceded by Ne Nominative prefix *n-* (or, in other case forms, by Ne Oblique *ña-*). Moreover, if this were a fully independent noun one would expect it to be preceded (at least in the Nominative) by the article *n-ga-na*, hence *n-ga-na n-bi|bar*. Although *bi|bar |ar+iw-añi* is not infallibly describable as a compound (since articles can be omitted anywhere and since Ne *n-* is sometimes omitted), it looks as though it is a kind of loose compound here, and there are quite a few similar examples in the texts. In particular, for the informant Mack Riley the omission of Ne *n-* with body-part terms occurred almost exclusively in such quasi-compound combinations.

When something like *bi|bar |ar+iw-añi* is negated, the resulting form is usually not compound-like: *ganagu |ar+iw-ayi n-bi|bar we did not cut up its throat*. Most often, as in this example, the verb (*|ar+iw-ayi*) is immediately preceded not by the body-part noun but instead by the negative particle, and the body-part noun is often found after the entire verb-complex. A surface structure *ganagu bi|bar |ar+iw-ayi* is also possible but rare; it could be interpreted as a structure where the negative particle is focussed mainly on the body-part term (13.1).

If the specialised derivational constructions mentioned later in this chapter are disregarded, there are few compounding processes where the nuclear stem is a noun. There are some examples like *magu garwa orphan* from *n-magu eye* (often *magu* in compounds; this is probably the only noun which is phonologically specialised as a compounding initial) and *garwa rotten*. This type is very similar to the verbal type mentioned above, and in this nominal type the nuclear noun (here *garwa*) is usually an adjective-like noun which can occur in predicate-nominal constructions which are formally like intransitive verbs: *magu ña-garwa I am an orphan* with 1Sg intransitive pronominal prefix *ña-*.

Aside from this, which is just an extension of the verbal type, there is only the odd frozen compound like *ñamalirnjuma catfish sp.* (from *ña-malir on the back* and *njuma solid fat*, referring to this sp.'s long dorsal fin and the fat under it).

12.2. Nominalisations with -manjar

The suffix -manjar can be added to a verb-particle (but not to an inflectable verb root) to create a kind of verbal noun (nominalisation). It is usually an abstractive designating the verbal activity (hitting, breaking, etc.), though we will mention below a couple of specialised, participle-like examples.

The form with -manjar is productive in the sense that it can, in principle, be added to any verb-particle. However, it is rare in texts and has sharply circumscribed syntactic functions. For one thing, in all available examples it occurs without adjuncts (such as NP's from the same underlying clause).

Perhaps the most common use of -manjar is in purposive clauses; in this event we get -manjar-i with Purposive -i from underlying -ni (cf. rule P-14 in 3.9). Even in this use it is not common, and since no adjuncts are permitted it is used almost like an adjective. It can be said of a weapon, for example, that it is *ña-ɾaŋ-aŋ-manjar-i* *for killing*. The only textual example I can find is *ña-bulwul-manjar-i* *for sailing* in Text 13.6. Note that *ɾaŋ* *to hit* in the first example is reduplicated (-*ɾaŋ-aŋ*-). This is possible but not obligatory; in the second example -*bulwul*- is not a reduplication, and in the first example *ña-ɾaŋ-manjar-i* is possible as a variant. Note also that Ne Oblique *ña-* is used, showing that -manjar nominalisations are formally Ne (the Oblique form of the prefix is required by the Purposive case).

This purposive form -manjar-i can also be used in complements of *bur* *to want*, hence *bur+ŋa-biliŋanji ña-ɾaŋ-manjar-i* *I like (for) fighting*. See 13.8 for more details.

The only other forms with -manjar are in the Nominative. This, of course, has no suffix following -manjar. Since we have shown that -manjar creates Ne surface nouns, we might expect Ne Nominative prefix *n-*, hence **n-ɾaŋ-manjar* (or even **n-ŋa-ɾaŋ-manjar* since *ŋa*-Insertion P-4 might apply before apical sonorants). However, we have noted that Ne Nominative *n-* is sometimes omitted, and it seems to be always omitted in these Nominative -manjar forms. Hence we get simply *ɾaŋ-manjar* (or reduplication *ɾaŋ-aŋ-manjar*), etc.

Fortunately, there is one textual example (Text 23.9): *ɾaŋ-aŋ-manjar ga-na w-anji* *there used to be a lot of killing*. Here *ɾaŋ-aŋ-manjar* is the syntactic subject of *w-anji* *it sat* (i.e. *it existed*), and *ga-na* is just a focussing element (13.2). Apparently the reason why this construction was used is that it permitted the speaker to avoid specifying the subject and object of *to kill*, thus

emphasising the indefiniteness or generality of the killers and their victims.

However, quite often 3Pl forms are used for indefinite general subjects and/or objects (as in Spanish, etc.). Hence a more common expression would be *raŋ+bulumbur-ganji they used to kill them*.

The participle-like examples I have noted are these: *!ar-!ar-manjar capable of cutting, sharp-bladed* (reduplicated *!ar* to cut up), and *jaw-jaw-manjar capable of piercing, sharp-bladed, sharp-edged, sharp-pointed* (jaw to jab, to pierce). In these examples reduplication is obligatory. Another possible example is *yangar-manja(r) previously, in the old days*, a specialised derivative of *yangar*, which as verb-particle means *to go in front*. The final *r* is optional.

12.3. Nominalisations with -mangiri

A form similar to that with -manjar, but ending instead in -mangiri, is occasionally found in an adverbial sense *to the point of ...ing* with the verb-particle supplying the blank. As we will see (discussion of *warŋgu* in 13.6) there is a more common construction with this meaning, and one which (unlike that with -mangiri) permits the full range of nominal and other intra-clause adjuncts.

The forms with -mangiri are rather specialised, and it is not possible to elicit it with all verb-particles. Indeed, only three or four combinations could be elicited (though a more intensive interrogation of informants might have produced a few more). Those obtained in texts or other spontaneous utterances were *yaŋ-mangiri until daybreak (i.e. all night)* and *ba!a-mangiri until (completely) going around (i.e. all around)*. The latter occurred in this example:

jadba+wu-!a ba!a-mangiri .
cut it (tree)! go around-Nom
Cut it (tree) right around.

There is actually no clear evidence that forms with -mangiri are surface nominals. The only reason for thinking that this might be the case is the apparent parallelism between -manjar and -mangiri.

12.4. Adjectival -min, -yirña

There are two suffixes which form nouns which can be described as adjectival in function (though there is no sharp distinction between nouns and adjectives in this language).

The most important suffix is -min. This is added to a root which without -min can be used as an intransitive verb-particle with Aux

-mindini/-miyi (root: -ma-). It is possible that -min is historically a nominalised form of -ma- and is thus related to the Aux, but this is doubtful synchronically since there are no other examples of a nominalisation in -n.

The roots in question are semantically adjective-like, and include a number of colour roots. For example, from the verb *wag+u-mindini* *it was black* we get the (adjective-like) noun *wag-min black, dark-coloured*.

In a few cases there is a curious reduplicated form CVC-ma-CVC-min, which I generally write as CVCmaCVC-min since the segmentation of the form into four morphemes is doubtful. An example of this is *liwma!iw-min zigzagging, forming a crooked trajectory* from *liw* to *turn, to change direction*.

Further examples of the two types: (n-*ḍuru*) *ba!gad-min bowlegged*, *baḍar-min deep*, *bij-min big-eyed*, *bil-min wide* (verb: *bilin*), *bi!ir-min white, shiny*, *buḍir-min greedy, selfish*, *bulg-min or gulg-min heavy*, *buralg-min white*, *ḍunbur-min straight and thin*, *gad-min skin-and-bones*, *gilwir-min yellow or green* (from *gilwir yellow paint*), *gurgu!-min or wul-min grey-haired*, *giḍḍir ḡi-jigiḍ-min crooked penis!* and *ḡijar ḡi-ḡar-min big vulva!* (swearwords), *ḡir-min pale-coloured*, *ḡuliñ-min red* (from *ḡuliji blood*), *wag-min black*, *yirḡmayirḡ-min loose, slack* (verb: *yirḡ*), *gidmagid-min rough-surfaced* (no verb).

The suffix -yirña is not productive. It is attested in *ḡaḡi-yirña following, later, subsequent* from *ḡaḡi behind*, and in *waḡḡajba-yirña last night; day before yesterday* from *waḡḡajba yesterday*. The latter example might be generally translated *of yesterday*, and is used specifically in two somewhat different senses as the translations show.

In the example *ḡaḡi-yirña* it is fairly clear that -yirña creates an adjective-like noun from an adverb-like noun. This is a possible interpretation also in the other example, though only if *of yesterday* is accepted as the basic meaning.

12.5. Reduplication Nominalisations

A small number of nouns appear to be analysable as the reduplication of a verb-particle. The following examples have been found:

lawlaw (*on the*) *other side* from law *to cross*.

nabaṛnabaṛ *sick* from nabaṛ *to be sick, to die*.

ya-yab *thief, prone to stealing* from yab *to steal*.

gundu-gundug *crooked* from verb gundug.

wa|wa| (waṛwaṛ) *desire, urge* from wa| (waṛ) *to have an urge*
(this transitive verb-particle takes the cognate nominal
wa|wa| as its subject, and the person affected as object).

gurb-gurb *stone edge for cutting or smoothing wood* from
gurb *to cut or smooth with stone edge*.

The decision whether to show the morpheme boundary in the nominal form is a partly arbitrary one based on the linguist's imperfect perception of how closely related the verb-particle is to the nominal form synchronically.

Note that in these few examples a fair variety of derivational nuances are found.

12.6. *having* Constructions

A fairly common nominal derivative, based on a noun N, is of the form Rdp-N-y₁a where the suffix is apparently identical to the nominal Progressive suffix in 4.16. This derivative is translatable as *having* (*much/many*) N, hence giri-giriya-ya *having a woman, married man* from -giriya *woman*.

In some neighbouring languages a *having* construction like this has a wide variety of syntactic (e.g. adverbial) uses, and is sometimes used as a kind of comitative or even instrumental case form in addition to its regular derivational sense. Thus *they went by boat* might turn up as *they went, having a boat*, and so forth. In Mara, however, the Rdp-N-y₁a construction is fundamentally derivational rather than adverbial, and may be semantically specialised as in the example above. The characteristic must normally be a significant property of the referent in question, and in most cases indicates an inherent or permanent quality. Examples: ṇaḍ-aḍi-ña *having (lots of) skin* from -ñaḍin, murji-murji-ya *scorpion* from -murji *hand*, ṛama-ṛama-ña *decorated with (lots of) painted feathers* from ṛaman, ṛala-ṛala-ya (*dog*) *having lots of ticks* from ṛala. Most examples involve bisyllabic stems, and examples with longer stems (cf. giri-giriya-ya above) are uncommon.

One special use of this construction is in forming dyadic kin-term duals and plurals for categories where no suppletive dyadic term is found (5.2). Examples: *ɖaju-ɖaju-ya two siblings (of each other)* from *-ɖaju (-ndaju) younger sibling*.

Another specialised example is *wariwariya across* (formally a noun, which may be a frozen **wari-wari-ya* with the verb-particle *wari* to return).

A nonderivational, syntactically more flexible *having* construction is formed by means of a particle *ɖaginiyi having* followed by an Instrumental noun: *ɖaginiyi ɲa-yuŋal having a spear*. The construction functions as an adverb within the clause, and is usually comitative in sense:

w-anji ga-ya-ra ɖaginiyi ɲa-yuŋal
he sat there having spear (Erg-Inst)
He sat there with a spear.

Nevertheless, this construction is not common (I do not remember any textual examples, for instance) and in the example shown here it would be easy to break the predication up into two, one with the verb to have:

w-anji ga-ya-ra , wu-galuni ɲa-na ɖuŋal
he sat there he had it the spear (Nom)
He sat there, he had a spear.

12.7. -bara relative, countryman

This curious noun stem cannot occur by itself, but must be preceded by a Genitive pronoun in a unique type of compound. Thus to say *my relative* we get *ɲina-bara*. Whereas a Genitive pronoun like *ɲina* is normally a separate word, in this particular construction it is fused with *-bara*, and if there is a nonzero class/case prefix this precedes the Genitive, hence *ɲa-ɲina-bara-yu(r) to my relative*. Any Genitive pronoun can be used (e.g. *-niya-bara-* with 2Sg, *-nurwu-bara-* with 2Pl, *-jawuru-bara-* with 3Sg, etc.).

Although *ɲina-bara* and the other variants are thus usually fused compound-like combinations, I have one example where the two elements are broken up. This is Allative/Locative *wili-ɲina-yu wili-bara-yu to my relatives*, where *ɲina my* behaves as a separable modifying noun and thus agrees with the nuclear noun *-bara-* in both prefixation (Pl Oblique) and suffixation (Allative/Locative).

12.8. Minor Adverbial Formations: -ya, -yi

There are two adverb-like nouns which are derived from adjective-like nouns by adding a suffix -ya or -yi. These are *wirju-ya badly* from *wirju bad*, and *yumar-yi well, properly* from *yumar good*.

It is conceivable that these two suffixes are related to each other in view of the close structural and semantic analogies here. It is possible, but far from certain, that there is some connection between them and Progressive -y₁a (12.6, 4.16).

12.9. Minor Nominal Derivatives: ṇiya-, -yaygi, ṇuN-, -gaña, -ña, -nura

There are a number of minor derivational processes by which one noun is derived from another.

The prefix *ṇiya-* can be preposed to a place name, producing a necronym designating a man who died at that place: *ṇiya-ḷiguldu the one who died at ḷiguldu* (Text 29.3; other examples are in Texts 29.4 and 30.1). Such expressions are in common use since it is considered inelegant to pronounce the name of a dead person (this is particularly strongly tabooed immediately after the death, but there is no definite cut-off point where people suddenly become able to freely pronounce the deceased's name).

The suffix -yaygi added to a place name designates a person from that place (i.e. who owns the place, or who resides regularly there), hence *ṇayirinji-yaygi person from ṇayirinji*. Although this textual example (Text 29.3) refers to a dead person, the form with -yaygi is often used for living persons as well. Cf. the English type New Yorker, Chicagoan, Bostonian, Londoner.

The prefix *ṇuN-* is really part of the languages to the north (Nunggubuyu, Warndarang, etc.). It is a Gentilic prefix, forming names of clans or other socially recognised groups; Nunggubuyu (*ṇuṅ-gubuy*) itself is such a derivative. The main Nunggubuyu group was called *ṇum-buṛindi* (from the place name *wuṛindi*), and the Mara use this as the general term for the Nunggubuyu. Similarly, the Warndarang term for a group of clans along the Roper River was *ṇuṅ-gu-ḷaṇur* (from *wu-ḷaṇur corroboree*, though the usual local English translation of *ṇuṅ-gu-ḷaṇur* was *fish hunters*), and the Mara sometimes use this to refer to those clans. I know of no instances of *ṇuN-* being used for clan names or the like in the Mara-speaking area itself, so *ṇuN-* is at best a marginal derivational device in this language. It is possible

to consider ɲumbuɾindi and ɲunguɭaɲur as unsegmentable units from the Mara point of view.

The Diminutive suffix -gaña (found in one form or another in several languages to the north) is not common in Mara, but does turn up frequently in the combination ɲgiyu-gaña *small* (also just ɲgiyu). There is also a form ɲgiyu-ña, apparently reduced from ɲgiyu-gaña. The form ɲgiyu-ña is fairly common in the sense *child* (i.e. with human reference); ɲgiyu-gaña can also be used in this situation but is also common with nonhuman reference.

Among the words for internal organs of hunted animals are wilawila *gullet, stomach* and waɭgar *dugong's lower intestines*. From these are formed wilawila-nura *small organ near gullet of dugong* and waɭgara-nura *small secondary sac of dugong*. In the latter case the segmentation waɭgar-anura is also possible. The original sense of -nura is unclear.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SYNTAX

13.1. Negation

As indicated in 9.8, verbs are negativised by means of the preverbs *ganagu* (past and present) or *ḡula* (past potential and future, including imperative). The prefix *gu-* is a possible alternative to *ganagu*, and was usual in the speech of one informant (Johnnie).

Predicate nominals like *ḡa-munaḡa* *I am a White man* are negativised by *ganagu* or *gu-*, hence *ganagu ḡa-munaḡa* *I am not a White man*.

Individual nonpredicative constituents can be negativised by *ganagu* or *gu-*, hence *ganagu ḡina-ra* *not me* (e.g. in answering a question like *who went there?*).

Demonstrative pronouns in predicative function are only rarely negativised. The negative of *ḡa-na gaḡiyi-mar ḡaḡa-ya* *the man (gaḡiyi-mar) is there* with MSg demonstrative *ḡaḡa-ya* *that* in predicative function is usually not something like *ganagu ḡaḡa-ya*, though this is possible, but rather a different construction such as *ḡa-na gaḡiyi-mar ganagu w-anjiyi ga-ya* *the man is not sitting (ganagu w-anjiyi) there*, with demonstrative adverb *ga-ya* as a nonpredicative adjunct to the verb *to sit*.

Another important negative element is *maḡuy*. This is essentially an interjection-like particle which (unlike *ganagu* and *ḡula*) may occur by itself. It can be added to an already negative sentence to indicate an emphatic negative nuance, translatable (*not*) *at all* or, in appropriate contexts, *nobody*, *nothing*, *nowhere*. For example, from *ganagu wu-nayi* *he did not see him* we can get *ganagu wu-nayi maḡuy* *he did not see him at all* or *he saw nobody*, etc. A more explicit negative pronoun or adverb like *nobody* or *nowhere* can be indicated in Mara by using the appropriate interrogative-indefinite form in a negative sentence, hence *ḡinjani* *what* or *something* in examples like

ganagu ŋiwi-gandayariyi ŋinjani *we do not spear anything, i.e. we spear nothing* (Text 16.1). Note that ma|uy is missing here.

The form ma|uy is also used to indicate nonexistence. Commonly the noun in question is put in the Purposive inflection (examples in 4.17), though occasionally it is in the Nominative (ma|uy ŋa-na ma|bi *there is no harpoon point* with Nominative ma|bi *harpoon point* in Text 42.1). To get a construction meaning *to have no...* we can simply extend this ma|uy construction by adding a pronominal prefix to ma|uy, indicating the subject: ŋa-jambagu-ni ŋa-ma|uy *I have no tobacco* with 1Sg ŋa- and Purposive -jambagu- *tobacco* (Text 18).

In addition to the common form ma|uy, there is a variant ma|ujaja which seems to be in part interchangeable with ma|uy, though less common and perhaps more restricted syntactically. It is attested chiefly as an emphatic negative particle: *no!* or *nothing!* (here ma|uy can also be used).

13.2. Clause-Internal Focus and Word-Order

Within the major constituents of a clause, the elements may be strictly ordered. This applies, of course, to the morphemes (prefixes, roots, suffixes) within a word. Within a noun-phrase, moreover, an article (4.5) must directly precede the element it modifies (the noun stem, or another nuclear element such as a demonstrative pronoun). If a demonstrative pronoun occurs in the same noun-phrase as a noun stem, the former usually precedes: ŋa-na ŋanga-ya-ra gaŋiyi-mar *that man* (article *the*, then demonstrative *that*, then noun *man*). Adjoined nouns in adjectival function, and Genitive pronouns like ŋirwi *our* (ExPl), may either precede or follow the noun: balwayi gaŋiyi-mar or ŋa-na gaŋiyi-mar balwayi *big man*, ŋa-na mulwari ŋirwi or ŋirwi mulwari *our boomerang*. The article (here ŋa-na) is omitted when the Genitive pronoun precedes the noun, and is often omitted when an adjective-like modifying noun precedes it; the article is usually found (especially in the Nominative) when these elements follow the nuclear noun, as these examples show.

Within the verb-complex, the only elements which are describable as separate words are the negative particles ganagu and ŋula. These must precede the verb (whether the latter contains a verb-particle and an inflected verb, or just an inflected verb), hence ganagu warj+gu-yagayi *he did not pick it up* (verb-particle warj), ŋula warj+gu-yagay *he will not pick it up*. However, occasionally another constituent (usually a noun) is allowed to intervene: ganagu ɖuŋal wu-galuyi *he has no spear*

(*ḡuṇal*), see Text 16.3. In such cases it may be that the negative particle is focussed on the immediately following constituent, here *ḡuṇal spear*, rather than on the verb, but there are only a few examples of this construction.

We must now deal with the problem of how to order the major constituents of the clause - the verb-complex, the various noun-phrases, particles, and so forth - relatively to each other. There is no fixed order for such constituents. The important observation to make in this regard is that clause-initial position is typical for constituents which are focussed.

A fairly common clause-internal focus construction is of the form X *ga-na* S, where X is the focussed constituent and S is the remainder of the clause beginning with the verb. This is only used when X is not the verb-complex; it applies, then, when X is a noun-phrase (using this term broadly to include adverb-like nouns, pronouns, etc.). Examples:

ḡibinibuna ga-na ḡaj+bala-mi
tomorrow they will sit
They will sit down tomorrow.

wirju-ya ga-na wirg+Ø-ana
badly he jumped
He jumped badly.

ḡanga-yi ga-na bal+u-ninuy
he he will write it
He will write it.

wuruja ga-na wurgu-gal-aluni
two he had them
He had two (wives).

These examples are from Texts 8.2, 14.4, 19.1, and 19.2, respectively. Since the particle *ga-na* (related to the Ne article *n-ga-na*) occurs before verbs (e.g. in clause-initial position) in other constructions (13.4), it is best to think of *ga-na* in the above examples as signalling defocussing (subordination) of the verb than as directly signalling focus on the preceding element.

This use of *ga-na* (before a verb) should be distinguished from its use as a sort of article before demonstrative adverbs (7.10), before pronouns (6.9), and for some speakers before Neuter nouns (4.5).

For independent pronouns, there are also other kinds of focussing constructions, especially when a constituent in one clause is

explicitly contrasted with a constituent in a preceding clause (or with some contextually established referent serving as reference point). Independent pronouns in the Nominative case (since these are usually redundant so far as indicating subject and object categories is concerned), and their derivatives with *-(yi)ribana* (6.6), are generally emphatic and contrastive (hence *as for him, he also* and similar translations). Of the four examples of *ga-na* sentences given above, the third shows 3Sg pronoun *ṇanga-yi* *he (i.e. as for him)*; however, the *ga-na* can be omitted since *ṇanga-yi* is already inherently emphatic. Consider these examples:

ṇanga-yi jalug+u-ma
it (MSg) it got cold
It got cold.

ṇanga-yiribana wu-ma
he also he said that
He too said that.

These are from Texts 3.3 and 40.56, respectively. Note that *ga-na* is missing, and that the emphatic pronoun (in one case the form with *-yiribana* suffix) is clause-initial. These are the usual syntactic characteristics of such pronouns.

A Nominative pronoun in contrastive function is sometimes preceded by the particle *ga*. This was especially common in the speech of the informant Johnnie, from whom this example (Text 40.97) is taken:

ga ṇiya-ra , gi-ṇindi ṇi-mbuḷmay , ga ṇina-ra ṇa-mi , ...
as for you (Sg) this way you will do it as for I I will do that
you do it this way, while I will do that (here), ...

Note the sharp contrast between the two pronouns, and that both pronouns are clause-initial. This is usual for this construction as well as those described above.

Although these remarks give us some insight into ordering, it should be noted that clauses are sometimes given in a nuclear form, consisting basically of the verb-complex, with optional adjuncts such as a noun-phrase or an adverb thrown in after a brief pause, as an afterthought or the like. That is, like many other languages in the area, Mara has a slightly 'broken' or fragmented discourse structure which makes it difficult to justify fixed rules of ordering within a clause.

13.3. Types of Subordinated Clause

There are a number of clause-types which can be described as 'subordinated' in some sense to another clause. The clearest cases are nominalisations with *-manjar* (12.2) and *-mangiri* (12.3), where a clause is reduced to a single nonfinite nominalised verb with no nominal adjuncts or pronominal markers thereof. The forms in *-manjar* can function as abstract verbal nouns (*killing*, etc.), or can occur with Purposive suffix (*-manjar-i*) to form a kind of reduced purposive clause. The forms in *-mangiri* are translatable *until (completely) ...ing* with the verb-particle supplying the blank. Neither *-manjar* nor *-mangiri* permits adjuncts from within the same underlying clause, and neither can be added to inflectable verb roots since they can only follow verb-particles. Neither type is common (two textual examples of *-manjar* in verbal noun sense, none of *-mangiri*).

In the present chapter we will concentrate on finite subordinated (including conjoined) clauses. These are marked chiefly by various conjunctive and other particles such as *ga-na*, *bigana*, *nunga*, and *wangu*. The first of these has already been seen in the clause-internal focus construction, but in 13.4 we will see it in its role as a clause-subordinator in multi-clause sequences. The particle *bigana* forms straightforward *because* clauses (13.5). In 13.6 we discuss a number of particles, as well as the adverb *wa-ni-nga-yani* *from there; after that*, which establish sequential and to a lesser extent logical relationships among clauses; some of these resemble purposive clauses semantically.

In 13.7 we deal with conditional constructions, which may involve *ga-na* in a special function. In 13.8 we discuss the complements of *bur to want, to like* (occasionally a nominalisation with *-manjar*, but usually a finite clause). In 13.9 we discuss conjunctions both of clauses and other elements such as NP's; in the case of clause conjunctions, these constructions differ from the sequential constructions in 13.6 since no special sequencing or logical relationship is indicated, although occasionally *ga* in 13.9 may have weak logical significance (e.g. *but*).

In 13.10, the 'wastebasket' section of this chapter, a large number of particles with various kinds of logical and other properties are mentioned and briefly exemplified. It will be pointed out in 13.11 that many nuances which in English and other well-known languages are expressed by explicit hypersentences such as *I think that ...* or *I hope that ...* are expressed in Mara merely by adding an invariable particle to an otherwise ordinary main clause.

13.4. *ga-na* Clauses

The particle *ga-na* is related to Ne Nominative article *n-ga-na* (4.5), dropping the first prefix *n-* in the same way that demonstrative adverbs such as *gi-ñi* *here* are related to Ne Nominative demonstrative pronouns like *n-gi-ña* *this one*. We have seen that *ga-na* is used in the intra-clause focus construction *X ga-na S* (13.2), where the following *S* (which begins with a verb or other predicative word) is subordinated in a manner of speaking to the focussed constituent (e.g. a noun) *X*.

In the present section, however, we are concerned with examples where a clause *ga-na S* is subordinated as a whole to some other clause, or to some constituent in the other clause. Such *ga-na* clauses are very common, but their exact syntactic status is difficult to pin down.

In some examples, the *ga-na* clause is used in a sort of sequential sense *and then* or *so then* where the degree of semantic subordination is very limited. Examples:

nunanjina jaj+ñiwi-jañi ga-na jub+g-aña
long way we chased it it went down
We chased it (turtle) a long way, then it went down (dived).

... guřid+ñiwi-ju ga-na ñiw-aña ...
we flipped it over we went
... we flipped it (turtle) over, and we went....

... yunguđ+gu-yurañi , ga-na mbul-mbul+u-ganji
it smoked it brought him
... the smoke (dust) rose, and attracted him.

These are in Texts 5.1, 38.3, and 39.5 respectively.

There is no well-defined relative clause construction in Mara. However, in some examples *ga-na* is used in a sense which approximates the relative-clause sense, and if it is necessary to translate relatives into Mara it is best to use a *ga-na* clause:

ga-naji ñi-ña , ga-na mun+g-anji
I saw it this it was bending over
I saw this one, which was bending over. (Text 6.3)

The relative-clause translation is not necessary here; we could also translate this as *I saw this one bend over*. Since the *ga-na* clause is postposed to the entire first clause (and is thus not inserted into the middle of the first clause, as a true relative

clause would be in many languages), it is not unambiguously related to a particular NP in the first clause.

Moreover, we sometimes get the relative-clause sense without *ga-na*, as in this example:

ɖud+na-yagay na-na naŋga-ya-ra ɾaŋ+g-añi na-na baba
I will find him the that (Nom) he killed him the father (Nom)
I will find that (man) who killed my father.

Here *na-na naŋga-ya-ra* *that (man)* is Nominative and thus clearly belongs to the clause with *ɖud+na-yagay*, but is modified by the clause *ɾaŋ+g-añi na-na baba*. There is no overt subordination in this clause at all.

For examples of *ga-na* in conditional constructions see 13.7.

13.5. *bigana because*

It is possible that the particle *bigana because* actually contains *ga-na* along with a morpheme *bi-*, but the latter does not occur elsewhere and this segmentation is probably not defensible synchronically.

The particle can sometimes be used with a noun, forming a kind of reduced 'clause'. An example is *bigana munaga law because of White-man law*; this is perhaps a reduction of something like *because White-man law has come* or the like.

The particle can also be used with a complete following clause, which without *bigana* looks exactly like a main clause. In particular, the following clause is definitely not a nominalisation with *-manjar* or *-maŋgir*. Examples:

lu!+a-'-ma , bigana na-na ga-nariña nabaɾ+a-'-ma
he cries because the his father he is sick
He is crying, because his father is sick.

na-jura na-yija-yu , bigana wayar+na-ju!iyi
I will go to game because I am hungry
I will go (hunting) for game, because I am hungry.

There are no special restrictions on the relationship between the verbal tense of the two clauses, nor on the occurrence of an identical NP in the two; the only requirement is that a causal relationship be contextually appropriate.

An example (Text 21.2) with the evitative positive verbal category (see 9.5):

ganagu warj+niwi-ninayi maɭuy, bigana wur+a-'-nja
 not we get it not at all because lest (tide) rise
 nambud+ga-'-yurana
 lest he drown
 We do not ever pick it (sacred rock) up, because (if we did)
 the tide might come up and someone would drown.

Here the evitative is used because the consequence of picking up the rocks would be a calamity which can be avoided by prudent behaviour. The evitative clause is also a 'because' clause since the possibility of such a calamity is what induces the people not to pick up the stones.

13.6. Sequencing: warngu, ɳungga, guda, wa-ni-nga-yani

In this section we deal with some conjunction-like elements which specify temporal sequencing of a clause with respect to the preceding clause. The elements of chief concern to us are warngu *until*, ɳungga *so that*, guda *then*; *that's all* and wa-ni-nga-yani *after that*. All of these are common; they differ in semantic nuances.

The element warngu is identical to a 'preposition' used chiefly with Allative/Locative nouns (in allative sense), and translatable *all the way to*, *right up to* or the like (4.14). Examples where warngu is used at the beginning of a clause (usually with the verb immediately following) are moderately common, with the sense *until* or, more weakly, *then*. The basic nuance of warngu is that its clause is an ultimate consequence of an activity (perhaps a prolonged or intensive one) described in the preceding discourse. Examples:

jiɭ+angu-jinji warngu birib+gu-yi ɳa-na wuɭin
 it rained on me until it filled it the depression
 It rained (on me) until it (rainwater) filled the depressions.
 ... ɳa-na ɖuɳal mijimbaɳu, ga-na wiɭ+ɳa-ganji, galimba
 the spear(s) a lot I tied (spears) up and
 wujula, warngu ɳa-'ɳa
 woomera(s) until I went
 I tied up (made) a lot of spears and woomeras, then I went.

The translation *until* is fairly clear in the first example (Text 11.3), but not in the second (Text 12.2) since in it the clause *I went* is not clearly a consequence of the events of the preceding clause. The first type is more typical. Other examples of warngu are in Texts 13.1, 22.7, 27.1, and 34.1.

The particle *nunga* means basically *so that* and generally indicates that the event described in its clause is made possible by that of the preceding clause. Examples:

wu-wa nunga ya-'-gay nijaŋi-yur

give (it) to him! so that he will bring it to me

Give it to him, so he can bring it to me!

ga-na ga-ya biŋ+g-ay nanga-ya garaja dabaliya

the there he will finish it that on top wood

wu|g+a-'-ganja , nunga ŋduŋ+iri-yura nuwi-ri

he is building it then we will get up (and go) eastward

He will finish building that wooden (fence) there on top,

so then he and I will set off eastward.

These are from Texts 18 and 28.1, respectively; other examples are in Texts 8.3 (a bad example), 29.3, 29.4, 29.5, 30.4, 30.5, 38.2, and 38.5. The examples show that *nunga* is somewhat similar to *warngu*, but lacks the direct causal nuances of *warngu*.

The particle *guda*, literally *that's all, that is finished* is ubiquitous in the texts and is far more common than the translation suggests. When it occurs at the boundary between two clauses (either as the final element in the first, or the initial element in the second), it simply indicates that there is some kind of a break or shift between the two clauses. Very crudely, then, it can be taken as a sort of 'paragraph'-marker in discourse, though in some textual passages it is so common that it can be ignored in translations. The break or shift can either be a real thematic one in the narrative, or it can simply mark a spot where the narrator takes a deep breath and then resumes his narration.

Examples of *guda* can be found on almost every page, so a list of textual examples will not be given here. In Text 42.4, three instances of *guda* can be seen. The first two indicate weak temporal discontinuities in the events described, hence ... , *guda buju+wiri-ji* can be translated *then (i.e. after they were finished spearing fish) they operated the firesticks*. The point is that the firesticks were not operated until the event described in the preceding clause was finished. English would tend to use just *and* or *then*, reserving *after that* to contexts where the temporal sequence itself is emphasised or foregrounded; Mara, on the other hand, uses *guda* constantly even when temporal sequence would seem not to be emphasised. The third example of *guda* in Text 42.4 is at the beginning of a quoted hortative:

yii, guda ɲa-jura miɲi *Yes! Let's go now!* Since there is no preceding clause (within the quotation), here guda (along with miɲi *now*) constitutes a kind of fictive 'break' vis-à-vis a nonexistent or at least indefinite preceding discourse. The hortative clause contains an exhortation to undertake an activity not already in progress; in this sense we can speak of a break, although the activity is not contrasted with any particular preceding activity. Cf. also the quotation guda ɲaw-aɲa *Let's get the hell out of here!* in Text 38.4.

Finally, there is the demonstrative adverb wa-ni-ɲa-yani, literally *from there*. Like corresponding adverbs in many nearby languages (and like *from there* itself in local English creole), this is often used in the temporal sense *after that*. A list of examples of wa-ni-ɲa-yani was given in 7.7; many of these examples are translatable as *after that*, or are ambiguous between *after that* and *from there* (in contexts involving motion as well as temporal sequence).

13.7. Conditionals

Like relative clauses and other clause-types dear to our hearts, conditional clauses are not a well-defined construction type in Mara. That is, there are no logical particles which are specifically characteristic of either the protasis or apodosis of a conditional construction.

Sometimes a clause with ga-na (13.4) can be translated as an *if* clause (protasis). In the following example, the ga-na clause is followed by warɲgu *until* in the apodosis, and a conditional translation is one of the possibilities:

ga-na n-giyu-ɲa ɲa|+a-'-ma mara , warɲgu n-balwayi
FSg-small-Dimin *she speaks Mara (Nom) until* FSg-big

gal+w-aɲa n-mara ɲa|+a-'-ma yet
she grew up Ne-Mara she speaks still

If a girl speaks Mara (while young), then when she has grown up she still speaks Mara.

However, there are other ways to translate this (*A girl who speaks Mara, when she has grown up still speaks Mara; A girl, speaking Mara while young, still speaks Mara after she has grown up; etc.*).

In this example the two most important verbs (both ɲa|+a-'-ma as it happens) are in the present tense. It is also possible to have future-future or present-future sequences, depending on the actual temporal relation of the events described to the *now* of the speech act.

That is, there is no parallel in Mara to the English use of the present tense with future sense in the *if* clause (*If he comes, ...*).

Examples:

ga-na ɲa!+u-may n-mara , warŋgu waɖara+ŋa-gay
 she will speak Ne-Mara until I will understand it
 If she speaks Mara (e.g. tomorrow), I will understand it.

For past tense contrary-to-fact conditions, both verbs are put in the past potential. The sequence *ga-na...*, *warrngu...* is again possible, but not common; instead, we usually get either *ga-na* or no particle in the second clause (apodosis):

ga-na ɲa!+u-miyi n-mara, (ga-na) waɖara+ɲa-'yi
she would speak Ne-Mara I would understand it
If she had spoken Mara. I would have understood it.

I should stress that none of these conditional constructions is particularly common, and none of them is sharply distinguishable from other types of clause-sequencing. The last two examples here were obtained in somewhat artificial elicitation sessions.

13.8. Syntax of *bur to want*

The verb-particle *bur* occurs in a transitive verb-complex with Aux *-biliŋaŋi/-wiliŋayi*, and is translatable *to want* or *to like*. It can take a nominal object, as in *bur+ŋa-biliŋanji n-mama I like food, I want food*.

It was also possible to elicit Mara translations of the English type *I want to go* and so forth, with sentential complement. The Mara complements in this construction are of two types: the verbal noun with -manjar, and a full main-like clause in the future (if bur is present or future) or the past potential (if bur is past). The type with a full clause as complement is more common, but perhaps it should be stressed that neither type of complex construction with bur occurs in the texts.

The type with *-manjar* is attested in this example:

bur+a-'-bilingama ña-ɾaŋ-manjar-i
she likes it for killing
She likes killing (i.e. fighting).

Here the verbal noun -*raŋ-manjar* from *raŋ* to hit, to kill is in the Purposive case, and this looks like a purposive clause (13.3, 12.2). As usual with -*manjar*, no adjuncts from within the same underlying

clause can appear on the surface, so if we wanted to say *she likes killing people* or the like with an overt object we could not use this construction.

It is best to take the 3Sg object (*it*) in *bur+a-'-bilingama she likes it* as cross-referencing the noun (i.e. the clause) *ña-ṛaṇ-manjar-i*. Although it is unusual for a Purposive noun to be treated as the object-marker in the verb-complex, there are some parallels to this (4.17). At any rate, the object in the verb-complex with *bur* is always 3Sg in this type.

In the other type, with a complete clause as complement, the object-marker in the verb-complex with *bur* may cross-reference one of the NP's in the complement clause. There are three possibilities, hierarchically ranked so that possibility (b) is used only if possibility (a) is impossible, and (c) is resorted to if both (a) and (b) are impossible. The possibilities are:

- a) the subject, if not coreferential to the subject of *bur*;
- b) the object;
- c) 3Sg (representing the clause as a whole).

Thus for an intransitive complement clause, the subject is cross-referenced (as object-marker) in the main clause with *bur* provided it is not coreferential with the subject of *bur*. In other words, in *I want you to go* the main clause becomes *I-want-you*, but in *I want (myself) to go* possibility (a) is not possible. This results in avoiding the reflexive verb-complex *I-want-Reflexive* in the main clause. Since possibility (b) is obviously inapplicable for an intransitive clause, in the type *I want (myself) to go* we end up with possibility (c), hence the main clause becomes *I-want-it*. Examples:

bur+ṇa-bilinganji ṇa-jura
I want it I will go
I want to go.

bur+inggu-bilinganji ṇi-jura
I want you (Sg) you (Sg) will go
I want you to go.

If the complement clause is transitive, the first two possibilities are applicable. If the subjects of the main and complement clauses are distinct, the subject of the latter is cross-referenced as object-marker in the main clause:

bur+ingu-biliŋanji ɾag+ɲulɣ-ay
I want you (Sg) you (Sg) will kill them
I want you to kill them.

However, if the two subjects are coreferential, (a) is passed over and we get possibility (b):

bur+ingu-biliŋanji ɾag+ɲing-ay
I want you (Sg) I will kill you (Sg)
I want to kill you.

In the negative, both the main and complement clauses take their usual negations:

ganagu bur+ingu-biliŋayi ɲula gaɾ+i-mi
not I want you not you will dance
I do not want you to dance.

It should be mentioned that, except for the type with -manjar, it is very doubtful whether these complements should be taken as subordinated at all. There is no formal mark of subordination (not even a particle), and the only feature suggestive of transformational interaction is the pattern of object-marker cross-referencing in the main clause. Even here, however, one could argue in virtually every case that this cross-referencing is semantically natural and does not require transformational intervention. If we think of *I want to kill him* as *I want him, I will kill him* we can see that very little semantic bending is needed to consider the two clauses as formally independent.

The infrequency of all of these complex constructions with *bur* is due to the fact that there are other competing constructions. We may mention the various types with particle *ɲariwa* *hopefully* and the desiderative or other forms of the verb. Moreover, we should also mention that frequent use is made of direct quotative constructions, hence this example:

'ɲa-jura ga-ya-ra-ñindi', wu-ma
I will go that way he did that
'I will go that way', he thought/said.

Here we see the semantically flexible verb -mindini/-miyi *to do that*, here in the sense *to say...* or *to think....* Such quotative expressions are the usual way of expressing *he wanted to go* or *he decided to go*.

13.9. Conjunction: *galimba*, *ḡaba*, *ga*

In this section we deal with conjunction, both of simple constituents such as NP's and of clauses.

The two most important conjunctive particles are *galimba* and *ḡaba* also. The simplest conjunction is the type X *galimba* Y where X and Y are syntactically parallel constituents. Textual examples, chiefly involving NP's, are these: Texts 4.2, 12.2, 22.2, 29.1, 32.2, 41.25, and 42.10 (among many others). For example, in Text 22.2 we find *winir galimba rawuḡawu limestone and sandhill*.

Sometimes we get a sequence X, *galimba* Y with a pause (comma) after the first constituent, so that the expression *galimba* Y looks somewhat like an afterthought. An example is in Text 4.2. However, this afterthought function is more typical of the other particle *ḡaba*. Examples of this with nouns and similar constituents are in Texts 14.3, 21.2, 27.1, 29.2, 32.1, and 42.1 (among others).

Neither *galimba* nor *ḡaba* is very common as a clause conjunction. However, both do occur in this function from time to time in the texts. Examples with *galimba* are Texts 19.1 (twice), and 33.1, with *ḡaba* Text 23.6. In some of these examples my impression in listening to the tapes was that *galimba* in particular was used in these clause-introducing functions chiefly as a 'filler' while the speaker pondered how to phrase the coming clause.

Conjunctions of the type *my father and I* where one of the conjoined elements is a first or second person pronoun are usually handled in another fashion. This particular example would usually show up, in isolation, as *my-father, we* (ExDu) where no explicit conjunctive particle is used and where the pronoun used covers both constituents. In sentential contexts, there would usually be no special independent pronoun so the only indication of conjunction would be the discrepancy between the noun and the pronominal category of the subject- or object-marker in the verb; English *My father and I went* would appear as *my-father we-went* (ExDu). Example:

ḡa-na ḡaḡiyi-mar ḡiri-ḡini
the man (Nom) we (ExDu) went
The man and I went.

For a textual example of this see Text 38.1.

A third particle, *ga*, is more difficult to pin down semantically than either *galimba* or *ḡaba*. It was quite common in texts obtained from the informant Johnnie, but was fairly uncommon in those obtained from Mack Riley and absent from those of Anday.

When used before pronouns, it usually has a contrastive nuance, and may be used in paired clauses, hence before both pronouns in *you go that way, I'll go this way*. Such constructions have independent pronouns for emphasis even when the verb already has cross-referencing pronominals. Examples:

Texts 26.1, 40.97 (twice), 41.13, 41.21, 42.1 (twice), 42.3 (twice), and 42.11. Note that except for the first of these, the examples are from the three long texts by Johnnie (40, 41, 42). For Anday and Mack Riley the same contrastive pronominal construction usually involved a simple pronoun without *ga*.

The other textual examples generally involve *ga* as a kind of clause-introducer; it does not seem to be regularly used in conjunctions of the type *x and y* where the two elements conjoined are constituents such as NP's. In the examples from Mack Riley's texts, *ga* in this position may indicate a slight shift in subject matter, or a slightly unexpected event, and the translation is *then* or *but* or perhaps *but then* depending on the context: Texts 23.12, 25.5, 31.1, 35.1, 39.2, 39.4. The first two involve the combination *ga mini* (*but then* with *mini* (*just then, just now*, indicating temporal immediacy to the reference time). The middle two examples are clearly adversative (hence *but* is the best translation). The final pair of examples are more difficult but a translation *and then* or *also* seems possible in context.

In examples from Johnnie's texts, this nuance of adversativity or thematic shift is usually not apparent when *ga* is found as a clause-introducer. It usually seems to be translatable simply as *and then* or the like: Texts 41.20, 41.26, 41.27, 42.17, 40.4, 40.68, 41.20, 41.26, 41.27, 42.17.

13.10. Some Particles: *baḍa*, *bugi*, *galṇi*, *jalji*, *jungu*, *maḷana*, *manduṛa*, *mani*, *mini*, *ṇalaṇi*, *ṇaliga*, *ṇariwa*, *wariya*, *wumaṇi*, *wuningi*

In this 'wastebasket' section of the syntax chapter we deal briefly with a variety of particles exhibiting various modal and logical characteristics. Much of Mara 'logic' consists in the appropriate manipulation of these particles, along with the others mentioned in preceding sections of this chapter.

The element *baḍa* is rather straightforward; it means *later*. That is, it indicates a substantial temporal break between a particular reference time (normally the temporal location of the preceding

clause, or else the *now* of the speech act) and the event or state described in the clause containing *baḍa*. Among many textual examples we may mention Texts 5.5 (twice) and 9.3. Cf. also the discussion of *galŋi*, below.

The element *bugi* is postposed to the modified word (often a noun, occasionally a verb). When added to *gi-ngara here* or *ga-ya-ra there* we get *gi-ngari bugi right here* and *ga-ya-ri bugi right there*. Note that the final *a* of the adverb changes to *i*. The form *ga-ya-ri* in *ga-ya-ri bugi* is distinct from *gayari long time*.

In other combinations, *bugi* means *still*, *only* or the like. It is related, etymologically and in its semantic range, to postpositions, and suffixes of the form *bugi*, *-wugij*, etc. in languages to the north. It is often used after *wangij one*, and this combination is so common that it is best not to translate *bugi* here in some instances (however, *wangij* can occur without *bugi*). An example of *wangij bugi* is in Text 1. An example of the sense *still*, *continuously* is in Text 40.34:

ŋa-jura bugi gudagaya
we will go still constantly
We will still keep going continuously

Cf. also Text 40.89.

The particle *galŋi* (also found in Warndarang) can be crudely translated as *later*, but is somewhat different from *baḍa* (cf. above). The particle *galŋi* is most often used with an adverbial element (often a noun morphologically) such as *yawuryawur afternoon* and specifies that the reference is to a future point in time. Hence, whereas *yawuryawur* by itself might be interpreted as (*yesterday*) *afternoon* or the like, referring to a past-tense point earlier in the day or in some previous day, the expression *galŋi yawuryawur* can only mean *tomorrow afternoon*, *this afternoon* (said during the morning), or the like with future reference. Occasionally *galŋi* is used by itself, simply meaning *later* (Text 5.1), but this is more typical of *baḍa*. Examples of *galŋi* with another constituent (sometimes *baḍa* itself) are in Texts 3.3, 5.5, 7.6, 8.5, and 9.2 (three examples). The combination *galŋi ŋibunibuna* (or *ŋibinibuna*) *tomorrow* is, of course, quite common; by itself *ŋibunibuna* often has this same meaning but in some contexts can also mean *the following day* with reference to some past-tense point and can thus itself refer to a point in the past.

Most often, *galŋi* directly precedes the adverbial element, though this ordering is not rigorous. When *galŋi* does occupy this position,

an article cannot be used before the adverbial element even when this is formally a noun and thus can elsewhere take an article.

All of the textual examples of *galŋi* come from texts spoken by Anday. It is particularly notable that *galŋi* is not used in Text 19, spoken by Tom Riley, though it contains examples of *ŋibuŋibuna tomorrow* and could easily have included instances of *galŋi* if this particle was in common use for this speaker.

There are insufficient examples of *jalji* to enable me to fully specify its semantic range, but it is basically translatable as *first* (i.e. before something else) as in *I did that first* (before doing the other thing). Example: Text 6.8.

The particle *juŋgu* means *all right*. It indicates essentially that some event or situation which might be thought to be troublesome or unsatisfactory is actually perfectly felicitous. Examples: Texts 35.1 and 35.3 (twice). As an interrogative, *juŋgu all right?* is a request for approval or permission:

gi-ña ɖaj+ŋa-mi , juŋgu
here I will sit down all right?
I will sit down here, all right?

It can also be used with imperatives; in this case, the 'command' is little more than a suggestion and the addressee's acquiescence is requested:

gi-ña ɖaj+gu-mi , juŋgu
here sit down! (Sg) all right?
Why don't you sit down here? (as polite imperative)

The particle *maɭana*, which is not common, indicates the sense of capability; thus, when added to *wili-nay they will see it* we get *maɭana wili-nay they will be able to see it* (Text 26.1). This appears to be the only example in the textual corpus.

The particle *manduɖa* is common, and is translatable *thinking that* It does not specify who is doing the thinking, and in appropriate contexts this can be the speaker, so that the translation is *I think that* In the context of a narrative, though, it usually involves some other referent as the source of the thought. Examples: Texts 37.2-4, 39.2, and 41.15. These examples generally involve mistaken belief, though in other contexts (e.g. with present or future tense) the belief need not be mistaken though it must be uncertain or unverified.

The particle *mani* means *like, similar to* It is often used with a noun, as in *mani gumbu like piss* (Text 33.2), giving the speaker's appraisal of Australian beer). The usual expression for *five* is *mani n-murji like hand* (4.22). However, *mani* can also be used with a clause, in the sense *likewise* or *just as*. An example is in Text 28.3, where the combination of *mani* and *niri-manji* *we are doing that* is best translated idiomatically as *we are doing the same; we are doing likewise*.

The important and frequent particle *mini* can be crudely translated as *now*, but has a broad range of application. It essentially indicates the temporal immediacy of the event in its clause to that of another (usually preceding) clause. If there is no preceding clause suitable for use as reference point, the reference point is the *now* of the speech act.

For example, with a past tense verb like *ɖaj+gu-ma* *he sat down* we get *mini ɖaj+gu-ma he sat down then* (with reference to an immediately preceding past-tense moment), or *he has just sat down* (with the present as reference point). With a future verb it indicates imminence: *mini ɖaj+gu-mi he will sit down now*. An example with present tense: *mini ɖaj+ga-'-ma he is sitting down now*.

There are many examples of *mini* in the texts; we may mention here Texts 11.2, 25.5, and 42.4.

The particle *ɲalañi* means *almost, nearly*. It is not used, to my knowledge, with quantifiers (e.g. *almost five*), rather it is used to indicate the near-realisation of an event. Examples:

ɲalañi ɲabaɾ+u-ma
nearly he died
He nearly died.

ɲalañi ɲabaɾ+u-miyi
almost he would die
He was just about to die.

The first example is straightforward. The second involves a past potential verb (9.6), in this case indicating something which was (actually or apparently) on the verge of happening. In this example there is no positive or negative presupposition concerning whether the dying did in fact take place shortly thereafter; in the first example, on the other hand, the presupposition is that it did not.

Examples of *ɲalañi* are not common in my data and I can find no textual examples.

The particle *naliga* is used to urge or encourage the addressee. With an imperative, it can be translated *go on!* or *try it!* For example, *naliga nad+gu-!a* means *Go on! Run!* It is also common with lInDu or lInPl future verbs in exhortative sense: *naliga nan+a-jura* *Come on! Let's run!* An example: Text 42.7.

The particle *nariwa* is usually translatable as *hopefully*, and in my data always indicates the speaker's (as opposed to someone else's) hopes, so that a translation *I hope that ...* is also appropriate. It occurs, in the positive, with the desiderative form of the verb: *nariwa wu-!indi* *hopefully he will go*. In the negative it takes the ordinary future negative verb-form: *nariwa nula wu-yura* *hopefully he will not go*.

I have found one example in my notes of *nariwa* with a past potential positive verb, in the sense *I wish that ...* referring to an unactualised past-tense event. This example is: *nariwa naja+nangu-wiliqayi* *I wish you had asked me* from the form *naja+nangu-wiliqayi* *you should have/would have asked me*. I can find no examples of *nariwa* in the texts.

The particle *wariya* is usually translated as *anyway* in local English creole. The nuance here is not, however, *despite that* (as in *I told him to shut up, but he kept talking anyway*). Rather, the nuance of *wariya* is to indicate that the activity in the clause is generalised, rather than being restricted to a narrow sphere. Thus in Text 35.2 we find this:

that'll do nal+na-janani wariya
merely I tell him anyway
I just talk generally to him.

The context for this is set by the preceding passage, where the speaker points out that he has not spoken to the linguist about secret ritual matters. In the sentence quoted here, he goes on to indicate that he speaks to the linguist about *general* matters, rather than specifically about ritual (indeed, the implication in this particular context was that he did *not* discuss rituals).

Other contexts in which *wariya* occurs are of a similar sort. The speaker might indicate that formerly, after killing a dugong, the sections of meat and guts were distributed in a specific fashion along kinship lines, but that now the sections are distributed *wariya* (i.e. without restrictions, to anyone who comes along). The point is again that a restricted range of activity is broadened or generalised.

As a modifying element with a noun, *wariya* can mean *sort of* (implying *not, strictly speaking*). Hence *wariya ɲiriɟa sort of my brother* (i.e. a classificatory or half-brother). As an interjection, *wariya!* means *poor fellow!* and is a general expression of pity.

The particle *wumaɲi* is translated *never mind* in local creole, but is usually embedded in a clause and is thus most often best translated *although, despite the fact that* A good example is in Text 32.2. Note that Mara distinguishes *wariya* from *wumaɲi*, whereas in some languages (e.g. Nunggubuyu) a single particle (Nunggubuyu *arbidi*) is used in both senses.

The particle *wuningi* is rather difficult to pin down semantically, although there is no shortage of textual examples. The usual sense in the texts is *farther along, furthermore, in addition*, and examples of this can be found in Texts 23.3, 25.2, 25.3, and 36.3. The example in Text 39.2 is unclear to me semantically.

In other elicited utterances, *wuningi* was common in evitative forms. An example:

ɲa-nangu-wa , wuningi ɾag+ɲing-anjiyi
give to me! further lest I hit you
Give it to me, otherwise I'll hit you!

This usage is not entirely surprising, since in local creole *baymbay* (from English *by-and-by*) is used in this evitative sense and also in the sense *later* which is close to the sense *farther along* for *wuningi*.

13.11. Mara Equivalents of English 'Higher' Sentences

English has many complex constructions with higher predicates, involving various types of metapragmatic, performative, and other verbs like *to want, to think, to request*, etc. Mara often uses a single clause (perhaps with a logical particle) instead of such complex constructions, or else uses a direct quotation. In this section we will briefly review Mara equivalents to some of the more important English higher predicates.

Mara has no indirect quotations, but makes frequent use of direct quotations. In narratives, quotations are often set off by beginning them with an interjection like *garay! hey!* They are more explicitly marked as quotations by preposing or postposing a form of the verbs *-mindini to say* or *-jaɲi to tell, to say to*. Many examples occur in the texts (e.g. Texts 40 through 42).

Consequently, both *I told him that I would go* and *I told him 'I will go'* in English turn up in Mara as the direct quotation type *I told him*

'I will go' (ŋa-yi, 'ŋa-jura'). Moreover, whereas English has a strong tendency to characterise reported speech by using metapragmatic verbs like *to request (that)* and *to order (to)*, Mara does not commonly use such verbs with accompanying quotative complements. Thus English *I requested that he give it to me* is usually expressed in Mara by the simple construction *I told him, 'Give it to me, all right?'* (ŋa-yi, 'ŋa-nangu-wa, junggu'). In other words, whereas English reported speech relies heavily on the higher predicate to convey the pragmatic force of the original utterance, Mara prefers to exactly reproduce the utterance and allows it to convey its own pragmatic force.

Mara does have a few metapragmatic verbs, including ŋaja and ŋi! *to request of (someone)* and wala *to inquire of (someone)*, but these are normally not used with quotative adjuncts; rather, they are used in truncated reports as in *I requested sugar from him* or *I asked him about rituals* (cf. wala in Texts 19.2 and 35.1). Since the direct quotations which are more common in reported speech are themselves overtly categorised as requests, commands, inquiries, or statements it is not necessary to add accompanying metapragmatic verbs to them.

There is no regular metapragmatic verb meaning *to command* or the like, indicating imperative force. Consequently, reported imperatives are usually direct quotations with -mindini or -jañi, with quoted imperative like ɖaj+gu-mi *sit down!* There are no productive truncated versions like *I ordered him to sit*. However, this can be at least approximated by using verbs like waray and warwaj *to compel* (warwaj also has other meanings), or ji! in the sense *to show, to indicate*. None of these specifically reports a speech act as such; they can also report nonverbal or partly verbal interactions.

Mental quotations (e.g. *I think he is coming*) can be expressed by using a single clause (*he is coming*) along with the particle mandura *thinking* (mentioned in the preceding section), at least in many contexts. The thinker here may be the speaker, or (in appropriate contexts) some other referent; in the latter case it may be implied that the thought was in error.

Sometimes, however, the usual direct quotative construction is used for mental quotations, with or without -mindini. An example without -mindini is at the beginning of Text 7.6, where in the midst of a past-tense narrative about the speaker's hunting adventures we suddenly find a future sentence *tomorrow I will go down (to the sea, to hunt dugong)* which obviously reproduces the speaker's thoughts at the time.

English *I hope that ...* is usually expressed by a clause with the particle *ɲariwa hopefully* (preceding section) and a verb-form in the desiderative category. If the hoping is not on the part of the speaker and is not localised in the *now* of the speech act, it is always possible to fudge this by using a *ɲariwa* clause as a direct quotation (perhaps with another person as the thinker).

English *I want to go* and *I want you to go* and so forth can be expressed by a construction involving the verb *bur* (13.8). However, in some contexts the *ɲariwa* construction just mentioned might be used since it is not sharply distinguishable semantically from the *bur* construction (which is not very common). Moreover, one can use a quotation, e.g. '*I will go*', *he said* to translate *he wanted to go* (though in many cases the translation *he decided to go* is more appropriate).

These remarks do not provide an exhaustive account of how to translate English complex structures into Mara, but they will hopefully provide some insight into the general patterns in question.

MARA TEXTS

Introduction

The texts presented here include the entire textual corpus which I obtained, except that two short versions of myths are omitted (longer versions of the same myths were obtained from the same informants and are presented here). All texts were obtained in private sessions involving myself, the speaker, and the tape recorder.

Texts 1 to 14 were obtained in a single session with the man Anday. These are mostly short texts dealing with traditional subsistence activities and the like. In the first two texts or so, the speaker spoke slowly and used very simple phrases; later he began to speak more freely and the grammar and vocabulary were elaborated somewhat.

Texts 15 through 39 are, with one exception, the speech of my principal informant Mack Riley. The first three are rather simple and repetitive comments on the abandoning of spears by the Mara and their retention among some neighbouring peoples. Text 18 is an actual message to his brother Tom Riley which I took with me to Ngukurr and played for Tom; he then replied (Text 19) and I took this back to Mack. Texts 20 through 25 are mid-sized myth narratives. Texts 26 and 27 are descriptions of hunting techniques. Text 28 describes plans to return to ancestral land near the mouth of the Limmen Bight River. Texts 29 and 30 describe incidents of warfare among Aborigines; the former text deals with an incident mentioned in passing at the beginning of the long text in Heath (1980a).

Of the remaining texts by this speaker, 34 and 39 are myths. Texts 31 and 36 describe traditional social activities (burials, wife-bestowals). Texts 32 and 33 are short comments on modern life, while 37 and 38 are amusing anecdotes.

The final three texts, 40 through 42, are by the speaker Johnnie. These are long myth texts.

Of the major cult totem myths which underlie the songs of the *maṇḍiwa* (circumcision) and *lurgun* (mortuary) rituals, the present collection includes olive python (*mambali* semimoiety, Text 40) and black-headed python (*buḍal* semimoiety, Text 34). A second *mambali* cult totem, catfish (*ṇuru*), as well as the principal *murugun* totem, king brown snake, are the subjects of long myths recorded in the Nunggubuyu language by Johnnie and published in Heath 1980b. The cult totem of the *guyal* semimoiety, goanna (*waḍabir*), is mentioned in Text 40 here, but a more complete version in the Warndarang language appears in Capell 1960.

The myths underlying the secret *gunabibi* ritual are partly dealt with here (Texts 22, 23, 41). The texts themselves are not secret.

The texts are presented with interlinear glosses just under the Mara text. For transitive pronominal prefixes glosses like '3Sg/3Sg' with slashes are used instead of 3Sg + 3Sg (i.e. 3Sg subject and 3Sg object). Morpheme breaks within pronominal prefixes (e.g. 3Sg + 1Sg *ṇa-n-gu-*) are not shown (hence *ṇangu-*); inflected verbs are written without hyphens between the root and inflectional suffixes (hence *-mi-na-ni saw* is written *-minani*).

Since verb-particles often have different meanings in combination with different Aux's, it would be desirable to specify in the interlinear glosses just how the Aux contributes to the meaning. However, this is impracticable and what I have done has been to assign the entire semantic load to the verb-particle, translating the Aux simply as *does*, *did* etc. depending on its tense. Hence *wari+ṇa-ḷini* *I went back* has interlinear gloss *go back+1Sg-did*, whereas in reality *wari* means basically *back* and the sense *to go* (rather than *to take*, *to send* etc.) is specified by the Aux *-ḷini* (which as main verb means *went*).

In most cases the interlinear has hyphens corresponding to those in the Mara text; the + boundary is likewise indicated in the interlinear, as the example just mentioned shows. In cases where it is not practicable to gloss each morpheme there may be a word-level interlinear gloss, hence *wanga-yana* is glossed *from the east*, where the gloss is meant to cover the entire Mara words. This practice is followed chiefly with demonstrative and cardinal-direction adverbs since it seems unnecessary to provide minute morphological glosses for such high-frequency words (which are, moreover, carefully analysed in the grammar).

The glosses given in the interlinear are often oversimplified; for more details readers can consult the relevant dictionary entries or

(for grammatical information) the relevant chapters in the grammar. It may be wise for readers to refer especially to sections 13.2, 13.4, and 13.10 in the syntax chapter.

Notes on the Myth Texts

1. gunabibi myths (Texts 23, 41)

The gunabibi ritual, which now extends along most of the western Gulf country from Yirrkala to at least Borrooloola (and inland to Bamyili), is based on myths involving groups of human-like dreamtime beings referred to as ngilyiringilyiri. There are a number of distinct myth traditions in the area, each involving the travels of one group of these beings.

Text 23 here documents a major tradition, apparently involving ngilyiringilyiri of the mambali semimoiety, apparently all female, who came from around Mornington Island to the west, travelling east through Yanyula and Mara country. Whirlwind, another dreamtime being, is represented as 'brother' of these female dreamings. He travelled roughly parallel to the ngilyiringilyiri, usually avoiding them. Whirlwind usually remained inland a ways, while the ngilyiringilyiri generally stayed on the coastline. At the place nulumbili, Whirlwind heard the ngilyiringilyiri, and apparently committed incest with some of them at what is now a secret ceremonial ground. This episode is not mentioned in the text because the details are secret. It is apparent, though, that this is the principal myth in the area associated with incest-prohibition and brother-sister avoidance practices.

The important places where Whirlwind stopped (most of which are mentioned in the text) are: buruluwara, milibungura (where it created some ghost gums, mawar, which are now sacred at that place), wunda!a, quwangila, !anga!anga, walijinda, nulumbili, di!iwara, walala, walawañiwunja, wiriwuma!, wamunguwari (place where it crossed the Limmen Bight River), waruguyibgañi (where it hid some nulla nullas, warugu; the place name is analysable as warugu yib+g-añi *it hid nulla nulla*), yiwanjiwari (water springs), yumburñuga (a hill), miñmiñiji (springs near Roper Valley station), Red Lily, guyangan (near Elsey station), Maranboi, and finally through the interior north to Darwin and out to sea.

As far as this group of ngilyiringilyiri are concerned, they came from buruluwara (rock in sea) as did Whirlwind. When Whirlwind went to milibungura, the ngilyiringilyiri went onto the mainland at qarabunala. They made a sandhill at anda!amañda!a, went along a river

to ḡulumbili (where incest was committed), then west to wundaḷa, then ḡawala (where the Wilangarra language is said to have been spoken), ḡaranjunu (small creek and rock waterhole), then after putting on some white clay paint on to biḷingara, through the McArthur River area, yawuyawu, then south to gaḷabiriḡani near Anthony's Lagoon police station in the Barkly Tablelands. This is where they stopped.

The travels of Whirlwind and the ḡiḷyiringiḷyiri were only two of several long mythical tracks involving dreamtime beings. Whirlwind met some of the other beings along the way (Taipan, Kangaroo) as mentioned in the text, as well as a group of bandicoots (which, to my knowledge, are not of mythical significance by themselves).

A separate ḡunabibi myth tradition, also of the mambali semimolety, is the subject of Text 41. Two separate groups of ḡiḷyiringiḷyiri (of mixed sexes) set off from around the mouth of the Roper River, one from ḡayirinjī and the other from maḡumaḡu. As is common in the great creation myths of the area, much of the text deals with the creator beings (the ḡiḷyiringiḷyiri) observing, naming, and composing songs for various flora and fauna species (and, by implication perhaps, creating them). The songs and dances of the ḡunabibi ritual deal largely with the particular species mentioned.

The myth then describes the point where the two groups came into contact with each other, and revealed their identities to each other. Then there is a description of an important episode where two boys in the ḡiḷyiringiḷyiri group who had been killing flying foxes went to retrieve the boomerangs they had thrown. Not realising that the boomerangs (which were embedded in the earth) had jabbed into the back of a huge subterranean snake, they tried to pull them out. The snake, aroused, emerged and devoured them.

The ḡiḷyiringiḷyiri continued on, passing through several places including the important ceremonial centre ḡabiḡiwiḡi. They were heading for the place walbundu. They met Whirlwind (walulu) briefly and explained this to him; they also established their social identification with him by pointing out that they, like him, were mambali.

At walbundu an old man among the ḡiḷyiringiḷyiri named ḡamunjulali improperly drank up all the water from the billabong. The others conspired against him, then finally stabbed him with yamsticks. The water poured out of the punctures and the billabong was refilled. This is where this ḡunabibi tradition stops.

The jargun singing was recorded from the same narrator (Johnnie) who told me Text 41 alludes to the episodes in this text. (jargun is nonsecret singing for a dance performed by women and associated with the secret ḡunabibi.)

The term *ngilyiringilyiri* is often translated as *mermaids* in the texts, since some informants (notably Mack Riley, the narrator of Text 23) associated them with our category of mermaids (half human, half fish). However, this may well be a recent association and it seems that the *ngilyiringilyiri* were not originally associated with animal characteristics the way most other dreamtime beings were.

2. Dugong, Euro, Kangaroo, Jabiru (Text 20)

In Text 20 we find an unfortunately highly truncated account of several important dreaming tracks; more information was obtained in a follow-up interview from the narrator (Mack Riley) and is presented herewith.

The Dugong dreaming is relatively insignificant. It came from the country of the Nunggubuyu-speaking *murunun* clan around Cape Barrow, and hence belongs to the *murunun* semimoiety. It went to *ama|ayiña*, then along the coast southward to the place *wunubaryi*, where it stopped.

By contrast, Euro (*Macropus robustus*) - a brownish hill kangaroo - is a major dreamtime being of the *murunun* semimoiety with an extremely long track through much of the Northern Territory. It is said to have come from Djingili-speaking areas in the western Barkly Tablelands (e.g. around Elliott between Katherine and Tennant Creek). It went to *gulambirin*, *ṛulangila*, *walala* (where it met Whirlwind), *ñanulumulu* (water springs), and *yinji* (ridges). It passed by Eaglehawk (*ḍiwanguwangu*), which we deal with later. Then at the place *ḡuruwalji* it (Euro) created two large hills by jumping. It went on to *ñanuliji* (from *ña-ḡuliji at the blood*). Then at *wunubaryi* it met the two Dugong Hunters (cf. below) and Dugong. It went inland going north or north-west, along the river called *wayuruyurijara* (where it established a ritual). It went along the coast to a secret *ḡunabibi* ritual ground near *ḡamawungu* on the Roper River. It then went to *ḡamajamaja* (in Warndarang-speaking country), then continued past Roper Valley station and on to the west (details became vague at this point).

One incident involving Euro should also be mentioned. At *ñanulumulu* Euro pawed the ground inadvertently disturbing King Brown Snake (*bandiyan*). The snake splashed some water on Euro. When Euro continued to paw the ground, the snake emerged from underground and grabbed Euro to see who it was. Apparently no real damage was done. Note the recurrence of the subterranean snake theme.

Incidentally, King Brown is also an important dreamtime creature for the *murunun* semimoiety, and is the subject of some of their ritual songs. A substantial myth text was obtained in the Nunggubuyu language and is published in Heath 1980b.

The other large kangaroo in the area, the antelopine kangaroo (*Macropus antelopinus*), is an important dreamtime being of the buḍal semimoiety, and is the principal subject of the ḷurgun (mortuary) songs and rituals of that semimoiety. It started to the west at Buffalo Well (in Alawa-speaking country). It went to margarañi, then 'Daly Waters' (apparently a place on the Limmen Bight River, not the better-known place of the same name north of Newcastle Waters), ḷeguldu, then eastward to waḷibinji, eastward again to wurumaḷa (where it ate water lilies, yaḷbun), then east to wurṇumbaṇaraṇaḷṇaḷwariyiḷana (wur-ṇumbaṇara ṇaḷ-ṇaḷ+wari-yi-ḷana *the two brothers-in-law spoke to each other*) where it jumped over the oncoming Whirlwind (and is represented there now by a big antmound). Then it went to waḷanjiwur, then a spring (name forgotten) near wamungu (Marie Lagoon), then along the river to njagulwawuḷu (possibly mistranscription of n-jaguḷ wa-'wuḷu *testicles sit*, but if so I am unaware of the significance of this reference). It went further inland, looking for goanna lizards, to waḷgi, then went to wulugulara, then two islands called ḷiñbunji, and then along a river to ṇamarmar (a point or peninsula). It went into the water and at that point first heard the snake Taipan (garimaḷa, cf. below).

At the place wuriyaḷangiri (where Kangaroo met Taipan after the former had passed the place ṇamiliryu), Taipan (an old woman) and her unmarried daughter were living inside an enclosure which kept the water inside. Both mother and daughter were of the mambali semimoiety (it is now not possible for a woman and her daughter to be of the same semimoiety); the father is not known. The mother Taipan was in the 'wife's mother' relationship to Kangaroo, so the latter demanded the young Taipan as his wife. However, mother Taipan refused this (legitimate) request, whereupon Kangaroo became angry and smashed the enclosure. This let the water out, creating the river. Kangaroo then went on (without the young Taipan).

The next places it visited were ṇawimar (related to wimar *frigate bird*) and ṇambirmuryu (a small rock jutting out of water). It next went to yundi (a water well), then further inland it planted some woomeras, and put down some grubs. In the text the narrator comments that the sacred objects representing the woomeras have not been properly maintained by their Aboriginal custodians.

Next Kangaroo went into a river, and east to janguyaḷa (sandy ground along the river). It then went to ruwuḷi, which happens to be where the historical incident (Alawas killing two old Mara men) recounted in Text 30 took place.

After this Kangaroo went to wuniyari, then along the river to garinji (cf. garinji *jabiru*) where it met Jabiru (crane-like bird). Kangaroo then went on to Maria Island (*guruḷuḷiña*), and ended up at a rock jutting out of the sea beyond Maria Island (name of rock forgotten).

Jabiru is only a minor figure. In this particular myth it met Kangaroo at the place which bears Jabiru's name (garinji). When Kangaroo went on to Maria Island, Jabiru instead went to mindiwabagubgawuḷu (*midiwaba gub+ga-'-wuḷu* with *mindiwaba shellfish sp.*, but verb *gub* is obscure) where it was apparently drowned by some children.

3. Black-headed Python (Text 34)

This is the myth associated with the *maṇḍiwa* (circumcision) song cycle for the *buḍal* semimoiety. I have no further information on the places visited by this Python other than what appears in the text. The places are : *gulabanji*, *wabaṛa* (a lagoon), *ḍiwuwayinga* (a lagoon near the preceding; the term is perhaps *ḍiw+u-wayinga* *it threw it through the air*, but this Aux is not elsewhere attested with the verb-particle *ḍiw*), *ṇamaṛbin* (sandy ridge near coast), *ṇawuguña* (a sandhill), *ṇamaḷjar* (rock in sea), *ṇayaṇbi* (mangrove-fringed creek near mouth of Roper River), *ṇaṇanjamara* (near Roper mouth), *yiawaba* (just north of Roper mouth), *wumamandañu* (rocks in sea), *ṇargarguniña* (beach just north of *yiawaba*), and *ṇajamaṅga* (sandridge somewhat inland from sea).

4. Taipan (Text 24)

This text is a rather brief version of the travels of Taipan (a poisonous snake), of the *mambali* semimoiety. The episode involving Kangaroo (cf. above) is only vaguely alluded to in this text. Moreover, an important episode at the end is only very briefly mentioned.

In this episode, which seems to be only partly mythical in the thinking of the Mara since it involves 'real' people, some Nunggubuyu and Warndarang people came southward to Mara country. They came to *ṇamiyuganji*, on the Limmen Bight River. They set stones on the side of the river to mark their crossing place; these stones can still be seen.

They attempted to cross the river by walking along stones to a small 'island' in the middle of the river. Actually, this was Taipan (a poisonous snake, and associated with the rainbow serpent myths). When they landed on its back, it was aroused and threw the people in various directions, killing them.

Some Mara men had been performing a ritual across the river some distance from the shore. They saw a whirlwind created by the disturbance, but did nothing. They were at the ceremonial place called wiriñangu.

One of the Nunggubuyu or Warndarang men had gone looking for his lost dog and had left the others. He found the dog and headed for the crossing place, but seeing the whirlwind he fled north back to his own country.

It appears (but is not certain) that the Nunggubuyu-Warndarang group had gone south with the intention of surprising and killing some of the Mara men.

5 Emu and Dingo (Text 25)

Emu and Dingo are interesting in that they appear to straddle the boundary between the guyal and buḍal semimoieties, presumably reflecting Nunggubuyu-style moiety ideology (see below). They went through the territories of both semimoieties, and when questioned the narrator (Mack Riley) explained that they were considered guyal while in guyal territory and buḍal while in buḍal territory.

Emu (actually probably several emus) came south from Nunggubuyu country. Starting from wurindi, in the country of the Nunggubuyu clan called nun-giribala, Emu went to yundi, nugañanggannga, wulgulyi, wiriñangu (mentioned in the preceding section), yurujurungu, and then manaburu. Over most of this trajectory Dingo (wild dog) had been chasing it, and bit it at wiriñangu. However, at manaburu Dingo succeeded in biting Emu more viciously and thoroughly. Emu then went to baramba! along the McArthur River, finally stopping at rugula. Dingo went from manaburu out to sea to the rock wuraliwunja south of the mouth of the Limmen Bight River. It went on to wali, and went inland further south.

Two ducks (midbirimba!ya) rose up from manaburu, apparently because of the disturbance, and went inland through Ngandi-speaking country around namawungu.

6. Two Dugong Hunters (Texts 42, 21)

A large group of dugong-hunting human-like beings came from out at sea to muluwa, apparently one of the Pellew Islands (in the Yanyula-speaking area). They went on to waṇṇuluyu (rock jutting out of sea). The main bulk of the group then went onto the mainland, while two dugong hunters remained in the sea in a bark canoe to do some hunting. The two told the rest of the group that they would eventually meet them at yumunguṇi. The rest of the group went to wunubaryi, where they created a sacred grove of pandanus trees (mugara).

At yumunguṇi the two men went onto the shore, having killed a green turtle. They pulled the canoe onto the shore (hence there is now a large groove in the rocks there). The remainder of the story is clear in the text: one man fell into a pit and the other, trying to pull him out with some rope, was himself pulled into the pit. The two men died there, and their corpses were eventually discovered by the rest of the group.

The dugong hunters were of the muruṇun semimoiety.

The same story was mentioned briefly in Text 21, from a different narrator, Mack Riley (Text 42 was spoken by Johnnie). In Text 21 King Tide (bambiliwar) is also mentioned. It is thought that small rocks at yumunguṇi, very near where the two dugong hunters went onshore, represent the dreamtime being King Tide and that if the rocks are disturbed a disastrous tide will arise. The term 'king tide' refers to especially high tides which occur once or twice every month.

7. Olive Python (Text 40)

This is an important myth for the mambali semimoiety, and is the basis for one of the two maṇḍiwa (circumcision) song cycles I have recorded for this semimoiety. (The other, which is also the basis for the jurgun or mortuary cycle, is fork-tailed catfish or ṇuru; this myth has been recorded in Nunggubuyu and appears in Heath 1980b.)

The text is quite elaborate and little additional comment is called for. Much of the text involves the recognition, naming, and singing of various flora-fauna species by the two Olive Pythons. However, near the beginning and then again later on there is a description of the important incident where the two Pythons destroyed a dam being built by two Goannas (guyal semimoiety). The two Goannas had come to a river, and in order to cross it the male had been constructing a kind of 'dam' hoping to walk over it onto the far side. When this had been almost completed, the Pythons came swimming along the river and broke up the dam; the male Goanna eventually swam across with the female clinging to his back.

The Pythons are in the water in most of the text, and in fact they are accompanied by flooding. They reach the sea and begin looking for a place sufficiently deep to suit them; they stand up frequently to test the depth. When the water is so deep that their heads do not reach out of water they are satisfied.

8. Eaglehawk and Crow (Text 39)

This is a local variant of a widespread myth which is more important among the language groups further south. So far as I know this myth is not ritually significant for the Mara. The text is straightforward.

After each segment of a few sentences there is a general English translation. The divisions among the segments do not necessarily correspond to paragraph-like divisions in the original text, though in the great majority of instances these breaks do correspond to brief pauses. (There are also many pauses within these segments, represented as commas.)

Text 1

I WILL GO FOR FISH

Narrator: Anday

na-jura na-wa|añan , wayar+na-juliyi na-wa|añan-i ,
 1Sg-will go MSgObl-fish be hungry+1Sg-do MSgObl-fish-Purp
 jalblj+na-mi , wu|+na-juju , na-jura , warj+na-nina
 eat meat+1Sg-will do fish+1Sg/3Sg-will do 1Sg-will go get+1Sg/3Sg-did
 wangij bugi na|a|a|a , wuruja , baḍa gayi , ḡuru balwayi ,
 one only catfish sp. two later other catfish sp. big
 warj+na-nina guda , guda na-jura jabay ḍaḍ+na-ninuy .
 get+1Sg/3Sg-will do that's all 1Sg-will go maybe cook+1Sg/3Sg-will do

I will go (for) fish. I am hungry for fish. I will eat well (on meat). I will fish. I will go, I got just one fork-tailed catfish, two, then another, a big fork-tailed catfish (different species). I got them, maybe I will go and cook them.

Text 2

I CAUGHT FISH

Narrator: Anday

baḍa warj+na-jura wu|+na-juju , baḍa gudagaya ,
 later go back+1Sg-will do fish+1Sg/3Sg-will do later always
 warñ+na-nina wumbul , warma galimba mijuruḡu , wuruja-gayi ,
 get+1Sg/3Sg-did what's it? catfish sp. and catfish sp. two-other
 baḍa ma-jal-jal+na-minani , na-na-ḡga ḍilug+u-ji na-balwayi ,
 later Ben-Rdp -watch+1Sg-did MSg-there-Ø move+3Sg/3Sg-did MSgObl-big
 miriji warj+na-nina wangij balwayi , guda
 barramundi get+1Sg/3Sg-did one big that's all

ɲa-na gumbi , wa-ni-ɲga-yani gar+iwi-ji , guda
 MSg-the meat from there roast+1ExPl/3Sg-did that's all
 gar+u-nani yaɲ+iwi-jaɲi , galɲi baɖa , gaɭ+iw-aɲi
 roast+3Sg-did wait+1ExPl/3Sg-did later later remove+1ExPl/3Sg-did
 galɲi baɖa , ɲanga-yi jalug+u-ma , n-ga-na n-baɲara ,
 later later as for it be cold+3Sg-did Ne-Ne-the Ne-open place
 guda .
 that's all

They cooked the guts, the little ones (intestines, etc.). They roasted the meat then (in a native oven). Then it was being roasted. We waited for it, then after a while we took it out (from the oven). It was cold. (It was) out in the open. That's all.

Text 4 WE BUTCHERED THE DUGONG

Narrator: Anday

1) gaɭ+iw-aɲi guda , gaɭ+iw-aɲi miɲi, gabul+u-ma ,
 remove+1ExPl/3Sg-did that's all now cooked+3Sg-did
 guda ɭar+iwi-ganji , n-ga-na n-ɲanibuluɲa , n-ga-na
 that's all cut up+1ExPl/3Sg-did Ne-Ne-the Ne-chest section
 n-ɲanibuluɲa , n-ga-na n-ɲanja , ma-jaɲar+iwi-ganji-ɭana
 Ne-Ne-the Ne-belly Ben-distribute+1ExPl-did-Recip
 jaɲar+u-ɭini ɲa-'ɾiyi-yu ma-jaɲar+iwi-ganji-ɭana
 be distributed+3Sg-did MSgObl-man-All/Loc
 gaɾiyi mbaɖawaɖa , ɲaba , ɲa-na ɲag-agur ɲirwi
 men old women also MSg-the Rdp-child our(ExPl)
 ma-jaɲar+iwi-ganji ,
 Ben-distribute+1ExPl/3Sg-did

We took it out. It was cooked then. Then we cut it up, the chest meat and guts, the belly. We passed it around, it was passed around to the people. We passed it around, man and woman, also our children.

2) ɲirwi ñumaranja , ɲirwi jamu-yamul-ɲanja
 our(ExPl) nephew our(ExPl) uncles
 ma-jaɲar+iwi-ganji n-ga-na n-balwa-balwayi , ɲa-na
 Ben-pass around+1ExPl/3Sg-did Ne-Ne-the Ne-Rdp-big MSg-the
 walja , guda wili-jaɭi , ɲa-na ɲurubu ɲinɲani ɲanga-ya ,
 dugong that's all 3Pl/3Sg ate MSg-the rib what? MSg-that

3) guda guṛin+wi-ganji , wal-a wul-wayara ṇaṇi-yana
that's all flip+1Exp1/3Pl-did Pl-the Pl-other behind
 bad+ṇalg-añi , yubundu+ṇa-'li-jañi baḍa gayi waḷja ,
leave+1Sg/3Pl-did attach to side+Centr-3Pl/3Sg-did later other dugong
 ṇaṇi-yana ña-ṇina , mal+ṇa-'li-'ñi ga-ya-ra guda
behind Obl-me take up+Centr-3Pl/3Sg-did there that's all
 ḷar+wi-ganji ,
cut up+1Exp1/3Sg-did

Then we flipped it over. The others I had left behind, they attached another dugong to the side (of their boat) and towed it, behind me. They brought it up there, then we cut it up.

4) ṇaba ṇina waḷja , ḷar+wi-ganji guda , ṇa-na muṛamuṛa
also my dugong cut up+1Exp1/3Sg-did that's all MSg-the milk guts
 ṇinja-ṇinjani wal-a wul-mbaḍawaḍa ga-na ṇimbir-wanani , waḷgar
Rdp-what? Pl-the Pl-old woman 1Exp1/3Pl-gave intestines
 ṇinjani ṇaṅga-ya wilawila ,
what? MSg-that stomach

We also cut up my dugong. Then we gave the milk guts or something to the women. The intestines or something, the stomach.

5) baḍa ṇimbir-wanani wal-a wul-malbu-malbu , wa-ni-ṅga-yani
later 1Exp1/3Sg-gave Pl-the Pl-Rdp-old man from there
 gar+wi-ji , guda baḍa , galṇi yawuryawur
roast+1Exp1/3Sg-did that's all later later afternoon
 gal+iw-añi , guda .
remove+1Exp1/3Sg-did that's all

Then we gave (some parts) to the old men. After that we roasted (the main body). Then later, that afternoon, we removed it (from the oven). That's all.

Text 6

WE HARPOONED TURTLES

Narrator: Anday

1) bad+ṇiwi-nbu ñagulugulu , yawuryawur , ṇa-yunduñuga
go down+1Exp1-did mid afternoon afternoon MSgObl-green turtle
 ṇiw-aṅa , waḷbu-ri , ga-ya-ri bugi ña-ḍaḍbu-yu , wariyamaga ,
1Exp1/went down there right NeObl-shore-All/Loc anyway

ja-jaj+ñiwi-jañi , ña+wu-mindini ñiwi-guluguluwuni ,
Rdp-chase+1ExPl/3Sg-did come out+3Sg-did 1ExPl/3Sg-waited for

We went down (to the water) in the afternoon. We went for green turtles, downward. The shore was just there (narrator points to a spot about one hundred meters away, indicating how far the boat was from the shore), or something like that. We chased them along, they came up (to the surface), we waited for them.

2) baḍa maḥamaḥa , ña-wayara ñiwingu-minani ga-niyi
later slow MSgObl-others 3Sg/1ExPl-saw still

baḍab+gu-mindini baḍab , ña+wu-ma ñi-ña wa-yana gayi
dive down+3Sg-did dive down come out+3Sg-did MSg-this from south other
ñiwi-naji jaj+ñiwi-yi , waybu-ri jaj+ñiwi-jañi::: ,
1ExPl/3Sg-saw chase+1ExPl/3Sg-did southward chase+1ExPl/3Sg-did

Slowly (they came toward us). One of them saw us and dived down again. This other one surfaced, (coming) from the south, we saw it and chased it. We chased it along, going to the south.

3) mal+ñ-ana , ña-naji ñi-ña , ga-na mun+g-anji ,
get up+1Sg-did 1Sg/3Sg-saw MSg-this bend forward+3Sg-did

ṛuy+ña-ji , waḷbu-ri wara+ña-biliṇaḷi , jaw+ña-'ñi ,
crouch+1Sg/3Sg-did downward aim+1Sg/3Sg-did harpoon+1Sg/3Sg-did
guda ñan+tiwingu-yagañi , waḷbu-ri , waḷbu-ri ga-ya ,
that's all rush+3Sg/1ExPl-did down down there

I got on my feet. I saw it there, bending forward (to feed). I crouched, took aim downward, and harpooned it. Then it carried us along rapidly, downward, down there.

4) gayi maḷbi juḷ+ña-'ñi , ñiriwan , jaw+ña-'ñi
other spike attach+1Sg/3Sg-did second harpoon+1Sg/3Sg-did

ñiriwan , muṛ+iwi-ganji , n-jaḷu warj+ña-niṇa , ṛaṇ+ñiw-añi
second pull up+1ExPl/3Sg-did Ne-arm get+1Sg/3Sg-did hit+1ExPl/3Sg-did

n-maraṇuṛu , ñiwi-minani ña-njuma-ni , ñiwi-naji njuma ,
Ne-head 1ExPl/3Sg-saw MSgObl-fat-Purp 1ExPl/3Sg-saw fat

guda , guṛid+ñiwi-ji ,
that's all flip+1ExPl/3Sg-did

I attached another spike (to the harpoon), a second one (and harpooned it again). We pulled up (on the rope, which the turtle was pulling down on). We got it by the flippers ('arms'). We hit it on the head (to knock it unconscious). We looked for fat. We saw the fat. We flipped it over (inside the boat, to immobilise it).

5) baḍa ṇa-'rgul-i yaja+ṇiwi-jujuṇi , baḍa
 later MSgObl-other-Purp look for+1ExPl/3Sg-did
 ṇiwi-guluguluwuni ṇaṇi ṇa-na gayi::: , ṇa+wu-ma
 1ExPl/3Sg-awaited for behind MSg-the other come out+3Sg-did
 gi-ña wa-yana , jaj+ṇiwi-yi , waybu-ri , jaj+ṇiwi-jaṇi
 here from south chase+1ExPl/3Sg-did southward chase+1ExPl/3Sg-did
 ga-ya mal+ṇa-'ṇa ,
 there get up+1Sg-did

Then we began to look for another one. We waited for it. Another one behind, it surfaced there from the south. We chased it to the south. We chased it there and I got up (in the boat).

6) ṇa-naji wa-yana gil+ya-'-ḷini , ṛuy+ṇa-ji
 1Sg/3Sg-saw from south crawl+Centr-3Sg-did aim+1Sg.3Sg-did
 waḷbu-ri , jaw+ṇa-'ṇi waḷbu-ri , guda , ṇad+ṇiwingu-yagaṇi ,
 downward harpoon+1Sg/3Sg-did downward that's all rush+3Sg/1ExPl-did
 ga-ya , jaw+ṇa-'ṇi ṇiriwan , muṛ+ṇa-ganji n-jaḷu
 there harpoon+1Sg/3Sg-did second pull up+1Sg/3Sg-did Ne-arm
 warj+ṇa-niṇa ,
 get+1Sg/3Sg-did

I saw it moving slowly from the south. I got down to aim, and threw the harpoon downward at it. Then it pulled us along rapidly there. I harpooned it a second time. I pulled it up and got it by the flippers.

7) guda ḍub+ṇiwi-jaruṇi n-jaḷu , wuruja wur-jaḷu , ḍabaliya
 that's all hold+1ExPl/3Sg-did Ne-arm two Du-arm stick
 warj+ṇa-niṇa , n-maraṇuṛu ṛag+ṇa-'ṇi ṇa-minani ṇa-njuma-ni
 get+1Sg/3Sg-did Ne-head hit+1Sg/3Sg-did 1Sg/3Sg-saw MSgObl-fat-Purp
 guda njuma , guda , wuruja wari+ṇarg-aṇi guda ,
 that's all fat two take back+1Sg/3Du-did that's all
 waraja-ri ,
 upward

Then we held it by the flippers, the two flippers. I got a stick and hit it on the head. I looked for fat. There was some fat. I took the two (turtles) back then, upward (i.e. to the land).

- 8) *na-ganji ña-ḍaḍbu-yu ga-ya , bilbar lar+iw-añi::*
1Sg/3Sg-took NeObl-shore-All/Loc there throat cut up+1Exp1/3Sg-did
guda , na-na wunagaga na-na yalaja ninjani na-na-nga ga-na
that's all MSg-the intestines intestines what? MSg-that-Ø
ḡimbir-wanani wul-malbu-malbu wul-gabu-gabuji , wul-ag-agur , ga-na
1Exp1/3Pl-gave Pl-Rdp-old man Pl/Rdp-blind Pl-Rdp-child
ḡiwan+bili-bayḡali , n-ga-na n-ḡiyarin jalji baḡa ,
cook+3Pl/3Sg-did Ne-promptness first later

I took them to the shore there. We cut their throats. Then we gave the upper intestines, the lower intestines, or something like that to the old people, the blind ones (old women), and the children, after we cooked it, right away.

- 9) *na-na wunagaga , na-na wumbul yalaja , guda*
MSg-the intestines MSg-the what's it? lower intestines that's all
ḡaḡ+ḡiwi-yi gabul+u-ma , guda laḡaḡ+iwi-ganji ,
cook+1Exp1/3Sg-did cooked+3Sg-did that's all open up guts+1Exp1/3Sg-did
laḡaḡ+iw-añi guda ,
open up guts+1Exp1/3Sg-did that's all

The (upper) intestines, the what's it?, lower intestines, then we cooked it. It was cooked. Then we opened up the guts.

- 10) *magay+ḡiwi-ganji-!ana n-ga-na n-wumbul na-na*
distribute+1Exp1-did-Recip Ne-Ne-the Ne-what's it? MSg-the
ḡuru na-na ninjani ḡaḡa-ya wuḡḡamuja , wajawaya , wumbul
rib section what? MSg-that kidney fat egg (inside) what's it?
wurunjulburunjul , wuḡḡamuja , ḡabalina , guda .
chest fat kidney fat collar fat that's all

We shared it, the midriff section, the rib section, the kidney fat, eggs (not yet laid), what's-it?, chest fat, kidney fat, collar fat. That's all.

TEXT 7

I SAILED ALONG

Narrator: Anday

- 1) guda , ṇa-na baṛaga ṇina wiri+ṇa-jañi guda ,
 that's all MSg-the swag my put in+1Sg/3Sg-did that's all
- yumar+ṇa-ganji , ña-'rgul-yu ña-waṛwaṛ
make good+1Sg/3Sg-did NeObl-other-All/Loc NeObl-desire
- waṛtang-añi ṇa-ḷini , ña-'rgul-yu , ṇa-muwaḍa-yu
desire affect+3Sg/1Sg-did 1Sg-went MSgObl-canoe-All/Loc
- wiri+ṇa-jañi ṇinja-ṇinjani ,
 Rdp-what?

Then I put my swag into (the canoe). I fixed it up. The next day the urge came to me. I went, the next day. I put all sorts of things into the canoe.

- 2) baṛaga ṇina , ṇa-na mulwari , ṇa-na baṛaga ṇina , ṇaḍugu
 swag my MSg-the boomerang rope
- wuṛ+ṇa-ganji , wuṛ+ṇa-ganji , bir+ṇa-jujuñi ,
put in+1Sg/3Sg-did make bed+1Sg/3Sg-did
- wili-malbu-malbu-ni , wiri+ṇa-jañi , jaṛ+ṇa-ji jumbala
PlObl-Rdp-old man-Purp put in+1Sg/3Sg-did pull+1Sg/3Sg-did sail
- bulwul+ṇa-yi ,
sail+1Sg/3Sg-did

My swag, a boomerang, my loose possessions, a rope I put (in the canoe). I made a bed, I put it in for the old men. I pulled up the sail. I sailed along.

- 3) guda ḍuṇ+ṇa-'ṇa guda bulwul+u-jinji , ṇuwi-ri , gi-ña
 that's all get up+1Sg-did sail+3Sg-did eastward here
- yimi-yana ṇa-na walulu ya-'-ṇa bara , ṇuwi-ri
from north MSg-the wind Centr-3Sg-went north-west wind eastward
- ḍuṇ+ṇa-'ṇa bulwul+u-jinji , ña-waṛwaṛ waṛtang-añi ,
 NeObl-desire desire affect+3Sg/1Sg-did

Then I got up (and set off). It (the canoe) sailed along to the east. The wind was coming from the north here, north (to north-west) wind. I got up (and set off). It sailed along. The urge came to me.

- 4) ṇa-ḷini:: ṇan-ad+gu-ḷini:: ṇa-na muwaḍa::: warṇgu ,
 1Sg-went Rdp-rush+3Sg-did MSg-the canoe until

mal+na-'na , ña-'rgul ña-ɾadbur-yu , guda ,
 go up+1Sg-did NeObl-other NeObl-place-All/Loc

yaj+na-yama na-na baɾaga , yaj+na-jamali:: ,
 throw down+1Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the swag throw down+1Sg/3Sg-did

guda , big+na-'ñi ɖad+na-ji ,
 that's all finish+1Sg/3Sg-did tie up+1Sg/3Sg-did

I went along. The canoe raced along, until I went up to another place. I threw down the swag. Then I was finished with it. I tied it (the canoe, to a pole).

5) guda baɖa ɲibuna-ni , ɲa-ni ɲa-walja ganagu
 that's all later next day MSg-the-Obl MSgObl-dugong not

ɖuŋ+na-yurayi baɖa , ganagu bad+na-nbuyi maɭuy , guda
 get up+1Sg-did later not go down+1Sg-did not at all that's all
 yaŋa+na-jinji ɲibuna-ni baɖa ,
 sleep+1Sg-did next day later

Then until the next day I did not go down (hunting for dugong). I did not get up (and set off) for dugong. I did not go down (for dugong), I slept until the next day.

6) 'galɲi baɖa ña-ɲibiɲibuna , ga-na bad+na-nbuy ' , ɲa-ɭini
 later later NeObl-next day go down+1Sg-will do 1Sg-went

ga-ya-ra wuɭuŋun jaw+na-'ñi , baɖa yunduŋuga , wangiñ ,
 there down harpoon+1Sg/3Sg-did later green turtle one

mal+ya-ɲa-yagañi ga-ya-ra , guda ɖaŋ+wiwi-jañi ,
 take up+Centr-1Sg/3Sg-did there that's all cook+1ExPl/3Sg-did
 ɖaɖ+ɲiwi-yi guda ,
 cook+1ExPl/3Sg-did that's all

'Tomorrow I will go down (hunting dugong).' I went there, low down, and harpooned (one). Then one green turtle. I took them up there. Then I cooked them.

7) ɭagaɖ+ɲiwi-ganji guda gaɭ+iw-añi ,
 cut open guts+1ExPl/3Sg-did that's all remove+1ExPl/3Sg-did

ɭagaŋ+lw-añi guda , ɭagaŋ+iw-añi:::
 cut open guts+1ExPl/3Sg-did that's all cut open guts+1ExPl/3Sg-did
 ɲiwi-wanani-ɭana ɲa-na njuma na-na ɾuru ɲa-na wuŋɖamuja
 1ExPl-gave-Recip MSg-the fat MSg-the rib section kidney fat

ŋinjani ŋaŋga-ya , guda , biŋ+ŋiwi-ji guda
 what? MSg-that that's all finish+1ExPl/3Sg-did that's all

ŋiw-anji baɖa , wiŋ+ŋiwingu-ganji , guda .
 1ExPl-sat later rest+3Sg/1ExPl-did that's all

We cut open the guts. We took them out and cut them open (to clean them). We shared the fat and the rib section, the kidney fat or whatever. Then we were finished. Then we sat, we rested.

TEXT 8

THEY ARE COMING FOR A CEREMONY

Narrator: Anday

1) 'yo! , ŋinjaru' , ŋa-na gaŋiyi bad+ŋa-'ñi ŋi-ña
 yes! yes indeed! MSg-the men leave+1Sg/3Sg-did MSg-this

ŋaŋi-yana , ŋa-'-la-!indu , ŋa-yunguwan-i , ga-na
 behind Centr-3Pres-3Pl-go MSgObl-ceremony-Purp

ɖuŋ+ja-ŋa-'ŋa wa-ni-ŋga-yani warŋgu ŋa-gi-ngara ,
 get up+Centr-1Sg-did from there until 1Sg-Ø-here

ɖaj+ŋa-ma ŋala ,
 sit down+1Sg-did today

'Yes indeed!' (I said). I left the men behind there. They are coming for the ceremony. I got up (and set off) from there, until I am here (now). I sat down (here) today.

2) ɖaj+ŋa-ma , gaŋiyi ŋaŋga-ya-ra ŋaŋi-yana ya-'-la-!indu
 sit down+1Sg-did men MSg-that-Ø behind Centr-3Pres-3Sg- goes

ŋa-yunguwan-i , ŋibiŋibuna ga-na ɖaj+bala-mi , ŋala ga-na
 MSgObl-ceremony-Purp tomorrow sit down+3Pl-will do today

wuluŋa yaŋa+wala-jana , yaŋa+wa-'la-ju!u , ɖuŋ+ŋa-'la-yura
 middle sleep+3Pl-will do sleep+3Pres-3Pl-do get up+Centr-3Pl-will do

warŋgu ña-ngara ña-narwu ,
 until NeObl-here us(InPl)

I sat down. These men are coming behind for the ceremony. Tomorrow they will sit down (i.e. arrive here). Today they will spend the night along the way. They are sleeping (there), they will get up (and come) from there all the way to here where we are.

3) guda war+u-ga-lana yunguwan , ña-ni ña-ngara ,
 that's all sing+3Sg-will do-Ref1 ceremony NeObl-theObl NeObl-here

'jabay n-ga-na n-wirju-wirju jabay n-ñari nuwu-galuṇḍiyi ga-na
 maybe Ne-Ne-the Ne-Rdp-bad maybe Ne-fight 2Pl/3Sg-have

gi-ngara ', nuṅga ga-na , ṅal+ṅalgu-jaṅani n-ḍaway ,
 here so speak to+1Sg/3Pl-do Ne-word

ṅi!+ṅalgu-biliṅanji 'ña-ni ña-ñari-ni , jabay n-ñari
 ask+1Sg/3Pl-do NeObl-theObl NeObl-fight-Purp maybe Ne-fight

ṅuwu-galuṇḍiyi , jabay ma!ujaja ',
 2Pl/3Sg-have maybe nothing

Then the ceremony will be sung, here. 'Maybe you mob are fighting, (you) bad ones, here.' Those are the words I speak to them. I ask them, '(Did you come) for fighting? Maybe you have a fight, maybe not.'

4) yumaryi ṅa-na gaṛiyi ga-na ḍuṇ+ja-'-ṅa ya-ṅa-ganji ,
 proper MSg-the men get up+Centr-3Sg-did Centr-1Sg/3Sg-took

ña-nurwu-yu , wil-ña ga-na ṅa-'la-'ṅa xxx yaṅgar mini
 to you(Pl) Pl-this Centr-3Pl-went ... ahead now

ṅa-'la-'ṅa now , wala-ya-ra-ñingar , ṅa-'-'la-!indu ,
 Centr-3Pl-went Pl-that-Ø-Centr Centr-3Pres-3Pl-go

The men whom I brought to you, and who got up and came, are good. These (men) are the ones who came, they came ahead to another place. They are coming here.

5) wil-ña waybu-ri wurwaj+bala-nbu ña-narwu guda ,
 Pl-this southward sit together+3Pl-did Obl-us(PlIn) that's all

jabay ṅibiṅibuna galṅi mal+awu-yura ṅa-yunguwan-i ,
 maybe tomorrow later go up+1InPl-will do MSgObl-ceremony-Purp

guda .
 that's all

This bunch (of men) came south and have assembled with us. Then maybe tomorrow we will go to the ceremony. That's all.

TEXT 9

AFTER THE CEREMONY

Narrator: Anday

1) guda , big+ṅiw-añi , wari-wari+wu-!ini ṅa-na gaṛiyi
 that's all finish+1ExPl/3Sg-did Rdp-go back+3Sg-did MSg-the men

guda wari+na-yama , ŋina-ra daj+na-ma ga-ya-ra ,
send back+1Sg/3Sg-did I sit down+1Sg-did there

ña-wul-ñimbi , guda ɲa-'nj-anji ga-ya-ra ña-wul-ñimbi ,
Obl-*they*-Ø 1Sg-Rdp-*sat there*

Then we finished it (the ceremony). The men went back. I sent them back. I sat there, with them. I stayed there with them.

2) galŋi baɖa , ŋa-na gaɖiyi ga-na man-mad+gu-ganji baɖa
later later M3g-the men Rdp-wait+3Sg/3Sg-did

ña-wudar-mar , galŋi baɖa ɳa-na , ɳa-na yunguwan galŋi
NeOb1-long time later later MSg-the ceremony later

ɲaɭ-ɲaɭ+u-yuraɲi , galɲi baɖa , ɲina-ra ɖaj+ɲa-ma ga-ya-ra
 Rdp-be performed+3Sg-did later later I sit down+1Sg-did there

ña-wul-ñimbi ɲa-'nj-anji ,
Obl-*they*-Ø 1Sg-Rdp-sat

Then later, the men waited quite a long time. Then the ceremony was performed. Then later I sat down there, I stayed with them.

3) ga-na ŋiwi-yurañi guda ŋa-na waɭañan ŋinjani ŋaŋga-ya yija ,
 lExPl-went that's all MSg-the fish what? MSg-that game

nargulamba nanga-ya , yandaꞑũĩ , baɖa ɲiw-anj-anji ga-ya-ra,
agile wallaby *MSg-that* *catfish sp. later* *lExPl-Rdp-sat* *there*

gululugba ŋiwi-yurañi ga-ya-ñindi , ŋiw-anj-anji ,
camping lExPl-went that way lExPl-Rdp-sat

Then we went (hunting) fish, something like that, game animals. That agile wallaby ('river wallaby'), fork-tailed catfish. Then we stayed there. We went camping out that way. We stayed (there).

4) ḡulawar gal+īwi-mindiniña , ga-ya-ra-ñindi , wari+ḡiwi-yaga|i ,
honey cut down+1ExPl/3Sg-did that way take back+1ExPl/

ña-ɾadbur-yu , ña-wul-ñimbi-yu , wili-malbu-malbu ,
 3Sg-*did* NeObl-*camp*-All/Loc Obl-*they-Ø*-All/Loc PlObl-Rdp-*old man*

guda	nimbir-wani	guda	wili-ja!i-ya!i	n-ga-na
<i>that's all</i>	1ExPl/3Pl-gave	<i>that's all</i>	3Pl/3Sg-Rdp-ate	Ne-Ne-the

n-naɓun , ɲa-na ɲulawar ɲinjani ɲaŋga-ya yija , waɭaɳan ,
Ne-bee eggs Mɤg-the honey what? Mɤg-that game fish

waɗabir , ga-na ɲimbir-wani , guda .
goanna 1ExPl/3Pl-gave that's all

We cut down (hollow trees containing) honey bees. We took them back that way, to the camp, to them, (to) the old men. Then we gave it to them and they ate the bee eggs. We gave them the honey, anything, game animals, fish, goannas. That's all.

TEXT 10

I WILL HUNT EMUS

Narrator: Anday

1) 'ŋa-jura ŋa-jina!iri , ŋa-ŋugu-yu

1Sg-will go MSgObl-emu MSgObl-water-All/Loc

ma-yaŋ+ŋa-ju , waŋɗajba-yirña ga-na ŋa-naji ga-na
Ben-wait+1Sg/3Sg-will do day before yesterday 1Sg/3Sg-saw

gu!+u-jinji n-ga-na n-jarbu , ŋala ga-na ŋa-jura ,
drink+3Sg-did Ne-Ne-the Ne-track today 1Sg-will go

ma-yaŋ+ŋa-ju , ma-yaŋ-yaŋ+ŋa-jañi::: ma-yaŋ-yaŋ+ŋa-jañi ,
Ben-wait+1Sg/3Sg-will do Ben-Rdp-wait+1Sg/3Sg-did

ŋa-na-ŋga-ñingar ɗar+ya-''-ŋa ŋa-ŋugu-yu
MSg-that-Ø-Centr come out+Centr-3Sg-did MSgObl-water-All/Loc

ya-''-!ini , jub+ja-''-!ini ,
Centr-3Sg-went go down+Centr-3Sg-did

(I thought,) 'I will go (hunting) for emus. I will wait for them by the water. Day before yesterday I saw the footprints where they drank. Today I will go and wait for them.' I waited a long time. It came this way, hiding. It came (out) to the water, it came down.

2) ɗar+ŋa-nbu ŋa-wuru-ni , ya-''-!ini , ŋa-'ndayari ,
hide+1Sg-did MSgObl-him-Purp Centr-3Sg-went 1Sg/3Sg-speared

ŋa-'ndayari , ɾag+ŋa-ñi , n-ɗula ɗira+ŋa-ji ,
hit+1Sg/3Sg-did Ne-leg tie up+1Sg/3Sg-did

biŋ+ŋa-waji-!ana ña-ɾadbur-yu ɗid+ŋa-''ñi n-ga-na
carry+1Sg-did-Refl NeObl-camp-All/Loc pull out+1Sg/3Sg-did Ne-Ne-the

n-marda , n-ga-na n-guɗguɗ ɗid+ŋa-''ñi , mayamaya+ŋa-''ñi ,
Ne-feather Ne-Ne-the Ne-tail feather clean+1Sg/3Sg-did

wul+ŋa-''ñi , wul+ŋa-''ñi n-ŋanja gir+ŋa-ji ,
sing+1Sg/3Sg-did Ne-belly cut open+1Sg/3Sg-did

I hid from it. It came along. I speared it. I speared it (again). I killed it. I tied up the legs. I slung it over my back. In the camp I plucked the feathers out, and the tail feathers. I cleaned off the skin and singed it. I singed it and cut open the belly.

3) ma!uma!umar warj+na-niŋa , ganuganu , n-gurya warj+na-niŋa
intestines get+1Sg/3Sg-did big ones Ne-guts

wuŋ+na-'ñi ŋa-na njuma , ŋa-na njuma-njuma
put down+1Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the fat Rdp-fat

jijij+na-jujuñi , gar+na-ji wayigayi , ŋa-na ŋiyarin ,
cut open guts+1Sg/3Sg-did roast+1Sg/3Sg-did separate prompt

wa-ni-ŋga-yani gar+na-ji ,
from there roast+1Sg/3Sg-did

*I got the guts. The big guts, the entrails. I got the fat and
 put it down. I cut open the entrails. I roasted them separately.
 They do not take long. Then I roasted it (the main carcass).*

4) yaŋ+na-'lungu!i ga!+na-'ñi , ga!+na-'ñi , wa-ni-ŋga-yani
wait+1Sg/3Sg-did remove+1Sg/3Sg-did from there

biya+na-ganji , biya+na-'ñi
take out fat+1Sg/3Sg-did take out fat+1Sg/3Sg-did

jaŋar+na-ganji njuma , n-gaŋɗa wayigayi ,
distribute+1Sg/3Sg-did fat Ne-buttock section separate

n-munan wayigayi , n-ɗula wayigayi , ma-jaŋar+na!gu-ganji
Ne-belly section Ne-leg Ben-distribute+1Sg/3Pl-did

wal-a wul-malbu-malbu ŋa-na njuma , ŋa-na gumbi , n-munan ,
Pl-the Pl-Rdp-old man MSg-the fat meat

n-ga-na n-bi!bar .
Ne-Ne-the Ne-throat

*I waited for it (to cook). I took it out. Then I took out the fat.
 I distributed the fat. The buttock section, the belly section, the
 legs, separately. I passed it out to the old people - the fat, the
 meat, the belly section, the throat.*

TEXT 11 I MADE A RAIN SHELTER

Narrator: Anday

1) gubijiji ya-'-ŋa , wu!arayin ya-'-ŋa , ji!+u-jinji
rain Centr-3Sg-went drizzle rain+3Sg-did

ŋa-mala wa-yana wul+u-yi , ŋa-na gubijiji
MSgObl-cloud from south block+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the rain

ya-'-!ini , ŋa-na wu!arayin now wu-!ini , ŋa-na gubijiji ,
Centr-3Sg-went MSg-the drizzle 3Sg-went MSg-the rain

wu|g+ŋa-'ñi ŋa-na wumbul , ŋa-na bambuja ,
make humpy+1SG/3SG-did MSG-the what's it? MSG-the stringybark tree

The rain came. The drizzle came. The cloud dropped rain from the south. It blocked off (the sun). The rain came. The drizzle went along then. The rain (came). I made a humpy (from) what's-it?, stringbark tree.

2) bambuja ʔagaŋ+ŋa- 'ñi , ŋa-na jamanbara ɾaŋ+a-ganji ,
stringybark strip+1Sg/3Sg-*did* MSg-*the* *paperbark tree* hit+1Sg/3Sg-*did*

ṇa-na wumbul , ṇa-na wumbul , ṇa-na jamanbara , ḍabaliya
MSg-the what's it? MSg-the paperbark tree tree

jadba+na-!ini , biriwlwul+na-jujuñi , wu!g+na-ganji
chop+1Sg/3Sg-did make shelter+1Sg/3Sg-did make humpy+1Sg/3Sg-did

yumar+ṇa-ganji , miṇi ḍigay ṇa-na gubijiji ga-na ya-'-ḷini ,
fix+1Sg/3Sg-did now near MSc-the rain Centr-3Sg-went

I stripped off the bark of the stringybark tree. I knocked off (bark from) a paperbark tree. I chopped down what's-it?, a paperbark tree. I made a rain shelter. I made a humpy, I fixed it up. Now the rain was coming close.

3) ḍigay ṇa-na gubijiji ya-'-ḷini , gi-ña wa-yana
near M_{Sg}-the rain Centr-3_{Sg}-went here from south

warinji+ya-¹-ganji , walwur+u-nbu , ña-ŋina guda
bring rain+Centr-3Sg/3Sg-did come down+3Sg-did NeObl-me that's all

jil+angu-jinji , jil+angu-jinji:: warngu birib+gu-yi
rain on+3Sg/1Sg-did until fill up+3Sg/3Sg-did

ɲa-na wu|in yimbi-ri waybu-ri ɲa-ni
 MSG-the rain on ground northward southward MSG-theObl

na-nargu-nargu ,
MSgObl-Rdp-billabong

The raincloud was coming close. Here from the south it brought (rain). It came down. Then it rained on me. It rained until it filled up the depressions. North, south, all the billabongs.

4) birib+gu-yi , waɾajara , ɲad+gu-!ini little waɾajara ,
fill up+3Sg/3Sg-did flood rush+3Sg-did flood

ña-wulma-wulma , ña-wulma-wulma ñad+gu-!ini , yimbi-ri waybu-ri
NeObl-Rdp-stream rush+3Sg-did northward southward

I got up and took them. Some spears I passed out, others I kept. Others I made for the children. Any kind, (maybe) small wire spears for them, for (catching) fish.

4) ma-wil+ŋalgu-ganji , ga-na wili-ganda-'ndayaru ŋaŋi-yana
Ben-tie up+1Sg/3Pl-did 3Pl/3Sg-Rdp-will spear behind
ŋaŋga-yi ja!a!a-ja!a!a+ŋa-jura , ga-ya-ñindi , wil-ag-agur-i
as for him Rdp-walk+1Sg-will go that way PlObl-Rdp-child-Purp
ŋini , ŋa-na ɖuŋal , wi!mur ŋa-niyi , guda .
my MSg-the spear wire spear MSg-only that's all

I made (spears) for them. When they go spearing I will walk behind, that way. Spears for my children. Wire spears only. That's all.

TEXT 13

I MADE A DUGOUT CANOE

Narrator: Anday

1) yaja+ŋa-jujuñi ŋa-balwayi-ni ŋa-balwayi-ni
hunt+1Sg/3Sg-did MSgObl-big-Purp
ŋa-yirimal-i , ŋa-naji ŋi-ña ga-na bay+u-jinji ,
MSgObl-paperbark tree-Purp 1Sg/3Sg-saw MSg-this stand+3Sg-did
ŋa-naji ŋi-ña ga-na bay+u-jinji , guda jadba+ŋa-!ini ,
1Sg/3Sg-saw MSg-this that's all chop+1Sg/3Sg-did
jadba+ŋa-!ini::: warŋgu ɖalag+ŋa-ji guda mud+ŋa-ganji ,
until knock down+1Sg/3Sg-did break+1Sg/3Sg-did

I went looking for a big paperbark tree. I saw one standing there. Then I cut it down so that I felled it. Then I broke it.

2) guda n-ga-na n-jangu bal+ŋa-jañi (wrong verb form) ,
that's all Ne-Ne-the Ne-mark across mark+1Sg/3Sg-did
bal+ŋa-jujuñi , yi::: bal+ŋa-jujuñi::: warŋgu big+ŋa-'ñi ,
mark+1Sg/3Sg-did Ø until finish+1Sg/3Sg-did
guda gurb+ŋa-mindini , gurb+ŋa-ma::: ŋa-na ŋadjinadji
that's all shape edge+1Sg did shape edge+1Sg-did MSg-the stone edge
ga-na , gurb+ŋa-mindini , gurb+ŋa-ma::: warŋgu bulbuldu+ŋa-'ñi ,
until lighten+1Sg/3Sg-did

Then I marked it. I marked it until I was finished with it. Then I smoothed it (with) the blade of a stone edge. I smoothed it until it was light in weight.

- 3) baḍa mid+na-ganji bigana gulgu-u-jinji n-ga-na n-jili ,
level off+1Sg/3Sg-did because heavy+3Sg-did Ne-Ne-the Ne-side
na-na ṇanga-ya-ra muwaḍa n-maraṇuṛu yumar+na-'ñi , n-wuwul
MSg-the MSc-that-Ø canoe Ne-head fix+1Sg/3Sg-did Ne-stern
yumar+na-'ñi , wur-guñan wuṛ+na-'ñi
Du-blocks on side put down+1Sg/3Sg-did
wur-guñan , yanggar ṇaṇl-yana , wuṛ+na-'ñi
front behind

Then I smoothed out the lumps, because the side was too heavy. I fixed the prow ('head') of that canoe, I fixed the stern. I put the two blocks ('breasts') on the sides, I put them in front and behind.

- 4) guda bul+u-nani , na-mbulma gur+na-yama nanja
that's all dry+3Sg-did 1Sg-did it soak+1Sg/3Sg-did belly
 yur+na-ji na-nugu , guda wul+na-ganji ,
pour over+1Sg/3Sg-did MSGobl-water that's all scorch+1Sg/3Sg-did
 wul+na-ganji:: warngu wil+na-bawayingali dabaliya
until stretch+1Sg/3Sg-did wood
 durgungu+na-jujuñi ,
put across+1Sg/3Sg-did

Then it was dry. I did it, I soaked it, I poured water on the belly (inside of hull) out (to) the water. Then I scorched (the canoe), and stretched it (by putting planks across it). I put the wooden planks across it.

- 5) bilin+na-ganji n-ga-na n-ŋanja , bilin+na-'ñi:: guda ,
 widen+1Sg/3Sg-did Ne-Ne-the Ne-belly widen+1Sg/3Sg-did that's all
- na-na ḍabaliya ga-na wuɾ+na-ganji , ŋaŋga-yi ga-na
 MSg-the wood put down+1Sg/3Sg-did as for it
- wab+na-yaŋa , guda bul+u-nani baḍa bilin+gu-ḷini , ḍalaḍala
 heat-1Sg/3Sg-did dry+3Sg-did widen+3Sg-did board
- wuɾ+na-'ñi ŋa-jumbala-ni ,
 put down+1Sg/3Sg-did MSgObl-sail-Purp

I widened the belly. I put the wooden planks down. Then I heated it. Then it got dry, and it got wide. I put down the boards for the sails.

6) n-ga-na n-guñan wuɾ+ŋa-'ñi wuɭuɣun ,
 Ne-Ne-the Ne-block on side put down+1Sg/3Sg-did below

ñā-bulwul-manjar-i wuɾ+ŋa-'ñi , wa-ni-ŋga-yani
 NeObl-sail-Nominal-Purp put down+1Sg/3Sg-did from there

duŋ+ŋa-'ŋa , ga-na bul+u-niji , duŋ+ŋa-yagañi guda
 get up+1Sg-did dry+3Sg-did lift+1Sg/3Sg-did that's all

jaɾ+ŋa-ji ,
 pull+1Sg/3Sg-did

I put the blocks on the sides toward the bottom. I put down (the blocks) for sailing (i.e. for putting the mast in). Then I got up, and when it was dry I lifted it (i.e. one end of it) and dragged it.

7) jaɾ+ŋa-ji ŋa-walba-yu , wuɾ+ŋa-'ñi
 pull+1Sg/3Sg-did MSgObl-river-All/Loc put down+1Sg/3Sg-did

guda gur+u-ganji-!ana ŋa-walba-yu , ñilŋ+gu-mindini ,
 that's all soak+3Sg-did-Ref1 soak+3Sg-did

ŋa-'rgul-yu miŋi duŋ+ŋa-'ŋa ñā-wuruŋara-ñu
 MSgObl-other-All/Loc now get up+1Sg-did NeObl-beach-All/Loc

ŋa-yagañi , ŋa-walja-ni ŋa-ganji .
 1Sg/3Sg-carried MSgObl-dugong and turtle-Purp 1Sg/3Sg-took

I dragged it to the river. I put it down then, it was soaking. It lay soaking in the river. Next day I got up and took it to the beach. I took it (there) for (hunting) dugong.

TEXT 14 TWO MEN FOUGHT WITH SPEARS

Narrator: Anday

1) wur-malbu wuruja , wayar+wari-yana wariya , ŋa-walañan
 Du-old man two hungry+3Du-did poor fellow! MSgObl-fish

wari-!ini , wala-gandayaruñi-!ana ga-na ŋari+wili-yi ,
 3Du-went 3Pl-speared-Recip fight+3Pl/3Sg did

ŋariɖal+wulga-ñi ŋa-ni ŋa-yija , wul-malbu-malbu ,
 be angry about+3Sg/3Pl-did MSg-theObl MSgObl-game Pl-Rdp-old man
 ga-na gaɾiyi ,
 men

Two old men were hungry. They went (hunting) for fish. The old people were having a spear fight, they were fighting. They were fighting over some game animals, the old men.

2) war-a wara-ya-ra wur-malbu wari-'nj-anji ña-ɾadbur-yu ,
 Du-the Du-that-Ø Du-old man 3Du-Rdp-sat NeObl-camp-All/Loc
 wayar-wayar+wari-jinji , wili-wayara ga-na wulumbur-wani , ga-na
 Rdp-hungry+3Du-did P1Obl-other 3Pl/3Du-gave
 ñimbir-wanani ñiwi-wayara , war-a wara-ya-ra wur-malbu ,
 1ExPl/3Du-gave 1ExPl-other
 wayar+wari-yinji ,
 hungry+3Du-did

Those two old men stayed in the camp. They were hungry. The others gave them (food), we others gave it to them. Those two old men were hungry.

3) guda ñimbir-wani ma-jadba+ñimbir-yurañi ña-na
 that's all 1ExPl/3Du-gave Ben-cut down+1ExPl/3Du-did MSg-the
 ñulawar , ña-na ñulawar ñinjani ñanga-ya ñuymanji wili-gabu-gabuji
 honey what? MSg-that wild potato P1Obl-Rdp-old woman
 wili-waliñali , ña-na ñuymanji jaw+ala-mindiniña , ñaba ñulawar ,
 3Pl/3Sg-hunt for dig+3Pl-did also honey

Then we gave (it) to them. We cut down (trees containing) honey. Honey, any kind of thing, wild potatoes. The old women hunted for them, they dug up wild potatoes. Also honey (they got).

4) wa-ni-nga-yani ñari+wili-yi ɾaŋ+bala-ganji-!ana ñuŋal ,
 from there fight+3Pl/3Sg-did hit+3Pl-did-Recip spear
 wala-gandayaruñi-!ana ñad+bala-!ini , ña-'rgul wirñ+g-andayari ,
 3Pl-speared-Recip rush+3Pl-did MSgObl-other graze+3Sg/3Sg-did
 wirjuya ga-na wirg+Ø-aŋa , jabi+wili-ji ña-na ñanga-ya-ra
 badly jump+3Sg-did hold+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-the MSg-that-Ø
 malbu guda .
 old man that's all

After that they had a fight, they fought with spears. They speared each other. They ran. One (man) grazed him (with a spear). He did not jump away properly. They held (restrained) that old man. That's all.

TEXT 15

WE HAVE GIVEN UP SPEARS

Narrator: Mack Riley

- 1) mara , maraᅇbala , maraᅇbala wala-'ndayaruᅇi-ᅇana , yangarmanjar ,
Mara Mara 3Pl-speared-Recip in the old days
n-gudar , maraᅇbala , gudagaya wala-'ndayaruᅇi-ᅇana waraja-ri ,
in the old days constantly upward
waᅇbu-ri , duᅇul ᅇᅇa-wuruᅇara-ᅇu ,
downward all the way to NeObl-beach-All/Loc

Mara people used to have spear fights in the old days. The Mara people used to have frequent spear fights from inland all the way down to the coast.

- 2) wa-ni-nga-yani biŋbala-'ŋa ŋabaɾ+wala-mindini , ña-ni-nga-yani ,
from there finish+3Pl-did die+3Pl-did from there
- maɭuy+w-aŋa ŋa-na ɖuŋal , wa-ni-nga-yani , ŋa-galuni ɖuŋal ,
vanish+3Sg-did MSg-the spear 1Sg/3Sg-had
- ŋa-galuni ɖuŋal , ŋa-na munana , white man , munana ya-'-'ŋa
MSg-the White man Centr-3Sg-went
- wi-ngara-yu gi-ñindi ,
to here this way

Since then they all died off. Spears have disappeared since then. I used to have spears. The White man came here.

- 3) law ya-'-l̥ini ŋa-munaŋa , wayi+ŋa-yi d̥uŋal
Centr-3Sg-went MSgObl-White man abandon+1Sg/3Sg-did spear

ga-na ŋina-ra , Tom Riley wayi+wu-yi d̥uŋal , Will Riley
I abandon+3Sg/3Sg-did

wayi+wu-yi d̥uŋal , George Riley wayi+wu-yi d̥uŋal , ŋina-ra Mack Riley
I

wayi+ŋa-yi d̥uŋal , because munaŋa law
abandon+1Sg/3Sg-did White

The White man's law came. I left spears behind. Tom Riley, Will Riley, and George Riley left their spears behind, because of White man law.

- 4) *na-galuṇḍiyi* , *na-jar na-galuṇḍiyi* , *ganagu na-galuyi* *na-na*
 1Sg/3Sg-have rifle not 1Sg/3Sg-have MSg-the

ḍuṇal , ganagu ṇiwi-galuyi , biṇ+g-aṇa .
spear not 1ExPl/3Sg-have finish+3Sg-did

*I have a rifle. I do not have a spear. We do not have them;
they are finished.*

TEXT 16

WE HAVE GUNS, NOT SPEARS

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) ḍuṇal , biṇ+g-aṇa now ganagu ṇiwi-galuyi now , ṇumbuṛindi ,
spear finish+3Sg/did not 1ExPl/3Sg-have Nunggubuyu
ga-niyi ḍuṇal wa-'li-galuṇḍu , ḍaṇulirña , mara , biṇ+g-aṇa ḍuṇal ,
still 3Pres/3Pl/3Sg-have many Mara
ganagu ṇiwi-gandayariyi ṇinjanī ,
not 1ExPl/3Sg-spear what?

*Spears are finished up now. We do not have them now. The Nunggubuyu
people still have a lot of them. As for the Mara, spears are finished.
We do not have any.*

2) guda ṇiwi-galuṇḍiyi , wiḷmur , ṇa-waḷañan-i , ṇa-waḷañan-i
that's all 1ExPl/3Sg-have wire spear MSgObl-fish-Purp
guda ṇiwi-galuṇḍiyi , munāṇa ya-'-ṇa gi-ngara law
that's all White man Centr-3Sg-went here
ya-'-ganji wayi+ṇiwi-yi altogether , ga-ya-ra
Centr-3Sg/3Sg-took abandon+1ExPl/3Sg-did for good there
ṇa-wuḷiyi lana bush , no ḍuṇal maḷujaja ,
1Sg-sit in spear nothing

*We (still) have wire spears for (spearing) fish. The White man
came here and brought (his) law, we left (spears) behind for good.
I stay there, in the bush, without spears.*

3) rifle ṇa-galuṇḍiyi , Tom Riley ganagu wu-galuyi , rifle , ganagu
1Sg/3Sg-have not 3Sg/3Sg-has not
ḍuṇal wu-galuyi , maḷuy ṇa-rifle-i , rifle ṇa-galuṇḍiyi ṇi-ngara
spear 3Sg/3Sg-has nothing MSgObl- -Purp MSg-here
jawuru ,
his

*I have a rifle. Tom Riley does not have a rifle. He has no spear.
No rifle. I have his rifle here.*

A long time (has passed). Today I am getting the money from the bank, and I will give it to this White man. He will write on the paper, and he and I will send it to (the boss). I will give it to the boss up here at the office. He will write on the paper, then I will give it to him (the White man) here at the office.

2) *ñibunibuna* , *ña-'rgul-yu* *jabay ña-na* airplane *ga-na*
tomorrow *NeObl-other-All/Loc* *maybe* *MSg-the*
ya-'-yura , *du!+iwi-yami* *ña-ngara-yani* , *warngu*
Centr-3Sg-will go send+1ExPl/3Sg-will do from here *until*
warj+gu-yagay *ña-Mr Gilchrist* , *galimba ñungu-way*
get+3Sg/3Sg-will do *MSgObl-* *and* *3Sg/2Sg-will give*
galimba ñadugu , *ma!ujaja* lana shop , *wala-wala+ñalgu-jañi* *ma!uy*
and *rope* *nothing* *at* *Rdp-ask+1Sg/3Pl-did* *nothing*
biñ+g-aña , *gayari* ,
finish+3Sg-did *long time*

Tomorrow, maybe the next day the airplane will come. We will send it from here, so that Mr Gilchrist will get it and he will give it to you. As for the rope, there is none at the shop. I have been asking them, (but) there is none, it became finished (out of stock) long ago.

3) *ga-niyi* money *warñ+ña-jagayaganjiyi* *du!+ya-ña-jamanji* *ñibunibuna*
only *get+1Sg/3Sg-do* *send+Centr-1Sg/3Sg-do* *tomorrow*
lana mailplane now , *galimba ga-na* *bal+u-niñuy* , *baða*
on *and* *write+3Sg/3Sg-will do* *later*
n-ga-na , *ña-ni* *ña-paper-yur* , *ña-ña* *ña-munaña* , *ga-na*
Ne-Ne-the *NeObl-the* *NeObl- -Loc/All* *MSgObl-this* *MSgObl-White*
ña-ñadugu *baða* *du!+ña-jamanji* *warga!i* , *warj+bili-yagay* ,
MSgObl-rope *later* *send+1Sg/3Sg-do* *westward* *get+3Pl/3Sg-will do*
ña-ni *ña-ñadugu-ni* , *guda* .
MSg-theObl *MSgObl-rope-Purp* *that's all*

Just money I am getting and sending tomorrow on the mailplane. He will write on it, this White man (will write) on the paper. I will send him to the west with the rope. They will get it. (I will send) for rope. That's all.

TEXT 20 DUGONG, EURO, KANGAROO, JABIRU (MYTH)

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) *wa|ja , wa|ja njijan , ɲaŋga-ya wunubaryi , wa|ja njijan ɲaŋga-ya
dugong dreaming MSg-that pl.n.*

*wunubaryi , ya-'-|ini yimi-yana , yimi-yana ya-'-|ini ,
Centr-3Sg-went from north*

*ɖaj+gu-ma wunubaryi , ɖaj+gu-ma wunubaryi ,
sit down+3Sg-did*

*Dugong. Dugong dreaming, (at) that place wunubaryi. Dugong
dreaming at that wunubaryi. It came from the north and stopped at
wunubaryi.*

2) *wa-ni-ŋga-yani girimbu ya-'-|ini wa-yana , ɲa-manuga
from there euro Centr-3Sg-went from south MSgObl-stone*

*ɲa-ri-ya ɲa-yinji wa-yana garaja-wili , ya-'-|ini
MSgObl-Ø-that MSgObl-ridge from south on top Centr-3Sg-went*

*wunubaryi ɖaj+gu-ma , ɲa-na wa|ja ga-ya-ri bugi ɖaj+gu-ma ɲa-na
pl.n. sit down+3Sg-did MSg-the dugong there right MSg-the*

*girimbu ya|jal+w-aŋa yimbi-ri warŋgu ɲi-ña wargali ,
euro go past+3Sg-did northward until MSg-this westward*

*After that a euro (rock kangaroo) came from the south. Along that
stone hill, that ridge, from the south going inland. It came to
wunubaryi and stopped. The dugong stopped right there. The euro went
past, going north, until (it turned) westward.*

3) *ɲa-na ba|ingama , ba|ingama ya-'-|ini , waraji-yana ,
MSg-the kangaroo Centr-3Sg-went from above*

*gulji wuɾ+w-añi wuruma|a , ya-'-|ini waraji-yana::
grinding stone put down+3Sg/3Sg-did Lake Mary*

*warŋgu yundi , yundi wuɾ+w-añi ɲa-na mbi|mur , mbi|mur wuɾ+w-añi ,
until pl.n. MSg-the grub*

*The (antelope) kangaroo came from the interior. It put down a
grinding stone (used for grinding water lily seeds) at Lake Mary.
It came from inland up to the place yundi. At yundi it put down grubs
(in hill coolibah trees).*

4) ya-'-!ini waraji-yana , mal-mal+w-ana yundi ,
 Centr-3Sg-went from above Rdp-go up+3Sg-did pl.n.
 nur+u-ji najal , gu!-gu!+iwi-ju!iyi , nuwi-ri !iw+Ø-ana ,
 dig+3Sg/3Sg-did well Rdp-drink+1ExPl/3Sg-did eastward turn+3Sg-did
 wujula wur+w-añi , gud+gu-yi , jaři wujula
 woomera put down+3Sg/3Sg-did erect+3Sg/3Sg-did many woomera
 mud+g-ana miři ,
 break+3Sg-did now

*It came from inland. It went up (to) yundi. It dug a well.
 We always drink (there). It turned to the east. It put down woomeras,
 it stood them up. Now many of those woomeras have become broken
 (because Aboriginal custodians have not kept them in good condition).*

5) ga-na wu-!ini walbu-ri::: warngu , wuniyari !iw+Ø-ana
 3Sg-went downward until pl.n. turn+3Sg-did
 yimbi-ri::: , wu-!ini yimbi-ri::: warngu , miři jawawulu , garinji
 to north pl.n. jabiru
 wur+w-añi (error) , wu-naji , garinji walbu-ri ndun+bari-'na ju! ,
 put down+3Sg/3Sg-did 3Sg/3Sg-saw down get up+3Du-did

*Then it went toward the coast until it turned north at wuniyari.
 It went north until it saw a jabiru at the place miři jawawulu. They
 (kangaroo and jabiru) got up and left.*

6) ndun+g-ana garinji::: warngu wuluṇa mindiwabagubgawulu ,
 get up+3Sg-did jabiru until middle pl.n.

ṇambud+bił-añi , warngu ṇaṅga-ya-ra ṇa-na girimbu ṇaṅga-ya-ra
 drown+3Pl/3Sg-did until MSg-that-Ø MSg-the euro

wu-!ini::: warngu guru!u!iña mal+w-ana ,
 3Sg-went Maria Island go up+3Sg-did

*The jabiru got up and set off, until along the way, at the place
 mindiwabagubgawulu they (some children) drowned it. Then that euro
 (error: should be baṅingama, antelope kangaroo) went along, and went
 up all the way to Maria Island.*

7) gil-gil+w-ana warngu wur+w-añi , wara-'raji-yana
 Rdp-crawl+3Sg-did until put down+3Sg/3Sg-did on top

mungariṇa , mungariṇa , poison , mungariṇa , guru!u!iña , waraja-ri
 poison Maria Island upward

mal+w-ana wara-'raji-yana , guda nuwi-ri dirwu+w-ana
go up+3Sg-did eastward plunge in+3Sg-did

warngu nanga-ya wuluwuluna , finished.
until MSg-there middle of sea

*It moved slowly, until it put poison on the top. On Maria Island.
It went upward, on top, then jumped into the water going east, so that
it is there, in the middle of the sea. Finished.*

TEXT 21 KING TIDE, DUGONG HUNTERS (MYTH)

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) bambi!iwar nanga-ya-ra yumunguŋi , njijan bay+a-'-ju!u
king tide MSg-that-Ø pl.n. dreaming stand+3Pres-3Sg-does

waraja-ri , narg+a-'-wu!u na-!irjal-yu na-na
upward hide+3Pres-3Sg-does MSgObl-mangrove-All/Loc MSg-the

ŋiriri baɖa-baɖaɖa nanga-ya-ra biɖ+ga-'-wu!u
small ones Rdp-baby be all over+3Pres-3Sg-does

yimbi-ri waybu-ri ,
northward southward

*King tide is a dreaming inland at the place yumunguŋi. It is
hidden in the mangroves. Small ones (rocks) are scattered all over,
north and south.*

2) ganagu , ganagu warj+ŋiwi-niŋayi ma!uy , bigana
not get+1Exp1/3Sg-do not at all because

wur+a-'-nja nambud+ga-'-yuraŋa
tide rise+3Pres-3Sg/3Sg-lest it do drown+3Pres-3Sg-lest it do

yilijili gi-ña naba barawu , ga-ya-ri bugi , xxx , wur-ma!biŋgari
on side here also boat there right Du-dugong hunter

wari-'na wanga-yana , wara-'raji-yana ga-ya-ra yumunguŋi ,
3Du-went from east on top there pl.n.

!aradbarinbu n-ñiŋin ,
pl.n. Ne-name

*We do not pick them up, lest a big tide come and (they) drown along
the coast here, also boats (would be swamped), right there. Two
dugong hunters went from the east. Inland, there at yumunguŋi, the
place named !aradbarinbu.*

3) |aradbarinbu ɖaj+bari-ma , wa-ni-ŋga-yani ɳambud+bari-'ŋa,
 pl.n. sit down+3Du-did from there drown+3Du-did
 wul-wayara waraji-yana ɳa-'la-!ini wanga-yana waraja ,
 Pl-others from top Centr-3Pl-went from east on top
 wul-ma!biŋgari , wunubaryi , bay-bay+wala-yana mugara ɳanga-ya-ra
 Pl-dugong hunter pl.n. Rdp-stand+3Pl-did pandanus MSg-that-Ø
 bay+a'-ju|u wanga-yana ɳa-ɳajal-yu , wanga-yana
 stand+3Pres-3Sg-does from east MSgObl-well-Loc/all
 ɳa-ɳajal-yu ,

They stopped at |aradbarindu. After that they drowned. The others came from the east, from on top. The dugong hunters stood at wunubaryi. Pandanus trees (dreamings representing the dugong hunters) are standing there. (They went) from the east to the well.

4) wari+wala-'ŋa wa|bu-ri ña-wurɳara-ñu , wala-!ini warɳgu
 go back+3Pl-did down NeObl-beach-All/Loc 3Pl-went until
 jub+ala-'ŋa munu|i , warɳgu yimbi-ri wala-!ini , warɳgu
 go down+3Pl-did pl.n. until northward 3Pl-went until
 wuluwulɳa ga-ya-ra , ganagu war-war+wil-ayi
 middle of sea there not Rdp-sing-3Pl/3Sg-did
 ɳa-mimi , ɳa-ɳaluru , ña-ni-ŋga-yani
 MSgObl-father's mother MSgObl-my father from there
 biŋ+bil-añi
 finish+3Sg/3Sg-did

They went back to the coast, to the beach. They went along until they went down at munu|i. They went north then, out to the middle of the sea there. My father's mother's group and my father's group did not sing it (beyond that point). After that they finished it.

TEXT 22 GUNABIBI MERMAIDS (MYTH)

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) n-gi|yiringi|yiri , ɳi-ña gaɳu n-gajiri , wunda!a-yana ,
 FSg-mermaid FSg-this in east FSg-my mother pl.n.-Abl
 wa-ni-ña-yani gaɳu ña-wurɳaran-jani ga-na ya-'-!ini
 from there in east NeObl-beach-Abl Centr-3Sg-went
 wu|uɳun-maryi wanga-yana Limmen , wu|uɳun-maryi ya-'-!ini::: ,
 along the bottom from east pl.n.

warngu gurgurma!a mal+w-aŋa , mal+wala-'ŋa , wa-ni-ŋga-yani
 until pl.n. go up+3Sg-did go up+3Pl-did from there
 ŋa-'la-!ini::: , ŋarabunala ,
 Centr-3Pl-went pl.n.

The mermaids, here in the east my mother (i.e. my mother's country), the place wunda!a. From there, in the east, from the coast they came, along the coastal area from the east (around) the Limmen (Bight River). They came along the coastal area, then went up (inland) at gurgurma!a. They went up. They came from there. The place ŋarabunala.

2) mal-mal+wala-'ŋa , warngu waraja-ri wala-'ŋa , ɾawuɖawu ŋaŋga-ya-ra
 Rdp-go up+3Pl-did until upward 3Pl-went sandhill MSg-that-Ø
 wuɾ+wil-añi , wara-'raji-yana , warngu aŋɖa!amaŋɖa!a ,
 put down+3Pl/3Sg-did on top pl.n.

jub+g-aŋa , ŋa-na n-gi!yiringi!yiri , garaja-wili gi-ña
 go down+3Sg-did FSg-the FSg-mermaid on top here
 wa-'wu!u ŋa-na manuga , winir galimba ɾawuɖawu ,
 3Pres-3Sg-sits MSg-the stone light stone and sandhill

They went up, they went inland. They put down a sandhill there on top. Then at aŋɖa!amaŋɖa!a they went down (to the coast), the mermaids did. Here, inland, a stone hill sits, a light stone (limestone?) and a sandhill.

3) guda wargali gi-ñindi wala-!ini::: , yi::: warngu
 that's all westward this way 3Pl-went until
 !iw+ala-'ŋa waybu-ri , bijabija wu-ganji gud+gu-yi ga-ya
 turn+3Pl-did southward yamstick 3Sg/3Sg-took erect+3Sg/3Sg-did there
 garaja , ga-na ŋa-na gayi bijabija wu-ganji ga-ya garaja xxx
 on top MSg-the other
 gud+gu-yi garga!i ña-mayamaya-yu ,
 in west NeObl-plain-All/Loc

Then they went along this way, westward. Then they turned south. They carried a yamstick, and planted it there in the ground, away from the coast. They carried another yamstick and planted it in the ground in the west there, away from the coast, in the open plain.

4) waraja-ri wu-!ini , warngu ɖawala , wuɾ+w-añi ŋa-na
 upward 3Sg-went until pl.n. put down+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the

manuga wara-'raji-yana bay+a-'-juļu , wu-!ini wa!bu-ri
stone on top stand+3Pres-3Sg-does 3Sg-went down

jub+g-aṇa , walba-ya , yili+w-aṇa wa!bu-ri , ṇaranjunu
go down+3Sg-did river-Per go on side+3Sg-did down pl.n.

ḡirwu+w-aṇa , warga!i wu-!ini ṇalabura wuṛ+w-aṇi ,
plunge in+3Sg-did westward 3Sg-went white clay put down+3Sg/3Sg-did

They went inland to ḡawala. They put down a stone hill, it stands (there) on top. They went downward along the river. They went along the side, downward. They jumped into the water at ṇaranjunu. They went west. They put down some white clay.

5) guda gi-ṇa waybu-ri !iw+Ø-aṇa , ṇaṅga-ya bi!ingara-ṇindi ,
that's all here southward turn+3Sg-did MSg-that pl.n.-to

ga-na-ṅga-ṇindi wu-!ini waraja waybu-ri::: warṅgu , ga-ya bayi
that way 3Sg-went on top southward until there in south

jub+g-aṇa ṇa-ri-ya gaṇa ṇa-walba , guda
go down+3Sg-did MSgObl-Ø-that in east MSgObl-river that's all

yili+w-aṇa waraja wuruja wur-manuga wur-ṛugalara ,
go on side+3Sg-did on top two Du-rock Du-long

Then they turned south, to that place bi!ingara. They went to there, going south in the inland. Then there to the south they went down to the coast, along that river to the east. Then they went along the side. Two long stone hills on top.

6) waraja-ri wu-!ini::: , gayi manuga gud+gu-yi , bijabija ,
upward 3Sg-went other stone erect+3Sg/3Sg-did yamstick

waraja-ri ga-ya gayi gud+gu-yi ga-ya bayi , waraja-ri manuga
upward there in south upward

bay+a-'-juļu bijabija ,
stand+3Pres-3Sg-does yamstick

They went along the top. They planted another stone hill, a yamstick. Further up they planted another one, in the south. It stands well inland, a stone hill (representing) a yamstick.

7) guda wu-!ini::: , waraja-ri walba-ya , warṅgu yawuyawu ,
that's all 3Sg-went upward river-Per until pl.n.

wa-ni-ṅga-yani wu-wayiṅga gi-ṇindi ṇuwi-ri ṇa-mulwari ,
from there 3Sg/3Sg-threw at this way eastward MSgObl-boomerang

guda warga!i-yana (error) , yimi-yana wu-wayinga warngu
 from west from north 3Sg/3Sg-threw at until
 mayamaya bay+u-yaŋa now , mayamaya now , biŋ+g-aŋa .
 plain stand+3Sg-did finish+3Sg-did

They went up along the river to yawuyawu. After that they threw a boomerang at (someone). Then from the west, from the north they threw it, so that an open plain stand there now. Finish.

TEXT 23 WHIRLWIND, MERMAIDS (MYTH)

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) war+a-'li-ganja buru!uwara , ñanañanayi , ga-na-ña
 call+3Pres-3Pl/3Sg-do pl.n. far away there
 ðumudji , wa-ni-ŋga-yani ŋa-na walulu yur+ya-'-ŋa ,
 Doomadjee from there MSg-the wind come out+Centr-3Sg-did
 wa-ni-ŋga-yani wu-!ini:: waraja-maryi:: , wanga-yana gudagaya ,
 from there 3Sg-went along the top from east constantly

They called it (a place) buru!uwara. Far away there, (near) Doomadjee (near the Queensland/Northern Territory border). The wind (whirlwind) came out, it went along from there along the interior. All the time from the east (it went).

2) ŋara+wu-yurañi wa!bu-ri , mal-mal+u-yurañi waraja-ri , wu-yurañi
 look+3Sg-did down Rdp-go down+3Sg-did upward 3Sg-went
 wa!bu-ri ŋara+wu-yurañi wu-yurañi garaja , garaja mal-mal+u-yurañi
 downward on top
 guda yili+wu-yurañi waraja bambuja-ya , baða
 that's all go along side+3Sg-did on top stringybark-Per later
 wa!bu-ri jub+gu-yurañi , ŋara+wu-yurañi wa!bu-ri , wala-ya-ñindi ,
 downward go down+3Sg-did Pl-that-toward

It took a look down to the coast (to see where the ŋgi!yiringi!yiri people were). It went along the interior, it went up, It went along away from the coast, in the stringybark forest. Then it went down to the coast. It looked toward the coast. They (ŋgi!yiringi!yiri) were going toward there.

3) waraja-ri baða wuningi mal-mal+u-yurañi , waraja-maryi
 to top later further Rdp-go up+3Sg-did along the top
 wu-yurañi:: , ga-ya garga!i mani , jub+gu-yurañi wa!bu-ri
 3Sg-went there in west like go down+3Sg-did go down

ɲara+wu-yurañi wulgu-nani wal-a-ɲga wuɭuɲun , gilili! wala-mindini ,
look+3Sg-did 3Sg/3Pl-saw Pl-that-Ø below (shout) 3Pl-said

It went back up, further away from the coast. It went along the interior, like (from here) there to the west. (Narrator indicates a point two miles to the west of where he is sitting, to show how far inland the whirlwind was.) It went down to the coast and took a look. It saw them there, on the coast. They called out, 'gilili!'.

4) wu-yurañi::: warɲgu jub+g-aɲa , war+a-'li-gaɲa
3Sg-went until go down+3Sg-did call+3Pres-3Pl/3Sg-do
milibungura , ga-na-ɲga-ɲindi jub+g-aɲa , ɲa-na mawar
pl.n. toward there MSg-the ghost gum
gud+gu-yi ga-ya-ra wanga-'ɲga-yana , bay+u-yana ɲanga-yi ,
erect+3Sg/3Sg-did there on the east side stand+3Sg-did as for it
n-garña ɲuɲga ɖalag+u-nbu , wul-jili-yiligari ɖalag+bala-'ɲa ,
FSg-mother so fall+3Sg-did Pl/Rdp-owner pass away+3Pl-did

It went along, then went down (to the coast). They call (that place) milibungura. It went down toward there. It erected a ghost gum ('whitebark') tree on the east side. It stands there. It is (their) 'mother'. It fell, (because) the owners of it passed away.

5) mal-mal+w-aɲa wargali ɖirwu+w-aɲa warɲgu ɭaw+Ø-aɲa
Rdp-go up+3Sg-did westward plunge in+3Sg-did until go across+3Sg-did
wargali , ga-na maɖumaɖu wu-naji , gaɖ+u-mindini wuluwuluna ,
bandicoot 3Sg-3Sg-saw dance+3Sg-did in the middle
guda wargali yaɭjaɭ+w-aɲa , guda wu-ɭini wargali waraja
that's all go past+3Sg-did 3Sg-went on top
wargali bambuja-ya mal+w-aɲa ,
stringybark-Per go up+3Sg-did

It went up, it jumped into the water going west. Then it went across to the west, where it saw bandicoots. They were dancing in the middle. Then it went past, then went westward, in the interior. It went up through the stringybark forest.

6) jub+g-aɲa gargali , ga-na , ɲuwangila jub+g-aɲa , warɲgu
go down+3Sg-did west pl.n.
ɲjijan ɲanga-ya-ra wuɖ+w-añi , guda wargali wu-ɭini
dreaming MSg-that-Ø put down+3Sg/3Sg-did that's all westward 3Sg-went

yimbi-ri mal-mal+w-ana , |anga|anga nanga-ya wuɾ+w-añi ,
northward Rdp-go up+3Sg-did pl.n. MScg-that

wulwaŋɖi naba wuɾ+w-añi nanga-ya-ra ,
tortoise sp. also

*It went down toward the coast, westward. It went down at
nuwaŋgila. Then it put down a dreaming (totemic site) there. Then
it went west and went inland going north. It put down the place
|anga|anga there. It also put down a lot of long-necked tortoises
there.*

7) wargali ga-niyi bambuja-ya , wargali walbu-ri jub+g-ana ,
westward still stringybark-Per down go down+3Sg-did
nara+w-ana wala-ya wuluŋun , gilili ! wala-mindini , waraja-maryi
look+3Sg-did Pl-that below (shout) 3Pl-said along the top
wu-|ini , waraja-maryi bambuja-ya wu-|ini::: warŋgu , walijinda ,
3Sg-went stringybark-Per 3Sg-went until pl.n.
n-ñiyin walijinda ,
Ne-name

*Still (it went) westward through the stringybark forest. It went
westward down toward the coast. It took a look. They (ŋgilyiringi|yiri)
were down on the coast, calling 'gilili !'. It went along away from
the coast, it went through the stringybark forest up to walijinda.
It's (the place's) name is walijinda.*

8) guda walbu-ri garga|a jub+g-ana , wulgu-naji wala-ya
that's all down in west go down+3Sg-did 3Sg-3Pl-saw Pl-that
wuluŋun , guda wargali , wala-|ini , wu-|ini wargali:::
below that's all westward 3Pl-went
waraja-maryi , wulgu-naji wal-a wul-ŋgilyiringi|yiri wil-ña ,
along the top 3Sg/3Pl-saw Pl-the Pl- Pl-this
mad+bil-añi , guda xxx ,
meet+3Pl/3Sg-did that's all ...

*Then it went down, in the west. It saw them there below. Then it
went westward. It went west away from the coast. It saw the
ŋgilyiringi|yiri people there. They met up with it. Then...
(unintelligible).*

9) ya|ja|+w-aŋa wargali ŋaŋa-yi , wu-|ini wargali::: ,
go past+3Sg-did westward as for it 3Sg-went

jub+g-aŋa garga|a , ŋulumbili jub+g-aŋa , n-jawuru
go down+3Sg-did in the west pl.n. go down+3Sg-did Ne-its

ya-ŋgi|yiringi|yiri ŋulumbili ñugur , ñu:::gur , ɾaŋ-aŋ-manjar ga-na
 FSgObl- sacred sacred Rdp-kill-Nominal
 w-anji ,
 3Sg-sat

*It went past westward. It went west, it went down in the west.
 It went down at the place ŋulumbili. It belongs to the ŋgi|yiringi|yiri,
 ŋulumbili, it is sacred. There used to be killing there (when women
 violated the secret sanctuary, for example).*

10) ga-niyi wu-|ini wargali , wargali wu-|ini::: , wargali wu-|ini
still 3Sg-went westward

gudagaya::: warŋgu ɖiɖiwara , |aw-|aw+Ø-aŋa wargali , wargali
constantly until pl.n. Rdp-go across+3Sg-did westward

ga-niyi yiwur+u-jinji gudagaya , wargali walala wur+w-añi ,
still twist+3Sg-did constantly pl.n. put down+3Sg/3Sg-did
 walala wur+w-añi ,

*It still went west. It kept going west right up to ɖiɖiwara.
 It cut across to the west. It was twisting around constantly.
 (It went) west, it put down the place walala.*

11) guda wargali wu-|ini , walawañiwunja wur+w-añi
that's all westward 3Sg-went pl.n. put down+3Sg/3Sg-did

ŋargu , guda yimbi-ri yili+w-aŋa wa|bu-ri walba-ya ,
billabong that's all northward go on side+3Sg-did down river-Per

wargali mal-mal+w-aŋa , wu-|ini::: , warŋgu ga-ya garga|a ,
Rdp-go up+3Sg-did 3Sg-went until there in west

mawur-gayi ŋajal ŋaŋa-ya ,
other kind well MSg-that

*Then it went west. It put down the billabong walawañiwunja. Then
 it went north along the side, down along the river. It went up to
 the west. It went along until there in the west. Another kind of
 thing, a well is there.*

As for it (kangaroo), it said 'I will stay at Maria Island, (having gone) from the west'. Then it (kangaroo) set off for the coast, while it (wind) set off for the west. In the west, in the north it went down. Still going west it went up away from the coast.

15) wargali:: warngu yiwanjiwari balwayi nargu jilbi ga-na
westward until pl.n. . big billabong spring
wur+w-añi , ga-na-nga w-anj-anji na-na gunabibi ,
put down+3Sg/3Sg-did there 3Sg-Rdp-sat MSg-the (name of ritual)
guda ga-niyi wargali wu-!ini juy! , yumburñuga , gi-ña
that's all still westward 3Sg-went going pl.n. here
waya-wa-yana , guda wargali wu-!ini:: warngu , yandajanda-ñindi
on south side that's all westward 3Sg-went until pl.n.-Noncentr
waraja law+Ø-ana ,
on top cross+3Sg-did

(It went) west to yiwanjiwari. It put down a big billabong (and) some springs. The gunabibi ritual was there. Then it kept going west, (to) yumburñuga. There on the other side. Then it went west, toward yandajanda. It went across along the top.

16) wu-!ini:: miřimiřiji ga-ya-ra ðaj+gu-ma , ganagu
3Sg-went pl.n. there sit down+3Sg-did not
ðaj+gu-miyi , ga-niyi ya!ja!+w-ana , that'll do miřimiřiji-yu
sit down+3Sg-did still go past+3Sg-did pl.n.-All/Loc
na!+na-manji.
speak+1Sg-did

It went (to) miřimiřiji. It sat down there - or rather, it did not sit down (there), it kept going. That's all, (it went) to miřimiřiji (then on into Ngalakan country, etc.). I have spoken.

TEXT 24 TAIPAN (RAINBOW SERPENT MYTH).

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) ñi-ña , garima!a waraji-yana ya-'-!ini:: , wilari , ya-'-!ini
MSg-this taipan from top Centr-3Sg-went pl.n.
waraji-yana:: jub+g-ana , walba-ya ya-'-!ini:: warngu ,
go down+3Sg-did river-Per until
wiriwuma! , ðaj+gu-ma , wa-ni-nga-yani wu-!ini , wiriwuma! ,
pl.n. sit down+3Sg-did from there 3Sg-went

guda wara-'raji-yana ŋuwi-ri walba-ya wu-!ini::: , yingari ,
that's all on top eastward pl.n.

wuluwuluna manuga ,
middle of sea rock

This taipan snake came from the interior, (to) wilari. It came from the interior and went down to the coast. It went along the river all the way to wiriwuma!. It stopped. Then it went (to) wiriwuma!. Then it went east along the top along the river. (It stopped at) yingari, a rocky island in the middle of the sea.

2) guwaḍa+wu-yaṇa ṇa-na , baḷingama guyma ḍaḡḍaḡ+u-!ini::: ,
listen+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the kangaroo in the north tap sticks+3Sg-did

guda wari+w-aṇa waraja-ri , wi!-yana warṅgu wargali
that's all go back+3Sg-did to top from bottom until westward

!u!ga wuṛ+w-aṇi , guda yimbi-ri mal-mal+w-aṇa
island put down+3Sg/3Sg-did that's all northward Rdp-go up+3Sg-did

wamungu , ga-ya-ra , ṇargu ṇaṅga-ya-ra wuṛ+w-aṇi
pl.n. there billagong MSg-that-Ø

It heard the antelopine kangaroo tapping the tap-sticks in the north. Then it (taipan) went back toward the mainland away from the (middle of the) sea. It put down an island (going) west. Then it went up onto the mainland going north. It put down a billabong there at wamungu.

Note: The original text on tape has 3Du forms from wari+w-aṇa (original: wari+wari-'ṇa) in this section through the next sections; these have been changed in the published text to 3Sg at the narrator's request.

3) guda yimbi-ri , yimbi-ri wu-!ini mayamaya-ya
that's all northward 3Sg-went plain-Per

ṇargu-ṇargu-ya waru-ganji all the way , n-jawaṇḍa
Rdp-billabong-Per sing+3Sg/3Sg-did Ne-whisker

!ar+u-yaṇa-!ana ga-ya-ra-ṇindi , wa!bu-ri::: , warṅgu wumbuli ,
pull out+3Sg-did-Refl toward there downward until what's it?

ṇa-malawara-yu malawara ga-ya-ra wuṛ+u-ganji ,
MSgObl-sacred blood-All/Loc sacred blood there put down+3Sg/3Sg-did

ga-niyi wa-'-wulu nanga-ya-ra njijan , ñugar ,
still 3Pres-3Sg-sits MSg-that-Ø dreaming sacred

Then it went north, through the plain and the billabongs. It sang all the way. It pulled out its whiskers, (going) toward there. (It went) toward the coast down to what's-it?, to the (area where) sacred blood (is). It put down some sacred blood there. That sacred dreaming is still there.

4) guda wa-ni-nga-yani jub+g-ana , ñamiyuganji ga-ya-ra
that's all from there go down+3Sg-did pl.n. there

ga-na , w-angi , !uñ+gu-jañi-!ana ga-na nanga-yimar garima!a
3Sg-sat coil up+3Sg-did-Refl MSg-that taipan

cheeky fella, ganagu gunja cheeky fella ñamiyuganji , warngu
not harmless pl.n. until

ju!+ulgu-ganji wul-gaṛiyi ga-ya-ra , yimi-yana ña-'la-!ini ,
swallow+3Sg/3Pl-did Pl-people there from north Centr-3Pl-did

guda .

that's all

Then after that it went down. It stayed at ñamiyuganji. That dangerous ('cheeky') taipan coiled itself up. It was not harmless (peaceful), it was dangerous. (It stopped at) ñamiyuganji. Then it swallowed the people there. They had come from the north. That is all.

TEXT 25

EMU, DINGO (MYTH)

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) nanga-ya jiwidiwiḍi ya-'-!ini gi-ña yimi-yana , wuṛindi-yana ,
MSg-that emu Centr-3Sg-went here from north pl.n.-from

ga-na ya-'-!ini gi-ñindi waybu-ri ña-bi!gur jaj+gu-jañi
this way southward MSgObl-dingo chase+3Sg/3Sg-did

gi-ñindi waraja , jaj+gu-jañi waybu-ri::: warngu yundi yimi-yana
along the top southward until pl.n. from north

mal-mal+w-ana ,

Rdp-go up+3Sg-did

That emu came here from the north, from wuṛindi. It came this way, southward. A dingo chased it this way, along the interior. It chased it south, all the way to yundi. It went up (inland), going from the north.

2) wu-|ini::: warngu wumbuli , waya-wa-yana mal-mal+w-ana ,
 3Sg-went until what's it? on south side Rdp-go up+3Sg-did
 waybu-ri wu-|ini ña-mayamaya jaj+gu-jañi::: warngu wulgulyi ,
 southward 3Sg-went NeObl-plain chase+3Sg/3Sg-did until pl.n.
 ya|-ya|+u-bayña|i guda waybu-ri jaj+gu-yi baða
 Rdp-miss+3Sg/3Sg-did that's all southward chase+3Sg/3Sg-did later
 wuningi::: wiriñangu ,
 more pl.n.

It went all the way to what's-it? (ñugañanganga), on the south side it went up (inland). It went south, it (the dingo) chased it through the plain up to wulgulyi. It (the dingo) kept missing it (emu). Then it chased it southward. (The place) further on, wiriñangu.

3) ga-ya-ra gal+u-jinji now , ña-na njijan ñanga-ya-ra now
 there bite+3Sg/3Sg-did MSc-the dreaming MSc-that-Ø
 ñula yangala+ña-'y bigana dangerous , yaramba bigana ,
 not tell+1Sg/3Sg-will do because dangerous
 guda ga-niyi gal+u-jinji guda waybu-ri jaj+gu-yi
 that's all still southward chase+3Sg/3Sg-did
 wuningi ga-ya bayi gal+u-jinji ,
 more there in south

There it (the dingo) bit it (emu). A dreaming is there now. I can't tell him (the linguist) about it because it is dangerous (i.e. secret). They might kill me (if I tell him about it). That's all, it bit it. Then it chased it, it bit it more in the south.

4) baða ñduñ+g-ana waybu-ri::: , mal-mal+w-ana ña-manuga
 later get up+3Sg-did southward Rdp-go up+3Sg-did MScObl-stone
 waybu-ri , ju-jub+g-ana waybu-ri guda wu-|ini
 southward Rdp-go down+3Sg-did southward that's all 3Sg-went
 waybu-ri::: ju-jub+g-ana bayi ña-walba , yurujurungu ,
 southward Rdp-go down+3Sg-did in south MScObl-river pl.n.
 guda xxx waybu-ri w-ana::: ,
 that's all 3Sg-went

Then it got up (and set off) south. It went up, (onto) a stone hill going south, it went down southward. Then it went south, it went down along a river in the south, yurujurungu. Then it went south (further).

5) yi::: manaburu ga-ya-ra ga-na gal+u-jinji::: ga mini ga-ya-ra
 pl.n. there bite+3Sg/3Sg-did and now there
 wur-wa!mañ ga-ya-ra ga-na wari-'nji wur-njijan wa-yana ,
 Du-grey teal 3Du-sat Du-dreaming from south
 wur-guyal , guda wa-ni-nga-yani biŋ+g-aŋa
 Du-semimoiety term that's all from there finish+3Sg-did
 buḍal wa-ri-ya-ra-yani .
 semimoiety term from there

There at manaburu it bit it. Then there were two grey teal ducks, two dreamings sitting there (having come) from the south. They were of the guyal semimoiety. After that it was finished, buḍal semimoiety after that.

TEXT 26 HUNTING KANGAROOS WITH FIRE

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) bu+wa-'la-ma ŋaŋga-ya gaŋu , gaŋu ŋi-ña bu+wa-'la-ma ,
 burn+3Pres-3Pl do MSg-that in east MSg-this
 jabay wanga-yana ŋa-'-la-!indu , guda bu+wala-mi
 maybe from east Centr-3Pres-3Pl-go that's all burn+2PlImp-do!
 ga-ya-ñindi , bu+wala-mi gi-ña ma!ana wili-nay guda
 to there here possible 3Pl/3Sg-will see that's all
 wanga-yana ŋan+ŋa-'la-yura , ga ŋiya-ra ŋuwi-ri ŋan+i-yura ,
 from east run+Centr-3Pl-will do and you(Sg) to east run+2Sg-will do
They are burning (bush fires) to the east. Here in the east they are burning. Maybe they are coming from the east. You (Pl) set (bush) fires going that way! Set fires here so that they can see! Then they will come quickly from the east. You (Sg) go quickly eastward!

2) jabay ga-ya wuluŋa bu+ŋi-mi ga-ya gaŋu n-ŋa-!u!ga ,
 maybe there middle burn+2Sg-will do in east Ne-Epen-island
 ga-na ga-ya ḍigay bu+wala-mi guda wari+ŋa-'la-!a ,
 there nearby burn+2PlImp-do! that's all return+Centr-2PlImp-do!
 ŋa-'la-yura wi-ngara-yu , ḍaj+bala-mi , guda ŋa-na
 Centr-3Pl-will go to here sit+3Pl-will do that's all MSg-the
 jiwuyiwulya wu-yaji , gi-ña garga!a yilijili baḍa
 burning stick 2Sg/3SgImp-take! here in west on side later

bu+wu-mi nunumanḡuyur ,
burn+2Sg/3SgImp-do! further in

Perhaps you will set fires there in the middle, there to the east on the 'island' (i.e. a rising covered with grasses, etc.). Set fires there, not far away! Then come back! They will come here and will stop. Take a burning stick (torch), here on the side (of the hill), in the west. Then set fires further along.

3) naba ga-ya yimbi-ri , [u]lga-[u]lga bu+wu-mi waybu-ri ,
also there northward Rdp-island burn+2SgImp-do! southward

ḡa-'la-jura wala-ya-ra , yi! wala-ya wanga-yana
Centr-3Pl-will go Pl-that-Conc yes! Pl-that from east

bu+ḡa-'la-'ḡa wuluḡa ḡi-ña , wala-ya-ra-ñingar guda .
burn+Centr-3Pl-did middle MSg-this Pl-that-Ø-Centr that's all

Also there, (on) the 'islands', you set fires! To the south! Those (people) will come. Yes! They will burn fires coming from the east, there in the middle, those (people) coming this way. That is all.

TEXT 27 HUNTING LIZARDS WITH FIRE

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) wu-[a , wari-[a ḡa-na ḡa-ya-ra , wal-a wala-ya ,
2SgImp-go! 2DuImp-go! FSg-the FSg-that-Ø Pl-the Pl-that

bu+wala-mi ḡi-ña gargaḡi , gargaḡi , ḡi-ña waybu-ri
burn+2PlImp-do! here in west here southward

ḡa-waḡabir-i , naba ḡa-jayawuru-ni , guda
MSgObl-goanna-Purp also MSgObl-blue tongue-Purp that's all

ḡaw-alunguy ḡanga-yi jaḡ+gu-nay ga-ya-ñindi:::
1InPl/3Sg-will wait for it burn+3Sg-will do to there

warḡu , ḡḡuḡ+awu-yura warḡu ḡaḡ+ḡuw-ay ,
until get up+1InPl-will do until kill+2Pl/3Sg-will do

Go! You two go! (Take) that (woman), those (people). All of you, set fires here in the west. Here going south, for goannas and also blue-tongue lizards. Then we will wait, it (the fire) will burn along that way. Then we will get up and you will kill it (e.g. goanna).

2) ḡaḡ+ḡuwu-gay warḡu , warḡu ḡaḡ+uwu-niḡuy ga-ya-ri
kill+2Pl/3Sg-will do until cook+2Pl/3Sg-will do there

bugi , warngu wari+na-nuwu-yura , wi-ngara-yur ña-ṛadbur-yu ,
right until return+Centr-2Pl-will do to here NeObl-camp-All/Loc

wadgar !irtuwu-yana ña-ṛadbur-i narwu-ñimbi ,
firewood fetch+3Sg-will do NeObl-camp-Purp for us(InPl)

yaṇa+ṇawu-nbuy , ṇibuṇibuna gawam+ṇa-yura ga-ya-ñindi
sleep+1InPl-will do tomorrow go early+1Sg-will do to there

ṇa-wa|ja-yur .

MSgObl-dugong-All/Loc

You will kill it. Then you will cook it, right there. Then you will come back here to the camp. You will get firewood for the camp, for us. We will sleep. Tomorrow I will set out in the early morning, (going) that way for dugong.

TEXT 28

OUR PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) bur+ṇa-biliṇanji , n-ga-na n-gi-ña Rose River ,
like+1Sg/3Sg-do Ne-Ne-the Ne-Ne-this

ṇduṇ+ṇa-yura wa-ni wi-ngara-yani , ṇa-na ṇaṅga-ya
get up+1Sg-will do NeObl-theObl from here MSg-the MSg-that

garaja wa-'-wu|u , ga-na ga-ya biṇ+g-ay ṇaṅga-ya garaja
on top 3Pres-3Sg-sits there finish+3Sg/3Sg-will do MSg-that on top

ḍabaliya wu|g+a-'-ganja , ṇuṅga ṇduṇ+iri-yura
wood construct+3Pres-3Sg/3Sg-does so get up+1ExDu-will do

ṇuwi-ri ,
eastward

I like this (place), Rose River. I will get up (and go) from here. He (Tom Riley) is staying inland. When he finishes building that wooden fence ('wood') further inland, he and I will go east.

2) ṇuwi-ri ṇduṇ+iri-yura warngu , ṇamarama-ñur ,
eastward get up+1ExDu-will do until pl.n.-All/Loc

gu|+iri-ju ṛadbu:::r , ḍabaliya gun+iri-niṇuy
clean off+1ExDu/3Sg-will do camp tree plant+1ExDu/3Sg-will do

gal+u-jura , warngu ṇa-niyi maraṇbala ga-na w-anu , all right
grow+3Sg-will do until Mara 3Sg-will sit

might be mangan aerodrome gu|+iri-ju ,
maybe road airstrip

He and I will go east to namaraman. We will clear off the ground (for) a camp. We will plant trees, they will grow. Just the Mara will live there. All right, maybe we will clear off a road, an airstrip.

3) all right, wul-jari wul-gariyi wala-'nu, wi-ngara-yani, and
Pl-many Pl-people 3Pl-will sit from here

Borrooloola-yana na-'-la-yurana Roper-yana
pl.n.-Abl Centr-3Pres-3Pl-lest go Roper River-Abl

na-'-la-yurana, nambulwar-yana na-'-la-yurana, mani niri-manji
pl.n.-Abl like lExDu-do

niri-lindiya, ga-ya-ra na-wiliyuru, wul-gariyi
lExDu-go there MSgObl-Limmen River Pl-people

na-'la-jura, nalaymaryi ga-na niwi-jura.
Centr-3Pl-will go soon lExPl-will go

All right. Many people will live (there). They might come from here, from Borrooloola, and from Roper River. They might come from Nambulwar. He and I are doing the same, we are going. There at Limmen (Bight) River, people will come. We will go soon.

Text 29 A WAR PARTY FROM THE NORTH
Narrator: Mack Riley

1) yunguwan wur+wili-ganji na-mimi,
ritual put down+3Pl/3Sg-did MSgObl-father's mother

namulumulu-yana na-'ri-lini, wa-yana, ga-ya-ra nugañanganga
pl.n.-Abl Centr-3Du-went from south there pl.n.

wur+wir-añi yunguwan, guda wala-lini wi-ngara-yani,
put down+3Du/3Sg-did that's all 3Pl-went from here

nayirinji-yana wala-lini, galimba manajara-yana wala-lini
pl.n.-Abl and pl.n.-Abl 3Pl-went

gugu wulu-yi,
mother's mother they

My father's mother's group (patriline) performed a ritual. Two of them came from namulumulu, from the south. There are nugañanganga they performed the ritual. Then they (mother's mother's group) went from around here. From nayirinji and manajara they went, my mother's mother's group.

2) wala-!ini::: , ga-ya guda waya-wa-yana war+na-'ñi
 3Pl-went there that's all on southern side call+1Sg/3Sg-did
 ga-ya , mug+na-manji , nugañanganga , guda wurbur+wala-ganji-!ana
 there forget+1Sg-do pl.n. that's all paint+3Pl-did-Recip/Ref1
 naluru ga-ya-ra w-anji naba , naba mimi wulu-yi ma!gayayi ,
 father there 3Sg-sat also father's mother they many
 na-manuga-yani , galimba , nañiyangiri-yana mimi wala-'nji ga-ya-ra
 MSgObl-stone-Abl and pl.n.-Abl 3Pl-sat there
 biq+bala-'nji ,
 be in group+3Pl-did

They went. There, on the southern side. I just said the name (of that place) there, I have forgotten it - nugañanganga. Then my father stayed there (where) they painted themselves up, also my father's mother's group - a big group. From the stone hills, and from nañiyangiri my father's mother's group stayed there, in a big group.

3) guda war+wili-ganji wul-rama-rama-ña::: mani xxx ,
 that's all sing+3Pl/3Sg-did Pl-having lots of feathers like
 wulumbur-andayari straightaway , yimi-yana gi-ñingar , dub+iri-ji
 3Du/3Du-speared immediately from north this way
 dub+iri-ji na-gugu manajara galimba ,
 throw spear+3Du/3Sg-did MSgObl-mother's mother pl.n. and
 na-bijaja nayirinji-yaygi , nad+bala-'na yimbi-ri ,
 MSgObl-mother's father pl.n.-person from run+3Pl-did northward
 na-ni na-baba niya-!iguldu wulgu-bawayingali
 MSg-theObl MSgObl-brother who died at-pl.n. 3Sg/3Pl-threw at
 na-mulwari nunga ñirwu+wulgu-yi walbu-ri ,
 MSgObl-boomerang so make plunge+3Sg/3Pl-did downward

Then they sang, painted up with feathers. Just before dawn two men speared two others right away. Two of my mother's mother's group, (from) manajara, threw spears, along with some of my mother's father's group, from nayirinji. They ran to the north. My elder brother, who died (later) at !iguldu, threw boomerangs at them, making them jump into the water (for safety).

4) *ṇuṅga ṇad+bala-'ṇa , ṇuy+wala-ṭini yimbi-ri , ṇa-na gayi*
so run+3Pl-did swim+3Pl-did northward MSg-the other

mimi ṇad+g-aṇa jaj+bili-yi wil-andayari
father's mother run+3Sg-did chase+3Pl/3Sg-did 3Pl/3Sg-speared

ñā-mayamaya-yur ṇamanuwal , ṇuwi-ri ñā-mayamaya-yur ga-na-ṇga
NeObl-plain-All/Loc pl.n. eastward there

wili-gandayaruṇi ṇa-na gaḍigaḍi , ṇiya-gabujiri ṇad+g-aṇa ,
3Pl/3Sg-speared MSg-the uncle who died at-pl.n. run+3Sg-did

Then they ran away. They swam north. Another of my father's mother's group ran along. They chased him and speared him in the open plain, at ṇamanuwal. They speared my uncle (mother's brother), the one who died at gabujiri, there to the east, in the plain. He ran along.

5) *ṇaṅga-ya-ra ṇa-na wil-andayari yaraṭaṭa ga-ya-ra ga-na*
MSg-that-Ø MSg-the 3Pl/3Sg-speared wounded there

wili-gandayaruṇi ṇuṅga wayi+wili-yi , wari+wala-'ṇa
3Pl/3Sg-speared so leave+3Pl/3Sg-did return+3Pl-did

ṭurg+bili-yi ṇa-na ṇaṅga-ya ṇugaṇṇaṅga
put on platform+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-the MSg-that pl.n.

wil-andayari ṭurg+bili-yi ga-ya-ra mimi ,
3Pl/3Sg-speared there father's mother

That one whom they speared was wounded there. They speared him and left him. They went back. They put him (when he died) on a funeral platform. They speared that one (at) ṇugaṇṇaṅga. They put him in a platform, my father's mother.

6) *guda wa-ni-ṇga-yani ṇḍuṇ+bala-'ṇa , ṇuwi-ri ṇa-na*
that's all from there get up+3Pl-did eastward MSg-the

ṇaluru w-anji ṇaṅga-yi ṇjalguyi ga-na w-anji , young fellow ,
father 3Sg-sat he single boy 3Sg-sat

ṇa-na mimi , guda ṇḍuṇ+bala-'ṇa , ṇuwi-ri ṇa-manuga-yur
MSg-the father's mother eastward MSg-stone-All/Loc

guda ga-ya-ra wala-'nja .
that's all there 3Pl-sat

After that they got up (and left), eastward. My father was (there). A single boy was there, a young fellow, my father's mother's brother. Then they got up (and went) eastward toward the stone hills. There they stayed.

TEXT 30

AN ALAWA WAR PARTY

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) wul-gala-'lawā , ṇa-'la-ḷini waraji-yana , butwala-ma ga-na
Pl-Rdp-Alawa Centr-3Pl-went from on top burn+3Pl-did

wuniyari , wuniyari butwala-ma , ṇaluru , wari-'nji ga-ya-ra
pl.n. father 3Du-sat there

ṇiya-ṇamanuwal galimba , ṇiya-wulbulinji balwayi , n-gajiri
who died at-pl.n. and who died at-pl.n. big FSg-mother

ṇaba wala-'nji , ṇa-na ṇanga-ya ṇa-Riley ga-nariña , young fella
also 3Pl-sat MSg-the MSg-that MSgObl- his father

ga-na w-anji ṇgiyu-gaṇa ,
3Sg-sat small-Dimin

*The Alawa people came from inland. They set fires at wuniyari.
My father(s). The two of them were living there, the one who died at
ṇamanuwal and the big (elder) one who died at wulbulinji. My mother
was there also. The father of the Rileys was there - a young fellow.*

2) ṇina-ra ṇa-ṇgiyu-ña galimba , ṇa-'la-ḷini wul-gala-'lawā ,
I 1Sg-small-Ø and Centr-3Pl-went Pl-Rdp-Alawa

wili-naji ṇa-na waḍgar jaḍ+gu-nani wuniyaru-yu , wulu-yiri
3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-the fire burn+3Sg-did pl.n.-All/Loc they too

waya-wa-yana butwala-ma , guda ṇa-'la-ḷini ga-ya-ra , ga-ya
south side burn+3Pl-did that's all Centr-3Pl-went there there

gargaḷi ḍirwu+wala-ma , guda gargaḷi wayi+wulumbur-yi wal-a
in west plunge+3Pl-did that's all leave+3Du/3Pl-did Pl-the

wul-jaḷi , wuruja ṇa-'ri-ḷini ga-ya-ra ,
Pl-many two Centr-3Du-went there

*I was small, and.... The Alawas came. They saw (camp) fires
burning at wuniyaru. They also (the Alawas) set fires, on the south
side. Then they came there. There in the west they went into the
water. Then in the west two (Alawas) left the main (Alawa) group
behind and came.*

3) waḷja wiri-jaḷi ga-ya-ra mimi wuningi wuniyari
dugong 3Du/3Sg-ate there father's mother further pl.n.

ḷurg+bari-jinji , ga-ya-ra ṇabaḷ+wari-mindini , warṇgu wari-ma
be in platform+3Du-did there die+3Du-did until 3Du-said

war-a wara-ya-ra waraji-yana na-'ri-!ini na-salt, 'na-minijar
 Du-the Du-that-Conc from on top Centr-3Du-went MSgObl- MSgObl-salt
 na-niri-!ini, munana namba+ngungu-yi ni-ña garaja,
 Centr-1ExDu-went White man summon-3Sg/2Sg-did MSg-this on top
 yaja+niwi-jujununi',
 hunt for+1ExPl/2Sg-do

*The two of them ate dugong there, my father's mother's brothers.
 They were put on a funeral platform at wuniyari, they died there.
 Those two (Alawa) men from inland did that, they came (pretended to
 come) for salt. 'We have come for salt. A White man wants you to go
 to him, here inland. We have been looking for you.'*

4) na-na nanga-ya 'ni!' na-na walja n-biriwu wiri-yagañi
 MSg-the MSg-that yes! MSg-the dugong Ne-their(Du) 3Du/3Sg-took
 'baða yawuryawur na-niwi-!indiyi', guda ndun+bari-'na,
 later afternoon Centr-1ExPl-go that's all get up+3Du-did
 waraja-ri, warj+bulumbu-nina wal-a wala-ya wul-jaři, wala-!ini
 to top get+3Du/3Pl-did Pl-the Pl-that Pl-many 3Pl-went
 namiri:: nunga, wulumbur-andayari war-a mimi,
 night so 3Pl/3Du-speared Du-the father's mother's brother

*That (Mara) man (said), 'All right!' They had a dugong, they took
 it. 'Later, in the afternoon we are all coming.' Then they (the two
 Alawas) got up (and went) inland. They got the main group (of Alawas).
 They went at night, and speared my two father's mother's brothers.*

5) ga-niyi ga-ya-ri bugi dalag+bari-nbu, nabař+wari-mindini,
 still there right fall+3Du-did die+3Du-did
 na-naluru jaw+iri-ganji walja, nad+bala-'na nunga
 MSgObl-father harpoon+3Du/3Sg-did dugong run+3Pl-did so
 đirwu+wala-ma, guda na-ni na-naluru
 plunge in+3Pl-did that's all MSg-theObl MSgObl-father
 lurg+bulumbu-yi garaja, wuniyari wara-'raji-yana
 put on platform+3Du/3Du-did on top pl.n. on top
 wayi+wulumbur-yi.
 leave+3Du/3Du-did

Right there the two of them fell. They died. My (two) father(s) had gone harpooning dugong. They (the Alawas) ran and jumped into the water. Then my (two) father(s) put them (the two dead men) on a funeral platform, inland. At wuniyara, inland, they left them.

TEXT 31

BURIALS

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) ga-na yangar-manjar ganagu ñil+wulumbu-ninuyi , ga
 before not bury+3Pl/3Pl-did but
 |urg+bulumbur-yañi ña-galagala , ga-ya galagala
 put on platform+3Pl/3Pl-did MSgObl-forked stick there forked stick
 gayi ga-ya galagala gayi , ga-ya galagala gayi , guda ḍurgungu
 other that's all cross pole
 warngu wara-ya guda |urg+bulumbur-yañi waraja-ri ,
 until Du-that upward

In the old days they did not bury them (dead people), rather they put them up on platforms. A forked stick, another one there, another one there, another one there (i.e. at the corners of a rectangle). Then a cross-pole, then they put those two (dead men) up on the platform.

2) guda wala-'nj-anji::: wala-'nj-anji::: might be wangi j
 that's all 3Pl-Rdp-sat maybe one
 wuruja-gayi bijiji , wala-yurañi , wayi+wu-yi-|ana ,
 two-other day 3Pl-went leave+3Sg/3Sg-did-Ref1
 yirij+bili-yañi n-ga-na n-muliriñ guda , guda wala-yurañi ,
 gather+3Pl/3Sg-did Ne-Ne-the Ne-skeleton that's all 3Pl-went

Then they (the living people) stayed (there), maybe one day, maybe three. They went. It (the skeleton) was left there. They picked up the skeleton. Then they went.

3) 'yunguwan w-anu' , n-ga-na-nga n-muliriñ
 ritual 3Sg-will sit Ne-Ne-that-Ø Ne-skeleton
 ña-|urgu-ñu ga-na wur+wil-anji , war+wil-anji
 MSgObl-hollow tree-All/Loc put down+3Pl/3Sg-did sing+3Pl/3Sg-did
 ña-na yunguwan biñ+bil-anji , ña-na ñanga-ya |urgun
 MSg-the finish+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-the MSg-that hollow tree

wur-wil-anji ña-ñugur-yu ña-ṛadbur-yu ,
put down+3Pl/3Sg-did NeObl-sacred-All/Loc NeObl-place-All/Loc

na-jungayi jawuru
MSgObl-manager his

'There will be a ceremony.' They put that skeleton into a hollow tree. They sang the ritual song, they finished it. They put that hollow tree in a sacred place, belonging to the dead men's managers (men whose mothers were in his semimoiety).

TEXT 32 CHILDREN SPEAK MARA AND ENGLISH

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) mara , njalguyi ɲiriri , ɲaba wul-ɲiriri ,
Mara (language) single man small ones also Pl-small ones

wul-gamiñ , munaja ŋa!+a-'la-ma galimba , mara
Pl-girls White man (language) speak+3Pres-3Pl-do and

na|+a-'la-ma ma|ga:yai, ganagu wayi+wili-jayi n-ga-na n-ga-ya-ra,
all of them not leave+3Pl/3Sg-do Ne-Ne-the Ne-Ne-that-Ø

na-muɾi-ŋanja-yani	galimba	na-wiɟa-ŋanja-yani
MSgObl-father's father-his/their-Abl	and	MSgObl-mother's father-his/

na!+a-'-ma ,
their-Abl speak+3Pres-3Sg-does

Mara. The young single men (circumcised), also the young children, (and) the young girls, speak White man language. And all of them speak Mara, they do not leave that behind. They speak it, (having learned it) from their paternal and maternal grandfathers.

2) galimba ña-mara-yani qimbir-yagani 'ña-mara-yani qal+u-mi',
and NeObl-Mara-Abl lExPl/3Pl-tell speak+2SgImp-do!

ga-niyi n-ga-na n-giyu-gaña ɲa|+a-'-ma guda
still Ne-Ne-the Ne-small-Dimin speak+3Pres-3Sg-does that's all

ŋa|+a-'-ma now gudagaya , wumañi ga-na ŋa-munaŋa-yur
constantly never mind MSgObl-White man-All/Loc

wa-'-lindu , ṅa-munaṅa ṅa!+a-'-ma , munaṅa ,
3Pres-3Sg-goes MSgObl-White man speak+3Pres-3Sg-does White man

ga-niyi qa|+a-'la-ma ma|gayayi wal-a wul-irwi, wul-waḍi-waḍiri
still speak+3Pres-3Pl-do every one Pl-the Pl-our(ExPl) Pl-Rdp-Waḍiri

TEXT 34

BLACK-HEADED PYTHON (MYTH)

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) gulabanji , yur+w-aṇa bubuṇara , bay+u-yaṇa ṇḍuṇ+g-aṇa
 pl.n. come out+3Sg-did python stand+3Sg-did get up+3Sg-did

yimbi-ri , warṇgu yaṛyaṛ+w-aṇa yimbi-ri , wu-ḷini wabaṛa ,
 northward until slide along+3Sg-did 3Sg-went pl.n.

wuṛ+w-aṇi ṇargu balwayi , ṇargu wuṛ+w-aṇi , wabaṛa ,
 put down+3Sg/3Sg-did billabong big

all right wabaṛa , ḍiwuwayinga , wuṛ+w-aṇi ,
 pl.n. put down+3Sg/3Sg-did

The black-headed python came out at gulabanji. It stood up, it got up (and went) north. It slid along going north. It went to wabaṛa. It put down a big billabong. It put down a billabong, wabaṛa. All right, wabaṛa and (another place) ḍiwuwayinga it put down.

2) all right yimbi-ri mal-mal+w-aṇa , yimbi-ri waraja:: ga-ya
 northward Rdp-go up+3Sg-did northward on top there
 guymi , ṇargu ṇanga-ya-ra guymi wuṛ+w-aṇi galimba
 in the north billabong MSg-that-Ø put down+3Sg/3Sg-did and
 waṛugu wu-wari , wuruja-gayi , all right yimbi-ri wu-ḷini:: ,
 egg 3Sg/3Sg-laid two-other northward 3Sg-went

All right, it went up, northward. There, inland, in the north. It put down that billabong in the north. It laid three eggs. Then it went north.

3) ṇa-mayamaya jub+g-aṇa , mayamaya-ya wu-ḷini:: ṇamaṛbin ,
 NeObl-plain go down+3Sg-did plain-Per 3Sg-went pl.n.
 ṇajal+u-ji , guda yimbi-ri wu-ḷini:: jub+g-aṇa ,
 make well+3Sg/3Sg-did that's all northward 3Sg-went
 ṇawuguṇa , yimbi-ri wu-ḷini:: waḷbu-ri:: , ṇamaḷjar ,
 pl.n. downward pl.n.

It went down to the plain. It went through the plain, at the place ṇamaṛbin. It made a well. Then it went north and went down (toward the coast) at ṇawuguṇa. It went north, down (to the coast), at ṇamaḷjar.

4) warṇgu wargaḷi yili+w-aṇa yi:: , ṇayaṇbi ,
 until westward go on side+3Sg-did pl.n.

wu|un-un-maryi wu-|ini, ɲaɲanjamara mal+w-aɲa, guda
across the bottom 3Sg-went pl.n. go up+3Sg-did that's all

yimbi-ri wu-|ini::: yiwawaba, waraja-ri mal+w-aɲa, guda
northward 3Sg-went pl.n. upward go up+3Sg-did that's all

wa|bu-ri jub+g-aɲa yi:::, wumamandañu,
downward go down+3Sg-did pl.n.

Then it went west, going along the side (of the coast). The place ɲayanɲbi. Across the bottom (off the coast) it went, it went up (onto the land) at ɲaɲanjamara. Then it went north to yiwawaba. It went up (inland). Then it went down (to the coast). The place wumamandañu.

5) wa-ni-nga-yani waraji-ri wari+w-aɲa yi:::, ɲargarguniña,
from there upward return+3Sg-did pl.n.

ɲargarguniña-yana w-aɲa ɲajamaɲga, ɲajamaɲga, biɲ+g-aɲa,
pl.n.-Abl 3Sg-went pl.n. finish+3Sg-did

him finished there.

From there it went back upward (to the coast). The place ɲargarguniña. From ɲargarguniña it went to ɲajamaɲga. That is all. It (the story) is finished there.

TEXT 35 WE CANNOT TELL YOU ABOUT RITUALS

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) ɲi-ngara, ɲa-na munɲa balwayi, balwayi gaɣiyi-mar ɲa-na
MSg-is here MSg-the White man big man-Sg MSg-the

ɲi-ña, ɖil+a-'-'rɲama yunguwan, guda
MSg-this hold+3Pres-3Sg/3Sg-does ritual that's all

ɲa-na yunguwan ga-na ɲula ɲawu-way wayara
not 1InPl/3Sg-will give others

munɲa, balwayi trouble w-anji n-balwayi, wul-wayara
White man big 3Sg-sat Ne-big Pl-others

wul-muna-munɲa ga jungu ɲi-ngara ɲa-na munɲa, ganagu
Pl-Rdp-White man but all right MSg-is here MSg-the White man not

wala+ɲangu-jayi, ɲa-yunguwan-i,
enquire+3Sg/3Sg-does MSgObl-ritual-Purp

The important White man is here. This is an important man. He holds (knows about) the rituals. We will not give (knowledge of) the rituals to other White men. There was a big trouble here, (involving)

other White men (researchers). But this White man is all right, he does not ask about rituals.

2) that'll do na!+na-janani wariya, na-na yunguwan,
merely speak+1Sg/3Sg-do anyway MSg-the ritual

na-g+na-ganjiyi, na-na yunguwan numbulwar gi-ngara trouble
conceal+1Sg/3Sg-do MSg-the ritual pl.n. here

wala-mindini na-yunguwan-i, ga-na gi-ña, na-wiliyuru Limmen River,
3Pl-did that MSgObl-ritual-Purp here MSgObl-pl.n.

na-wiliyuru ganagu wunguy+wala-yi-!ana (error) gi-ngara
not discuss+3Pl-did-Recip here

wunguy+wala-ganji-!ana numbulwar,
discuss+3Pl-did-Recip pl.n.

I just speak to him (about) anything (i.e. not about rituals).
I keep (information about) rituals secret. They had trouble here, at Numbulwar, about rituals (when an anthropologist was given some information about them). At Limmen River (i.e. in Mara country), they did not discuss it (with White men). Here they talked about it, at Numbulwar.

3) warngu raṅ+bala-ganji-!ana numbulwar again, Limmen River,
until hit+3Pl-did-Recip pl.n.

wiliyuru, yunguwan jungu na-na ṅanga-ya-ra, ganagu, ganagu,
pl.n. ritual all right MSg-the MSg-that-Ø not not

na-na ṅi-ña munaga jungu balwayi na-na ṅi-ña, finish.
MSg-the MSg-this White man all right big

So that they had fights, at Numbulwar still. At Limmen River, those rituals are all right. Not... (sentence not completed). This White man is all right, this man is important.

TEXT 36

BESTOWALS

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) ṅi-ña, n-ṅagur n-giyu-gaṅa ba!a+wa-'-gunbuḍu, guda
FSg-this FSg-child FSg-small-Dimin be born+3Pres-3Sg-do that's all
wuṛ+a-'li-ganja ña-yula-yur, guda na-na
put down+3Pres-3Pl/3Sg-do NeObl-leg-All/Loc that's all MSg-the
ṅi-ña, na-ya-ra n-ṅagur n-jawuru, n-jawuru gudagaya,
MSg-this FSg-that-Ø FSg-child FSg-his always

This female child is born. Then they put her down on his lap ('legs'). Then this man, that female child is his forever (i.e. is bestowed on him as future wife).

2) ga-na gal+u-!ini ga-niyi n-jawuru yet , gal+u-!ini gudagaya
while grow+3Sg-did still FSg-his always
 warngu gal+w-aŋa , ga-na n-garagarañu , wili-waji , wili-wani ,
until grow+3Sg-did FSg-very big 3Pl/3Sg-gave 3Pl/3Sg-gave
 guda wu-gal-aluni::: , warngu ŋagur ŋgiyu ɖud+ga-'-mama ,
that's all 3Sg/3Sg-Rdp-held until child small be found+3Pres-3Sg-
lest do

While she grew up she was still his. She grew up until she had (fully) grown up. When she was full-grown they gave her to him. Then he kept her for a while, until she might give birth to a child.

3) guda ga-niyi n-jawuru now , gudagaya , n-jawuru , ga-na
that's all still FSg-his always
 wu-gal-aluni n-gayi wuningi n-daju-ŋanja
3Sg/3Sg-Rdp-held FSg-other further FSg-younger sister-her
 ya-ri-ya-ra , mad+burgu-juñi , mad+burgu-juñi wurg-al-aluni
FSgObl-Obl-that-Ø mix+3Sg/3Du-did 3Sg/3Du-Rdp-held
 wur-rambi wurg-aluni now , wuruja ga-na wurgu-gal-aluni ,
Du-together 3Sg/3Du-held two 3Sg/3Du-Rdp-held
 wurgu-gal-aluni gudagaya::: ,
always

She was still his, always, (even) when he got another (wife), the younger sister of that (first) one. He had them both ('mixed' them). He had them both together. He had two (wives). He kept them, always.

4) gudagaya wurgu-gal-aluni warngu nabaɾ+u-mindiniña , ga-na
always 3Sg/3Du-Rdp-held until die+3Sg-did
 gayari n-gudar , n-gudar gayari , wili-wayara
long time Ne-old days PlObl-other
 wa-'li-galuŋɖu (wrong tense?) wuruja wuruja , ga-na ga-ya-ra ,
3Pres-3Pl/3Sg-held two two Ne-the there
 gayari wu-mindiniña n-gudar .
long time 3Sg-did that Ne-old days

He kept them always until he died, in the old days. In those days others (also) keep two (wives) apiece. That's how it was, it was like that in the old days long ago.

TEXT 37

BANJO AND THE BALD MAN

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) wur-munaga wuruja nargu-ganji na-walajandama, nargu-ganji:::

Du-White two 1Sg/3Du-took MSgObl-crocodile

warngu manangura, wari+na-niw-aga waraji-yana, warngu
until pl.n. go back+Centr-1ExPl-did from the top until

n-niyyin n-na-radbur manangura, ga-na-nga-nindi niwi-lini, warngu
Ne-name Ne-Ø-country pl.n. toward there 1ExPl-went until

maruwanmala, ga-na-nga yana+niwi-jinji war-a wuru-yimar wur-munaga
pl.n. there sleep+1ExPl-did Du-the Du-that Du-White

wuruja ,
two

I took two White men (hunting) for (estuarine) crocodiles. (Another Aboriginal, Banjo, was with the narrator as well.) I took them all the way to manangura (a river east of Borroloola). We came back from upriver, right up to the place called manangura. We went along there, right up to maruwanmala (a place near the mouth of the river). There we slept, (the two of us and) the two Whites.

2) wa-ri-ya-ra-yani wulubuluna jad+gu-niji na-na gayi
from there middle of night get burned+3Sg-did MSg-the other

n-murji gi-nindi, na-wungun, na-wungun, na-wadgar,
Ne-hand this way MSgObl-hot coals MSgObl-fire

wa-ni-nga-yani nan+iw-aga mandura na-walajandama
from there run+1ExPl-did thinking MSgObl-crocodile

jabi+wu-ji gayi,
seize+3Sg/3Sg-did other

After that, in the middle of the night one (of the White men) got his hand burned by some hot coals, by a fire. (He shouted and made a tremendous commotion inside his tent; the others could not see what had happened.) We (the two Aboriginals and the other White) ran, thinking a crocodile had seized the other (White).

3) *ṇantiw-aṇa ṇantir-aṇa gayi jawulba, ṇantiw-aṇa*
run+lExPl-did run+lExDu-did other old man

ṇa-walba-yu bay+ṇiwi-nbu, guda ṇa-na gayi
MSgObl-river-All/Loc stand+lExPl-did that's all MSg-the other

ṇad+ja-'-'ṇa munana ga-ya-ra,
run+Centr-3Sg-did White there

*We (three) ran, we (two) ran, (me and) that other old man (Banjo).
 We (three) ran to the river, and stood up there. The other White man
 (the one who had been burned) ran that way (the other way).*

4) *guda ṇa-na gayi n-janamba biḷir-min, ṇad+ja-'-'ṇa*
that's all MSg-the other Ne-forehead clean run+Centr-3Sg-did

ṇaṇi-yana ga-na ṇanga-ya-ra n-ḍagi wu-galuni ṇa-na blanket,
behind MSg-that-Ø Ne-nape 3Sg/3Sg-held MSg-the

warngu warwaj+gu-ji gi-ṇindi n-janamba warwaj+gu-jujuṇi
until shoo+3Sg/3Sg-did that way Ne-forehead shoo+3Sg/3Sg-did

'way! way!' wu-mindini mandura mbaḍirña.
scat! 3Sg-did that thinking ghost

*Then the other (White), the one with the clean forehead (i.e. the
 bald one) ran behind (me and Banjo). That one (Banjo) had a blanket
 over his shoulders (nape). (Banjo had not seen the man's bald head
 before since the man had been wearing a hat; the bald scalp glistened
 in the moonlight and Banjo thought it was a ghost.) He tried to shoo
 him away by beating him on the head (with the blanket), calling out
 'scat!', thinking it was a ghost.*

TEXT 38

RUNNING OUT OF PETROL AT SEA

Narrator: Mack Riley

1) *ṇa-ḷini, ṇa-ḷini wi-ngara-yani nambulwar-yana, Lindsay and*
lSg-went from here pl.n.-from

bulga ṇiwi-ḷini, ṇa-niwi-ḷini::: ṇa-barawu::: warngu
(name) lExPl-went Centr-lExPl-went MSgObl-boat until

yaḷjaḷ+iw-aṇa waybu-ri, waybu-ri ga-na yaḷjaḷ+iw-aṇa,
go past+lExPl-did southward go past+lExPl-did

*I went from here, from Numbulwar. Lindsay, Bulga, and I went.
 We came along in the boat and went past (the island) to the south.*

- 5) guda wur+w-añi na-ni na-'rgul na-ḍalaḍala ,
that's all put down+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-theObl MSgObl-other MSgObl-box
 ḍalaḍala wur+w-añi ṇunga gud+gu-yi mani jumbala ,
box put down+3Sg/3Sg-did so erect+3Sg/3Sg-did like sail
 guda ṇan-ad+gu-!ini ṇunga ja!a-ja!ab+ṇa-!ini gudagaya ,
that's all Rdp-run+3Sg-did so Rdp-paddle+1Sg-did constantly

Then that man (Lindsay) put one box (ḍalaḍala) on top of another box (na-ḍalaḍala), so that he stood it up like a sail. Then it (the boat) moved quickly along, while I paddled and paddled.

- 6) ja!ab+ṇa-!ini gudagaya miṇi wur+u-gunbuni miṇi wur+u-gunbuni
paddle+1Sg-did constantly now set+3Sg-did

gi-ngara mal+iw-aṇa , wanga-'nga-yana wur+u-nbu guda
here go up+1ExPl-did on east side set+3Sg-did that's all
 ṇamiri ṇa-niwi-!ini warṅgu ṇamiri ḍaj+ṇiwi-ma gi-ña .
night Centr-1ExPl-went until night sit down+1ExPl-did here

I kept paddling. The sun was setting. We came up here on the east side; the sun set. Then we kept coming at night, until we sat down (arrived) here at night.

TEXT 39 EAGLEHAWK AND CROW (MYTH)

Narrator: Mack Riley

- 1) eaglehawk , ḍiwanguwangu , eaglehawk name and blackfellow name
eaglehawk

ḍiwanguwangu , ga-na-ña wunubaryi , wunubaryi yingar , only
there pl.n. this side

bayi ṇawuṇḍubi ṇawuṇḍubi , n-jangar wur+u-ganji
in the south pl.n. Ne-nest put down+3Sg/3Sg-did

garaja-wili ṇa-manuga-yu , guda gaṛ+u-mindiniña jargun
on top MSgObl-rock-All/Loc that's all dance+3Sg-did ceremony

ga-niyi yunguḍ+gu-yurañi gi-ña waraja-ri ,
still smoke+3Sg-did here to top

Eaglehawk (wedge-tailed eagle), that is the (English) name, and the blackfellow name is ḍiwanguwangu. That place wunubaryi, to this side, (further) south is the place ṇawuṇḍubi. It (a female eaglehawk) made a nest in the upcountry, on a stone hill. Then it danced the jargun

(a public performance forming part of the mostly secret gunabibi ceremony). It was smoking (i.e. sending dust up) here to the interior.

2) waraja-ri yungud+gu-yurañi, manduṛa waḍgar jaḍ-jaḍ+gu-nani,
 to top smoke+3Sg-did thinking fire Rdp-burn+3Sg-did
 guda ṇḍuṇ+bala-yurañi wal-a wul-jaṛi ṇḍuṇ+bala-yurañi
 that's all get up+3Pl-did Pl-the Pl-many get up+3Pl-did
 ṇa-'la-yurañi::, ga wili-nani 'ṇi-ña wuningi, n-janawa',
 Centr-3Pl-did and 3Pl/3Sg-saw FSg-this more FSg-female
 guda ḍaj+bala-mindiniña,
 that's all sit down+3Pl-did

The smoke (dust) went up into the interior. They (people) thought that a fire (set by other people) was burning. Many people got up and came along (to meet the other group). They saw it (eaglehawk). 'Just this female (i.e. eaglehawk)', they said. Then they stopped there.

3) guda ṇa-na ṇanga-ya-ra gayi ṛaṇ+g-anji ṇamiri
 that's all MSg-the MSg-that-Ø other kill+3Sg/3Sg-did night
 jaw+Ø-anji ṇa-bijabija, guda ga-na ṇa-'la-yurañi
 stab+3Sg/3Sg-did MSgObl-yamstick that's all Centr-3Pl-went
 wangaṇaṇin, miliña, and ṇanga-ya gayi biriḷilyi,
 crow red-winged parrot MSg-that other red-collared lorikeet
 wangaṇaṇin, ṇa-wangaṇaṇin waḍuwaḍu wu-yaḷi,
 crow MSgObl-crow liver 3Sg/3Sg-ate

Then it (eaglehawk) killed one of them, it stabbed him at night with a yamstick. Then they (birds) came: a crow, a red-winged parrot, and a that other one - a red-collared lorikeet. The crow ate the liver (of the dead man).

4) warngu wu-wayiṇḡaḷi ṇa-waḍuwaḍu warngu ṇanga-ya
 until 3Sg/3Sg-hit with thrown object MSgObl-liver until MSg-that
 wag-min, ga ṇanga-ya biriḷilyi wu-wayiṇḡaḷi ṇa-ṇuliji, warngu
 black and MSg-that lorikeet MSgObl-blood until
 ṇuliji n-jalu gi-ñindi w-anj-anji, ṇanga-ya miliña ṇuliji again
 blood Ne-arm this way 3Sg-Rdp-sat MSg-that parrot blood as well
 wu-wayiṇḡaḷi,

Then it (eaglehawk) threw the liver at it (so that it splatted all over it), so that it (crow) was black. As for that lorikeet, it (eaglehawk) threw blood all over it so that blood was all over its arm. It also threw blood on the parrot. (This accounts for the red patches on the lorikeets and parrots.)

5) wu-ya|i biŋ+gu-juñi , guda baɖa w-anj-anji:::
 3Sg/3Sg-ate finish+3Sg/3Sg-did that's all later 3Sg-Rdp-sat
 gayi warj+gu-yaga|i , gar+u-mindiniña jargun baɖa yunguɖ+gu-yurañi ,
 other get+3Sg/3Sg-did dance+3Sg-did ceremony later smoke+3Sg-did
 ga-na mbul-mbul+u-ganji mbul-mbul+u-ganji , ɲa-na ɲanga-ya
 Rdp-bring+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that
 ʎun-ud+gu-jinji ga-na biŋ-biŋ+gu-jujuñi ɲa-na
 Rdp-be stuck+3Sg-did Rdp-finish+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the
 gaɽiyi-ma::y! warŋgu biŋ+gu-ʎarbu ,
 human-Sg until finish+3Sg/3Sg-did

It (eaglehawk) finished eating him (the dead man). Then it sat for a while, and got another (man). It danced the jargun ceremony. The smoke (dust) went along, attracting (another man). That one (man) was stuck. It (eaglehawk) finished him off, the man.

6) ɲa-na waraji-yana ɲa-na wargali-yana , ɲa-na wanga-yana
 MSg-the from above MSg-the from west from east
 yimi-yana ga-na ɲa-'la-yurañi , warŋgu biŋ+gu-ji ga-na
 from north Centr-3Pl-went until finish+3Sg/3Sg-did
 ɾaŋ-aŋ+gu-ganji , and ɲanga-yimar ɲa-ɖiwanguwangu , name call 'em
 Rdp-kill+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that MSgObl-eaglehawk
eaglehawk and ɖiwanguwangu blackfellow name , ɲa-ni ɲa-ni-ŋga
 MSg-theObl MSg-that-Ø
 now ga-na yunguɖ+gu-yurañi gar+u-jinji .
 smoke+3Sg-did dance+3Sg-did

From the interior, from the west, from the east, from the north they came, so that it (eaglehawk) finished them off, it killed them, that eaglehawk did. It is called eaglehawk (in English), and its blackfellow name is ɖiwanguwangu. That one (made) the smoke go, and danced (the ceremony).

TEXT 40

OLIVE PYTHON (MYTH)

Narrator: Johnnie

1) wuruja wur-gurujaɖbunɡu wari-!ini , wari-!ini ɲa-na waɾajara
 two Du-python 3Du-went MSg-the flood

ɖu!manga wartwili-ganji , war-a wur-gurujaɖbunɡu wari-!ini
 all the way sing+3Pl/3Sg-did Du-the Du-python 3Du-went

ɖu!wir-aɲi juy! , ga-na wari-!ini wa!bu-ri
 sing for+3Du/3Sg-did going along 3Du-went down

jub+ari-!ini , waɾajara wartwili-ganji ,
 go down+3Du-did flood sing+3Pl/3Sg-did

The two olive pythons (Liasis olivaceus) went along, singing (the song of) the flood all the way. The two pythons went along, singing the circumcision corroboree. They sang (the song of) the flood as they went downriver.

2) wari-!ini-!ini::: all right , wiri-naji ɲanga-yimar ɲalaɖara ,
 3Du-Rdp-went 3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-that archer fish

wayar+war-i-yaɲa , wiri-ja!i ɲanga-yimar ɲalaɖara ɖu!manga
 be hungry+3Du-did 3Du/3Sg-ate MSg-that archer fish all the way

juy! , xxx ɲa-na waɾajara maɲɖiwala wartwili-ganji
 going along MSg-the flood circumcision sing+3Pl/3Sg-did

ɖu!manga ,
 all the way

They kept going along, then they saw those archer fish (Toxotes chatareus, locally called 'rifle fish'). They (the pythons) were hungry so they ate those archer fish along the way. They sang the circumcision corroboree all the way.

3) guwaɖa+war-i-yaɲa ɲanga-yimar jaraɖadbuwa , jaraɖadbuwa
 hear+3Du-did MSg-that chestnut rail (bird)

guwaɖa+war-i-yaɲa , ɖu!wir-aɲi ɲanga-yimar jaraɖadbuwa ,
 sing for+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that

juy! wa!bu-ri wari-!ɲa , wari-!ini::: , wa!bu-ri:::
 going along downriver 3Du-went 3Du-went downriver

They heard those chestnut rails (birds). They sang the circumcision corroboree (for) those chestnut rails. They (the pythons) kept going downriver.

(Text 40)

4) wiri-naji nanga-yimar wumbul , waḍabir , waḍabir wiri-naji ,
 3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-that what's it? goanna

ṇa-na balba wu-mindini ga jaḍ+gu-ji ,
 MSg-the river 3Sg-did that and make bridge+3Sg-did

wuṛ+u-ganji wumbul ḍalala , wuṛ+u-ganji
 put down+3Sg/3Sg-did what's it? bridge

'wari+wari-!a wari+wari-!a ' wu-ma ṇa-na waḍabir ,
 go back+2DuImp-do! 3Sg-said MSg-the goanna

'wari+wari-!a ' ,

They saw those what's-it?, goannas (Varanus gouldii). They (goannas) were doing it (in) the river, making a bridge (i.e. a 'dam' consisting of stones, etc., which the goannas could then crawl across the river on). They were putting what's-it down, a bridge. They were putting it down. 'You two go back!' said the goannas (to the pythons), 'go back!'.

5) all right ṇad+bari-'ṇa ga-na wa-ni-ñā-yani warga!i-yana ga-na
 run+3Du-did from there from the west

!a!a!+wir-añi nanga-yimar wumbul , ḍalala ḍi+iri-yama
 split up+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that what's it? bridge throw+3Du/3Sg-did

nanga-yimar baṇ+bir-añi nanga-yimar ḍalala ,
 MSg-that break in half+3Du/3Sg-did bridge

Then the two of them (the pythons) charged from the west and busted up that what's-it, the bridge. They sent it flying, they smashed up that bridge.

6) guda ṇad+bari-'ṇa ju-jug+bari-'ṇa , nanga-yimar ṇa-na waḍabir
 finish run+3Du-did Rdp-spit+3Du-did MSg-that MSg-the goanna

gi-ñindi ṇaṛawañ+g-aṇa ṇad+g-aṇa ga-na-ṇa , 'gurya
 this way take shortcut+3Sg-did run+3Sg-did there excrement

mundud+guru-yiṇa ' , wu-mindini nanga-yimar waḍabir ,
 eat+2DuImp-do! (irregular prefix) 3Sg-said MSg-that goanna

'wa-ni-ṇga-yani ṇuru-!indiyi ṇirwi-ñimbi-yur ' , wurgu-jañi
 from there 2Du-go to us (ExDu) 3Sg/3Du-told

ṇa-ni ṇa-waḍabir , wurgu-ñambuni , balwayi ṇari , guda
 MSg-theObl MSgObl-goanna 3Sg/3Du-rebuked big fight that's all

ḍuṇ+g-aṇa , ga-na wayburi ,
 get up+3Sg-did southward

(Text 40)

After that they (the pythons) ran along and spat. Those goannas ran this way, taking a shortcut there. That goanna said 'Eat shit! You came here to us (to do us harm)'. It had a quarrel with them. There was a big fight. Then they (the goannas) got up (and set off) to the south.

7) wari-!ini barat+wari-ma du!manga wart+wiri-ganji,
3Du-went look around+3Du-did all the way sing+3Du/3Sg-did

wart+wiri-ganji nanga-yimar warajara du!+wiri-ganji,
MSG-that flood sing for+3Du/3Sg-did

du!+wiri-ganji nanga-yimar warajara::: ,

They (the two pythons) looked around, they sang (the song) all the way through. They sang (the song of) that flood.

8) narawañ+biri-yaña ña-na nanga-yimar wumbul , baña ,
take shortcut+3Du/3Sg-did MSG-the MSG-that what's it? opening
wari-!ini wumbul , law+ari-'ña nanga-yimar , wumbuli , guda
3Du-went what's it? cross+3Du-did MSG-that what's-it? that's all
walbu-ri juy! ,
southward going

They (the pythons) took a shortcut (through) that what's-it?, the opening (passageway). They went (to) what's-it?, they went across that what's-it?. Then (they) went southward.

9) ña-ni ña-ña ña-yunguwan ga-na wart+wiri-ganji
MSG-theObl MSGObl-this MSGObl-ceremony sing+3Du/3Sg-did

war-a wur-gurujaɖbungu , wari-!ini , maɾamaɾa ga-na wari-!ini
Du-the Du-python 3Du-went slow 3Du-went

nanga-yimar ñi-ña ña-warajara , du!+wiri-ganji::: wari-!ini::: ,
MSG-that MSG-this MSGObl-flood sing for+3Du/3Sg-did 3Du-went

The two pythons sang for this ceremony. They went along slowly. They sang the song for this flood.

10) wiri-naji , ñi-ña , wumbul ñalaɖara , wart+wiri-ganji
3Du/3Sg-saw MSG-this what's it? archer fish sing+3Du/3Sg-did

nanga-ya , du!+wir-añi nanga-yimar wumbul , yunguwan ,
MSG-that sing for+3Du/3Sg-did MSG-that what's it? ceremony

(Text 40)

They kept singing all the way through, (the song of) this flood, the circumcision ceremony. They kept going. They heard those chestnut rails.

14) 'agu! ɲi-ña jaraɖadbuwa garay! , ɖuɭ+a-'y '
Hey! MSg-this chestnut rail hey! sing for+1InDu/3Sg-will do
 ɖuɭ+wir-añi ɲanga-yimar jaraɖadbuwa , juy! ga-niyi
sing for+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that chestnut rail going still
 war+wiri-ganji ga-ya-ri bugi , baɾa-baɾa+wari-ɭini:: ,
sing+3Du/3Sg-did there right Rdp-look+3Du-did
 baɾa-baɾa+wari-ɭini ɲanga-yimar wumbuli , ɲaɲajalya ,
MSg-that what's it? pl.n.

(One python said to the other,) 'Hey! This is a chestnut rail, hey! We will sing the song for it.' They sang the song for that chestnut rail. They sang it right there. They looked and looked, (they saw) the place ɲaɲajalya.

15) miɲiɲ+bari-mindini baw+ari-ɭini miɲiɲ+bari-mindini ,
flick tongue+3Du-did emerge+3Du-did
 miɲiɲ+bari-mindini , ɲa-na wumbul yubi , ɖuɭ+wir-añi ,
MSg-the what's it? fog sing for+3Du/3Sg-did
 ga-ya-ri bugi , wuɾ+wiri-ganji ɲa-na wumbul , maɲɖiwala ,
there right put+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-the what's it? circumcision
 war+wiri-ganji , ɖuɭ+wiri-yama ,
sing+3Du/3Sg-did send+3Du/3Sg-did

They (the pythons) made lightning. They came out, they made lightning. They sang the song for what's-it?, the fog, right there. They put down (established) the what's-it?, the circumcision ceremony. They sang it, they sent (brought) it.

16) 'garay! ' wari-yi-ɭana , 'guda gi-ña ɲa-'nu , ga-na
Hey! 3Du-told-Recip that's all here 1InDu-will sit
 gi-ña war+a-ganjiyi wumbuli , ɲi-ña ɲa-ɾadbur guda
here sing+1InDu/3Sg-do MSg-this 0-place that's all
 ɖaj+ɲa-mi gi-ngara ' , wari-yi-ɭana , 'ɲi! ' ,
sit down+1InDu-will do here 3Du-told-Recip all right!

(Text 40)

They told each other, 'Hey! Now we will stay here. We will sing (at) what's-it?, we will sit down here (at) this place,' they said to each other. 'All right.'

17) 'ḡula ḡa-yura ḡa-na ḡi-ñindi wa|bu-ri , bigana wumbul ,
not lInDu-will go this way downward because what's it?

wul-jaṛi wul-mijimbanu wala-ya-ra , guda ḡi-ña
Pl-many Pl-many those that's all here

ḡaj+ḡa-mi , ḡaḡajalya , ḡaḡajalya ḡa-na
sit down+lInDu-will do pl.n.

ḡaj+ḡa-mi ḡaḡajalya , 'yi! ' , wari-yi-|ana , ' guda
sit down+lInDu-will do yes! 3Du-told-Recip that's all

ḡi-ña ḡil , ḡaj+ḡa-mi ' , 'yo! ' ,
here all right? sit down+lInDu-will do yes!

'We can't go this way, downriver (toward the coast), because there are many of those humans there. Now we will sit down (and stay) here. We will sit down at the place ḡaḡajalya.' 'Yes!' They spoke to each other. 'Here is all right? We will sit down?' 'All right!'

18) |i|+wiri-jañi ḡaḡa-yimar wiri-nani ḡaḡa-yimar balba ,
go across+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that 3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-that river

garagarañu balba , bay+wari-yaḡa , bay+wari-yaḡa that much , more
immense stand+3Du-did this far deeper

bay+wari-yaḡa ḡur+wiri-ji guda , bay+wari-yaḡa that much ,
dig+3Du/3Sg-did that's all

ḡa-na wumbul ḡa-na ḡugu w-anji ,
MSg-the what's it? MSg-the water 3Sg-sat

They went across (that country). They saw that river, a huge river. They stood up (to see how deep and wide the river was). They stood up (and the water was) this high (i.e. up to their 'waist'). They dug (to make the river deeper), then they stood up again and the what's-it?, the water was this high (a little higher than before).

19) jaw+ari-ma yaj+biri-yama ḡaḡa-yimar ḡalwu::r guda ,
dig+3Du-did throw+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that dirt that's all

bay+wari-nbu ña-wi|bar-ya , ḡagi , baḡa jaw+ari-ma ḡur+wiri-ji:: ,
stand+3Du-did Obl-neck-Per nape again dig+3Du-did dig+3Du/3Sg+did

(Text 40)

ɲur+wiri-ji ɖuŋ+bari-'ŋa bay+wari-nbu maɭuy ,
get up+3Du-did stand+3Du-did nothing

They dug, they threw away that dirt. Then they stood (again, and the water was) up to their necks, their napes. They dug some more, then they stood up (and there was) nothing (i.e. they were totally underwater).

20) baɖa ɲunumanguyur jaw+ari-mindini waɭbu-ri , ɾaŋ+bir-añi
later more deeply dig+3Du-did down hit+3Du/3Sg-did

ɲaŋga-yimar ɲalwu:::r , gi-ñindi ɾaŋ+bir-añi bay+wari-nbu ,
MSg-that sand this way hit+3Du/3Sg-did stand+3Du-did

bay+wari-nbu maɭuy , ɲa-niyi ɭaban ɲa-niyi ɲugu ga-na w-anji ,
nothing MSg-only saltwater MSg-only water 3Sg-sat

They dug deeper and deeper, downward. They attacked that sand, they attacked it this way. They stood up (and felt) nothing, only saltwater, only water was there.

21) jiɭ+u-jinji ɲa-na wumbul waɾajara jur+u-mindini
rain+3Sg-did MSg-the what's it? flood recede+3Sg-did

bay+wari-jinji , guda , baɖa waɭbu-ri jaw+ari-ma jaw+ari-ma
stand+3Du-did that's all later down dig+3Du-did

jaw+ari-ma , balwayi wumbul , wuɾ+wir-añi , ɲur+wiri-jinji
big what's-it? put down+3Du/3Sg-did dig+3Du/3Sg-did

balwayi ɲa-ɾadbur biriwu ,
big Ø-place their(Du)

It rained. The floodwaters came down (to the sea). They stood up (and their heads were underwater). They dug more downward. They put down a big what's-it? (hole). They dug deeply, the big country (there) belongs to them.

22) ɲur+wiri-ji::: guda , ga-na bay+wari-nbuni ga-na
dig+3Du/3Sg-did that's all stand+3Du-did

wur+u-ganji , ɲa-na ɲi-ña maraŋuɾu gi-ñindi
tide come in+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the MSg-this head this way

wuɾ+wir-añi , yi::: ga-na , wur+u-ganji gi-ñindi wargal-i-r ,
put+3Du/3Sg-did westward

They dug, then they stood up as the tide went in. They put (their) heads this way, to the west, as the tide went in.

(Text 40)

- 23) ga-na jur+u-mindini ṇa-na ṇi-ña ṇugu , gi-ñindi waḷbu-ri
recede+3Sg-did MSg-the MSg-this water this way downward
 maguṛ wur-waḷbu-ri ga-na bay+wari-jinji , ga-na wumbul ṇaṇajalya ,
eye Du-downward-Ø stand+3Du-did what's-it? pl.n.
 guda waṛir-waṛir+u-mindini ṇa-na ḷaban jaḷababa+wu-ḷini ,
that's all Rdp-boil+3Sg-did MSg-the saltwater waves churn+3Sg-did
 bay+wari-jinji maḷuy ,
stand+Du-did nothing

When the tide went down, the two of them stood with their eyes facing downward (away from the mainland). What's-it?, the place ṇaṇajalya. The saltwater was extremely agitated. There were big waves. They (the pythons) stood up (and felt) nothing (i.e. they were fully underwater).

- 24) wu-yi ṇa-na gayi 'garay! , balwayi ṇa-na ṇi-ña
3Sg/3Sg-told MSg-the other hey! big MSg-the MSg-this
 wumbul , ṇur+a-jujuñi garagarañu guda yumar ṇa-na ṇi-ña
what's-it? dig+1InDu/3Sg-did very big that's all good MSg-the MSg-this
 ṇa-wuḷiyi ṇa-ṛadbur ' , wari-ma ,
1InDu-sit Ø-place 3Du-said

One of them said (to the other), 'Hey! This is a big what's-it? (hole), we have dug a big one. This one is good, we (will) stay (in) the place,' they said (i.e. one said to the other).

- 25) 'yi! ' ṇaṅga-yiri wu-ma , ga-na gul+wari-jinji bay+wari-jinji
yes! as for him 3Sg-said stop+3Du-did stand+3Du-did
 'a::: , yumar ṇa-na ṇi-ña ṇa-ṛadbur ṇa-wuḷiyi , ṇa-jaṇḍalmi
good MSg-the MSg-this Ø-place 1InDu-sit MSgObl-calm place
 ṇa-wuḷiyi garay! ' , 'yi! , ṇuruma ṇuruma ṇa-na ṇi-ña ṇuruma ,
1InDu-sit yes! deep

'Yes!' the other one said. They stopped there. 'Oh! This place is good (where) we are sitting. We are sitting at a calm place, hey!' 'Yes! This (place) is very deep.

- 26) ṇa-wuḷiyi ṇuruma , balwayi garagarañu ' , 'yi! , garagarañu ' ,
1InDu-sit deep big very big yes' very big
 'yi! , guda gi-ña ṇa-'n-anu ' , ga-na wu-jañi ṇa-na
yes! that's all here 1InDu-Rdp-will sit 3Sg/3Sg-told MSg-the

(Text 40)

'hm! hm! hm! hm! jaraɖadbuwa! ' wu-ma ɳaŋga-yi jaraɖadbuwa ,
3Sg-said he

'What's-it?, that chestnut rail is singing.' The chestnut rail was making a sound, 'hm! hm! hm! hm! jaraɖadbuwa!' that chestnut rail said.

30) 'garay! , yi! , guda gi-ñindi ɳa-jura walba-ya' ,
hey! yes! that's all this way 1InDu-will go river-Per

'yi! , ɳa-jura-yura maɳamaɳa , ɳaliga bay+u-nbu' , 'yi!' ,
yes! 1InDu-Rdp-will go slow go on! stand+2SgImp-do! yes!

baɖa ɖiɖir+wir-añi 'gurya buyur+i-yiŋa walbu-ri ɳa-na
later look+3Du/3Sg-did hurray! downward MSg-the

ɳaŋga-ya mbaŋara' ,
MSg-that pl.n.

'Hey! Yes, we will go this way, along the river.' 'Yes, we will go slowly. Go on, stand up (to take a look)!' 'Yes!' Then they looked over (the landscape). 'Hurray! Down there, that (place) mbaŋara!'

31) 'maɭuy! , maɭuy! , ɖaɖbu ɳa-na ɳi-ña , ɖaɖbu , jabay ga-nguni
no! shallow MSg-the MSg-this maybe where?

ɖud+ɳa-yagay ɳaŋga-yimar wumbul , ɳuruma' , 'yi!' ,
find+1InDu/3Sg-will do MSg-that what's it? deep yes!

wari-ɭini ɳa-na ɳuruma gudagaya ,
3Du-went MSg-the deep constantly

'No! This (place) is too shallow. I don't know where we will find what's-it?, a deep place.' 'Yes!' They went along always in the deep water (i.e. a bit away from the land).

32) wari-ɭini::: baɳa+wari-nbu , wiri-minani , baɳa+wari-nbu that much ,
3Du-went looked+3Du-did 3Du/3Sg-saw

'ɳuruma maɭuy ɖaɖbu , ɖaɖbu ɳa-na ɳi-ña , guda juy!
deep no! shallow MSg-the MSg-this that's all going

ɳuwi-ri ɳa-jura , ɖaɖbu' , 'yi!' , wari-ɭini::: ,
eastward 1InDu-will go yes! 3Du-went

miñ+biri-jujuñi ɳaŋga-yimar balba ,
follow+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that river

(Text 40)

They went along, and looked around. They (got up and) looked around, they saw it, up to there (i.e. with the water up to their abdomens). 'There is no deep place, (just) shallow. This (place) is shallow. Let's go eastwards, (because this is) too shallow.' They followed that river.

33) *baɾa+wari-'ŋa , 'guda gi-ñindi munji+ŋargu-juju ,*
look+3Du-did that's all this way follow+3Sg/1InDu-will do
 xxx *yi ! , ga-ya-ñindi ŋa-jura-yura maɾamaɾa , walba-ya , 'yi ! ,*
yes! along there 1InDu-Rdp-will go slow river-Per yes!
wari-!ini-!ini walba-ya , guwaɖa+wari-jinji 'ŋi-ña ŋa-na
3Du-Rdp-went hear+3Du-did MSg-this MSg-the
wumbul ' , 'yi ! , waja!g , yi ! yi ! waja!g ,
what's it? yes! mud

They took a look. 'It will follow us this way, we will go slowly along there, along the river.' 'Yes!' They went along the river. They heard something. 'This is what's-it?.' 'Yes, wet mud. Yes, yes, wet mud.'

34) *ba!a+ŋa-jura gi-ñindi wargal-i-r garga!a-maryi ' ,*
go around+1InDu-will do this way westward along in the west
'yi ! , ŋi-ña bay+wari-nbu , that much , 'ŋi-ña ŋa-na ŋugu
yes! MSg-this stand+3Du-did MSg-this MSg-the water
yi ! guda juy ! , ay! ay! , juy ! guda ŋa-jura bugi
yes! that's all going that's all 1InDu-will go still
gudagaya , gudagaya ŋa-jura ,
always

'We will go around this way, to the west, along in the west.'
'Yes!' They stood (at) this (place), up to there (i.e. up to the belly in the water). 'This water, yes!, hey!, we will go constantly.

35) *ɖud+ŋa-yagay ŋa-na wumbul , ŋa-na balwayi ŋuruma ,*
find+1InDu/3Sg-will do MSg-the what's it? big deep
balwayi ŋuruma , ɖud+ŋa-yagay ' , 'yi ! yaja+ŋa-juju ,
yes! look for+1InDu/3Sg-will do
ɖu!manga juy ! , ŋa-na ŋuruma jabay ga-nguni ɖud+ŋa-yagay ' , 'yi ! ,
all the way going MSg-the deep maybe where? yes!

(Text 40)

We will find the what's-it?, the big deep place.' 'Yes, we will look for it, all the way along. I don't know where we will find the deep place.' 'Yes!'

36) wari-!ini:::, wari-yi-!ana 'garay!, jabay ŋi-ña ŋa-na
 3Du went 3Du-told-Recip hey! maybe MSg-this MSg-the
 ŋuruma wa-'-wu!u ' 'yi!, guda gi-ña ga-na ŋa-'nu',
 deep 3Pres-3Sg-sits yes! that's all here 1InDu-will sit
 'yi!, ga-ya-ra xxx ŋa-baliŋanji ŋaŋga-ya wumbuli,
 yes! there 1InDu/3Sg-head for MSg-that what's it?
 ŋaŋajalya, ŋaŋajalya ŋi-ña yigal,
 pl.n. MSg-this inside

They went along. They said to each other, 'Hey! Maybe this (place) is a deep place.' 'Yes, here we will stay.' 'Yes, the (place) there, we will head for it, that what's-it?, the place ŋaŋajalya, in there.

37) guda ga-ya-ñindi ŋa-jura ŋaŋajalya,
 that's all that way 1InDu-will go pl.n.

(song) ŋaŋajalya buɖ-buɖ+bari-ma ...

ga-na war+a-'y ŋa-na maŋɖiwala', 'i!, guda
 sing+1InDu/3Sg-will do MSg-the circumcision yes! that's all
 ŋa-jura ɖu!manga war+a-gay, yo!',
 1InDu-will go all the way sing+1InDu/3Sg-will do

'We will do that way, (to) ŋaŋajalya. (Narrator sings a part of the song.) That's what we will sing, the circumcision song.' 'Yes, we will go and sing it all the way through, yes!'

38) war+wili-ganji ɖu!manga, war+wili-ganji wurumbu-naji wa!-a
 sing+3Pl/3Sg-did all the way 3Du/3Pl-saw Pl-the
 wumbul, ŋa-na ɾayi ɖu!+wir-añi, ɖu!manga juy!
 what's it? MSg-the bird sing for+3Du/3Sg-did going
 war+wil-añi, ɖu!+wir-añi ɖu!manga wari-!ini-!ini maɾamaɾa:::,
 sing+3Pl/3Sg-did 3Du/Rdp-went slow
 ŋi-ña
 MSg-this

(song) ŋaŋajalya buɖ-buɖ+bari-ma ...

They sang it all the way. They saw them, those what's-it?, bird(s) they sang the song for. They sang it all the way through. They went along slowly, (singing) this: (part of the song).

(Text 40)

39) ga-na duṇ+bari-'ña , wa-ni-ña-yani wargaḷi-yana , juju:::!
 get up+3Du-did from there from west far away!

ga-na duṇ+bari-'ña , war-a wara-ya-ra wur-gurujaḍbunggu ,
 Du-the Du-that-Ø Du-python

wumbuli-yaña , duṇujbangaña-yana , wumbuli ga-na xxx
 what's it?-Abl pl.n.-Abl what's it?

war+wil-añi , yalajala ,
 sing+3Pl/3Sg-did pl.n.

*They got up from there, far away to the west. Those two pythons
 got up from what's-it?, from duṇujbangaña. What's-it? They sang it,
 (at) yalajala.*

40) duṇ+bari-'ña yalajala-yana juy ! ṇa-niyi warajara ga-na
 get up+3Du-did pl.n.-Abl going MSg-only flood

ḍuḷ+wiri-ganji , wari-ḷini-ḷini::: , wumbul warajara ,
 sing for+3Du/3Sg-did 3Du-Rdp-went what's it? flood

ḍuḷ+wiri-yama (error) , ḍuḷ+wir-añi ṇa-na warajara , juy !
 send+3Du/3Sg-did sing for+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-the flood going

wari-ḷini-ḷini::: ,
 3Du-Rdp-went

*They got up (and set off) from yalajala. They sang the song for
 the flood. They went along.. They sang the song for the flood. They
 kept going.*

Note: ḍuḷ has different meanings with the Aux's -jamaḷi/-yamiyi and
 -ganji/-ayi, and Johnnie has apparently mixed them up here. The forms
 with -jamaḷi/-yamiyi (e.g. -yama), translated to *send*, should be
 emended to forms with -ganji/-ayi meaning to *sing for* (cf. also
 section 42, below).

41) wiri-naji wumbul , waḷan , ṇanga-yimar waḷan ,
 3Du/3Sg-saw what's it? hill coolibah MSg-that

(song) waḷanguñiñi , maranguymaranguy ...

ga-na wari-mindini , war-a wur-gurujaḍbunggu ,
 3Du-said Du-the Du-python

*They saw what's-it?, hill coolibah trees (Eucalyptus tectifica).
 (part of song), they sang, those two pythons.*

(Text 40)

42) wari-|ini wa|bu-ri:: , du|+wiri-yama (error) na-na wumbul
 3Du-went down send+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-the what's it?

waɾajara ,
 flood

(song) waɾajara ñanuwarima ...
 waɾajara ɖuɲuj+bir-añi

ga-na wari-mindini juy! ga-na wa|bu-ri ,
 3Du-said going down

They went downriver. They sang the song from what's-it?, the flood. (part of song), they sang, going along toward the coast.

43) war+wiri-ganji
 sing+3Du/3Sg-did

(song) waɾajara ɖuɲuj+bir-añi ...

ga-na wari-mindini wari-|ini-|ini maɾamaɾa , yi:: wiri-naji
 3Du-said 3Du-Rdp-went slow 3Du/3Sg-saw

wumbul galaɲaɲɖa ,
 what's-it? wild onion

They sang it. (part of song), they sang. They went along slowly. They saw what's-it?, wild onions.

44) wiri-naji ɲanga-yimar galaɲaɲɖa ,
 3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-that wild onion

(song) galaɲaɲɖaɲaɲɖa baɾuribaɾuri ...

du|+wir-añi ɲanga-yimar galaɲaɲɖa ga-na gud+gu-jinji ,
 sing for+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that erect+3Sg-did

They saw those wild onions. (part of song). They sang the song for those wild onions, which were standing erect.

45) (song) galaɲaɲɖaɲaɲɖa baruɟijgiɲaji ...

wayi+wiri-yi , juy! wari-'na wa|bu-ri , wari-|ini::
 abandon+3Du/3Sg-did going 3Du-went down 3Du-went

(song) gagurujaɖbunɡu gagurujaɖbunɡu

wari-yi-|ana , wari-mindini ,
 3Du-told-Recip 3Du-said

(part of song). They left them (the wild onions) behind. They went downriver. (part of song).

(Text 40)

46) war+w-añi nanga-yimar gurujaɖbundu , nanga-yiribaŋa
sing+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that python he also

na-na gayi wari-yi-lana gurujaɖbundu jawuru , yi ! ,
MSg-the other 3Du-told-Recip python its

(song) gagurujaɖbundu gagurujaɖbundu

juy ! waɭbu-ri wari-lini-lini ,
going down 3Du-Rdp-went

That python sang (of) that. They told (sang to) each other, of the python(s). (part of song). They went downriver.

47) (song) yulwaɭinjigamba mudumamuduma
gamba yulwaɭinjigamba mudumamuduma ...

wari-ma , ɖuɭ+wir-añi nanga-yimar ŋa-ɖadbur yulwaɭinji , yi !
3Du-said sing for+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that Ø-place pl.n.

(part of song), they sang. They sang the song for that place
yulwaɭinji.

48) guda gi-ñlindi wari-ŋa now , waɭbu-ri , wari-lini waɭbu-ri ,
that's all this way 3Du-went down 3Du-went
(song) wuɣuruɣuru jug+a-mamana

wiri-naji nanga-yimar ɣuruɣuru ga-na wu-lini , yiw+Ø-añi ,
3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-that fog 3Sg-went conceal+3Sg/3Sg-did

ŋa-na ɖadbur , gu-wlri-nayi wumbui mbaŋara maɭuy ,
MSg-the place not-3Du/3Sg-saw what's it? pl.n. not

*Then they went downriver. They went downriver. (part of song).
They saw that fog going along. The country was concealed, they could
not see the what's-it?, the place mbaŋara.*

49) (song) wuɣuruɣuru jug+a-mamana
wunuñawambi

ɖuɭ+wir-añi nanga-yimar ɣuruɣuru , wari-lini:: , yi:::
sing for+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that fog 3Du-went

ɣi-ña ŋa-na
MSg-this MSg-the

(song) jawanda wagabiɖamaya

ɣi-ña jawanda ɣi-ña , jawanda ɣi-ña ,
MSg-this whiskers

(Text 40)

(part of song). They sang the song for that fog. They went along. These (whiskers). (part of song), these whiskers. (The pythons had beards.)

50) (song) jawaṇḍama wagabirāmaya
wagabirāmaya jawaṇḍama
wagabirāmaya jawaṇḍama wagabirāmaya ...

wari-ma ṇa-na ṇi-ña jawaṇḍa ṇi-ña yi !, ṇi-ña ṇi-ña jawaṇḍa ,
3Du-said MSg-the MSg-this whiskers MSg-this

guda ,
that's all

(part of song), they sang. These whiskers (narrator points to his beard), these whiskers, that's all.

51) 'guda ṇa-jura', waḷbu-ri wari-ḷini::: , bañaj+bari-'ṇa
that's all 1InDu-will go downward 3Du-went come out+3Du-did

ṇaṅga-yimar mayamaya ,
MSg-that plain

(song) rabaṇja ṇanajinana
wurunjuna wurunjuna
rabaṇja ṇanajinana ...

'rabaṇja' wari-ma , wari-mindini ,
3Du-said 3Du-said

'Then let us go.' They went downriver. They came out (of the water) at that plain (flat treeless area). (part of the song). They sang 'rabaṇja' (a songword).

52) juy! jabay mayamaya wari-ḷini maṇamaṇa jub+ari-'ṇa , ga-na
going maybe plain 3Du-went slow go down+3Du-did

ḍuḷ+wir-añi , wari-ḷini jub+ari-'ṇa , ṇa-walba-yur now ,
sing for+3Du/3Sg-did 3Du-went MSgObl-river-All/Loc

ṇa-na balba wiri-naji , ṇi-ña , wumbuli ṇa-na wuṅguḷiyana ,
MSg-the river 3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-this what's it? MSg-the pl.n.

wiri-naji , ṇa-na balba ,
3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-the river

They went along, slowly. They went downward, they went down singing the song for it. (They went) to the river then. They saw the river, this what's-it? place, the place wuṅguḷiyana. They saw the river.

(Text 40)

- 53) (song) la!a!a!a!a balŋiŋdalbaŋi
windijburu windijburu
windijburuma balŋiŋdalama ...

wari-ma , guda gi-ŋindi wari-!ini juy! ,
3Du-said that's all this way 3Du-went going

They sang (part of song). Then they went along this way.

- 54) (song) windijburu windijburu
balmiŋdala balmiŋdala ...

ga-na wari-mindini , war+wili-ganji du!manga wari-!ini , war-a
3Du-said sing+3Pl/3Sg-did all the way 3Du-went 3Du-the
wur-gurujaɖbungu ,
Du-python

(part of song), they sang. They went along, singing (the song) all the way through, the two pythons.

- 55) wari-!ini jub+ari-'ŋa , wumbuli ga-na wungu!iyana jub+ari-'ŋa,
3Du-went go down+3Du-did what's it? pl.n.

(song) muŋalaɖara ŋamiŋamiŋa
jililiwu ŋamiŋamiŋa muŋalaɖara ...

They went along, they went downward. What's-it?, the place wungu!iyana (was where) they went down. (They sang:) (part of song).

- 56) ŋanga-yiribana wu-ma , ŋanga-yimar gurujaɖbungu , ŋanga-yiribana
as for him 3Sg-said MSg-that python as for him

wu-ma ŋa-na gayi gurujaɖbungu , ŋa-na ŋalaɖara wiri-ja!i
MSg-the other python MSg-the archer fish 3Pl/3Sg-ate

du!manga , wari-!ini::: , du!manga ga-na du!wir-aŋi
all the way 3Du-went sing for+3Du/3Sg-did

ŋa-na ŋalaɖara ,
MSg-the archer fish

One python sang (that), and so did the other python. They ate archer fish along the way. They went along, singing the song for archer fish all the way through.

- 57) (song) muŋalaɖara ŋamiŋamiŋa
jililiwu muŋalaɖara

(Text 40)

wari-mindini ga-na ju!+wiri-ganji wiri-ja!i ɲanga-yimar
 3Du-said swallow+3Du/3Sg-did 3Du/3Sg-ate MSg-that
 ɲalaɖara , yi! , wari-!ini::: , guwaɖa+wari-yaɲa ɲa-na !aw!aw
 archer fish 3Du-went hear+3Du-did MSg-the other side
 gi-ñindi , ɲanga-yimar wumbul jaraɖadbuwa ,
 this way what's it? chestnut rail

(part of song), they sang as they swallowed and ate those archer fish. Yes, they went along. They listened to (those birds) on the other side, over this way - those what's-it?, chestnut rails.

58) (song) jaraɖadbuwa ɖumuɖumuwa ...

bay+wari-nbu , 'garay! ɲi-ña jaraɖadbuwa ɲa!+a-'-ma ,
 stand up+3Du-did hey! MSg-this chestnut rail speak+3Pres-3Sg-does
 ay! yi! mambali ɲa-na ɲanga-ya mambali, mambali ɲa-na
 (semimoiety name) MSg-the MSg-that
 ɲanga-ya jaraɖadbuwa yo! ,
 yes!

(part of song). They stood up. 'Hey! A chestnut rail is calling here. Hey! That chestnut rail is of the mambali semimoiety!'

59) (song) jaraɖadbuwa ɖumuɖumuwa ...

'guda wayi+ɲa-'y gi-ñindi wa!bu-ri ɲa-jura' ,
 that's all leave+1InDu/3Sg-will do this way downward 1InDu-will go
 'yi! ' ,
 yes!

(song) waɖajara ɖuɲuɖbirañi ...
 waɖajara ñanuwarima ...

(part of song). 'Now let's leave (the chestnut rails). We will go downriver, this way.' 'Yes!' (part of song).

60) yangar ɲa-na waɖajara wu-!ini ga-na ɲaɲi-yana wuru-yimar
 ahead MSg-the floodwaters 3Sg-went behind 3Du-that

wur-gurujaɖbunggu ga-na wari-!ini munji+wiri-jujuñi ɲanga-yimar
 Du-python 3Du-went follow+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that

waɖajara now , ɖu!+wir-añi wartiwi-ganji ɲanga-yimar
 flood sing for+3Du/3Sg-did sing+1ExPl/3Sg-did MSg-that

waɖajara , 'guda gi-ñindi ɲa-na ɲanga-ya ,
 floodwaters that's all this way MSg-the MSg-that

(Text 40)

munji+na-juju nanga-ya warajara¹, wari-ma,
follow+1InDu/3Sg-will do MSg-that floodwaters 3Du-said

The floodwaters went ahead (of them), and those two pythons went behind. They followed that flood then. They sang the song for that flood. 'Now let's follow that flood, along this way,' they said.

61) wari-!ini-!ini:::,
 3Du-Rdp-went

(song) warajara bu!uyarganji ...
 warajara ñanuwarima ...
 warajara ñirwirañi ...

ga-na wari-mindini, war-a wur-gurujaɗbungu,
 3Du-said Du-the Du-python

They kept going along. (part of song), that was what they sang, those two pythons.

62) na-na mulwari ga-na biɾg+biri-ji
 MSg-the boomerang clap+3Du/3Sg-did
 (song) warajara ñirwirañi

ga-na wari-mindini, yi!, war+wil-añi nanga-yimar ñi-ña
 3Du-said sing+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that MSg-this

wumbul yunguwan mañdiwa, yi!,
what's it? ceremony circumcision yes!

They were clapping boomerangs together. (part of song), they sang. Yes, they sang that what's-it?, that circumcision ritual song, yes!

63) wari-!ini-!ini maɾamaɾa ɗu!manga:::, garay! wiri-naji
 3Du-Rdp-went slow all the way hey! 3Du/3Sg-saw

nanga-yimar wumbul, jangar+u-jujuñi nanga-yimar,
 MSg-that what's it? make nest+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that

wur+u-ganji nanga-yimar wumbul, ɗalala, ɗalala,
 put down+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that what's it? bridge

nanga-yimar waɗabir, waɗabir, wur+u-ganji
 MSg-that goanna put down+3Sg/3Sg-did

biɗ+gu-yagañi nanga-yimar ɗalala, wur+w-añi,
 carry on shoulder+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that bridge put down+3Sg/3Sg-did

(Text 40)

They went slowly along, all the way. Suddenly they saw what's-it? (goanna lizard). That (goanna) was making a nest. It was putting down a what's-it, a bridge (i.e. a grass dam, in order to be able to walk over the river). That goanna was putting it down. It carried (material for) that bridge on its back and shoulders, (then) it put it down.

64) baḍa biḍ+gu-jañi wuṛ+w-añi ṇa-na ḍalala
later carry+3Sg/3Sg-did put down+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the bridge
 wuṛ-wuṛ+u-ganji:: !aw!aw, wuṛ+u-ganji gi-ñindi
Rdp-put down+3Sg/3Sg-did other side put down+3Sg/3Sg-did this way
 yimbi-ri ga-na-ña, garay! garagarañu ga-na wuṛ+u-mindini,
northward there hey! immense work+3Sg-did
 wuṛ+u-ganji ṇaṅga-yimar ḍalala, yi!, wuṛ+w-añi,
put down+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that bridge put down+3Sg/3Sg-did

Then it (goanna) carried it and put it down. It was putting that bridge down, on the other side (the side away from the pythons). It was putting it down this way, to the north, there. What it was working (on) was very big. It put down that bridge, it put it down.

65) wu-minani ṇaṅga-yimar ṇugu, ṇa-na waṛajara wu-minani,
3Sg/3Sg-saw MSg-that water MSg-the floodwaters 3Sg/3Sg-saw
 'ṇa-na waṛajara ṇi-ña ḍigay, xxx ṇaṅga-yimar wumbul,
MSg-the floodwaters MSg-this nearby MSg-that what's it?
 garay!, ṇa-na ṇi-ña, buḍ-buḍ-buḍ+ga-'-lindu ṇa-na
hey! MSg-the MSg-this Rdp-Rdp-creep out+3Pres-3Sg-does MSg-the
 wumbul ṇugu',
what's it? water

It (a goanna) saw that water (rising). It saw the floodwaters (caused by the pythons, who were approaching). (It said to another goanna,) 'The floodwaters are nearby! That what's-it?, this thing here (the floodwaters), it is coming up slowly, the what's-it?, the water!'

66) ṇa-na gayi waḍabir wu-yi ṇa-na ṇaṅga-ya waḍabir,
MSg-the other goanna 3Sg/3Sg-told MSg-the MSg-that goanna
 waḍabir wu-yi, 'ṇi!', wu-yi ṇaṅga-yimar ṇara+w-aṅa, 'yi! yi!,
yes! look+3Sg-did oh dear!

(Text 40)

ɲi-ña wu-na ɲugu balwayi ' , xxx , ɲa-na waɾajara
 MSg-this 2Sg/3SgImp-see! water big MSg-the floodwaters
 wu-mbu!ma!i now , ɲa-ɖalala wu-mbu!ma!i ,
 3Sg-did it MSgObl-bridge

One goanna told that (other) goanna. The goanna said, 'Yes!'
 It told (the other), it took a look. 'Oh dear! Look at this big
 water!' The floodwaters were doing it (rising rapidly) then, it was
 doing it to the bridge (breaking it up).

67) ɲambud+gu-!ini , guda wu-ma baɾa+wu-ma
 bathe+3Sg-did that's all 3Sg-did that look back+3Sg-did
 wargal-i-r , 'ay! , garay! ɲi-ɲingar wumbul , wayawayara
 westward oh! hey! MSg-(this-)coming what's it? something awful
 ɲi-ɲingar gayi ɲi! , jabay ɲinjan , jabay wur-buɖal ' ,
 other yes! maybe what? Du-(semimoiety term)

It (the bridge) was submerged. Then it (one goanna) looked over to
 the west. 'Oh! It is coming this way - what's-it?, a monster!
 Another one is (also) coming this way, yes! I don't know what (it is),
 maybe two members of the buɖal semimoiety!'

68) wu-minani wargal-i-r , 'garay! ɲa-na ɲi-ɲingar
 3Sg/3Sg-saw westward hey! MSg-the MSg-(this-)coming
 wur-gurujaɖbunggu , gurujaɖbunggu , ɲi! , yi! ' , wu-!ini::: ga
 Du-python python yes! 'yes! 3Sg-went and
 baw+ari-'ɲa wari-ma , 'ay! baɖa baɖa wur-gurujaɖbunggu ,
 come out+3Du-did 3Du-did that hey! later Du-python
 ga-ya-ra ɖaj+bari-mi ,
 there sit down+2DuImp-do!

It (goanna) saw it (python) to the west. 'Hey! It is coming this
 way - two pythons! Python(s), yes!' It (python) went along, then
 they (pythons) came out, they did that. (The goanna said,) 'Hey!
 Wait! Two pythons! You two stop there!'

69) bay+wari-nbu ga-ya-ra law+ɲiri-jura ɲiri-ña baɖa '
 stand+2DuImp-do! there cross+1ExDu-will do we(ExDu) later
 wurgu-yi , ma!uy , ma!uy! , ga-niyi guniñ+bari-ma from
 3Sg/3Du-told no! still continue+3Du-did

(Text 40)

wa-ni-nga-yani gurya xxx !a!a!+wir-añi ɲaŋga-yimar ɖalala ,
 from there excrement break up+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that bridge
 mud+bir-añi ,
 break+3Du/3Sg-did

'Stop (stand) there! The two of us (goannas) will go across then!'
It (a goanna) told them (pythons). But no! They (pythons) kept right
on going. They smashed up the bridge, they broke it.

70) guda waɭbu-ri ga-na ɲa-na waɾir ga-na
 that's all downward MSg-the bubbling water
 ɖuɭ+wiri-yama , guda gi-ñindi waɭbu-ri , wari-ɭini ga-naŋga
 send+3Du/3Sg-did that's all this way downward 3Du-went there
 ɲad+g-aŋa ɲaŋga-yimar waɖabir , ɲad+g-aŋa , ɲara+w-aŋa , ɲad+g-aŋa
 run+3Sg-did MSg-that goanna
 ɲara+w-aŋa ,

Then the bubbling water (i.e. the floodwaters) moved downriver,
(the water) which they (pythons) sent along. Then they (pythons)
went downriver, they moved quickly there and looked around.

71) gʂ ! gu-gu-gu-gu-gu ! 'gurya mundud+gu-yiŋa' ,
 (noise) excrement eat+2S/3SgImp-do!
 !a!a!+wir-añi ɖalala , wurgu-yi , maɭuy , ga-na wari-ɭini ,
 break up+3Du/3Sg-did bridge 3Sg/3Du-told no! 3Du-went
 wurgu-minani juy ! , waɭbu-ri , wari+w-aŋa ɲaŋga-yimar waɖabir ,
 3Sg/3Du-saw going downward return+3Sg-did MSg-that goanna

Swoosh! (went the water). 'You two eat shit!' (it said). They
smashed up the bridge. It (goanna) told them that. But no! They
(pythons) went along. It (goanna) saw them going downriver. That
goanna went back.

72) wu-ɭini-ɭini::: , ga-na-ŋga , 'ay ! garay !' wu-yi ɲa-na
 3Sg-Rdp-went there hey! hey! 3Sg/3Sg-told MSg-the
 waɖabir , 'guda gi-ña ga-na bira+ɲingu-ju ,
 goanna that's all here carry+1Sg/2Sg-will do
 ɖagi+ɲingu-gay , ɖagi+ɲingu-gay gi-ña , gi-ña
 carry+1Sg/2Sg-will do here
 ɖaj+ɲi-mi , ɲa-malir-yur , ɲa-malir' , 'yi !'
 sit down+2Sg-will do MSgObl-back-All/Loc MSgObl-back yes!

(Text 40)

It went along, (and stopped) there. 'Hey!' it told the (other) goanna. 'Now I will carry you here (on my back). I will carry you on the back. You will sit here, on (my) back, on the back.' 'All right!'

73) 'guda malir gi-ña ga-na ɖaj+gu-mi , gi-ñindi' ,
that's all back here sit down+2SgImp-do! this way
 'yi! gi-ñindi' , guda !aw+Ø-ana ɲa-na ɲanga-yimar
yes! this way that's all cross+3Sg-did MSg-the MSg-that
 waɖabir , ga-na wu-!ini , wu-!ini-!ini::: m! mal+wari-'ɲa , guda
 goanna 3Sg-went 3Sg-Rdp-went go up+3Du-did *that's all*
 yi! , guda yi! , ga-niyi ɖuɲ+bari-'ɲa ga-na waybu-ri now ,
still get up+3Du-did southward

'Then sit down here, (on) the back, this way!' 'Yes, (I will sit) this way.' Then that goanna went (swam) across, it went and went. Then they went up. Yes! They got up (and set off) again, going south now.

74) wuru-yiribaɲa wari-!ini-!ini war-a wur-gurujaɖbungu ,
they(Du) also 3Du-Rdp-went Du-the Du-python
 wartwili-ganji ɖu!manga ,
 sing+3Pl/3Sg-did *all the way*
 (song) jaraɖadbuwa ɖumuɖumuwa ...

The two pythons also went along, singing (the song) all the way through. (part of song).

75) way! wari-!ini::: baɖa+wari-nbu ,
 oh! 3Du-went look back+3Du-did
 (song) rabaɲja ɲanaɲina
 rabaɲja wurunjuɲana
 wari-mindini ɖu!wir-añi ɲanga-yimar ni-na
 3Du-said sing for+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that MSg-this
 maɲɖiwala , waɖajara ,
circumcision ritual floodwaters

Oh! They (pythons) went along, they looked back. (part of song), they sang. They sang (the song) for this circumcision ritual, (about) the floodwaters.

(Text 40)

76) (song) wabujubuju wabujubuju
 |arijandaña |arijandaña

'maṛamaṛa ga-na ṇa-jura maṛamaṛa', 'yi!',
 slow lInDu-will go yes!

ḍu!+a-gay maṛamaṛa',
 sing for+lInDu/3Sg-will do slow

(part of song). 'We will go along slowly.' 'Yes, we will sing its song slowly.'

77) (song) wabujubuju wabujubuju
 |arijandaña |arijandaña ...
 |arba|arba mayiginga mayiginga
 yuṛuwara yuṛuwara
 |arba|arba jinbiri mayibinba ...

(long section of song).

78) 'guda ṇa-jura maṛamaṛa gi-ñindi juy! xxx ga-na-ña,
 that's all lInDu-will go slow this way going there

ga-na-ña ṇa-mi guda gi-ñindi ṇa-mi', 'yi!'
 there lInDu-will do it that's all this way yes!

ṇaṛawañ+ṇa-jura', 'yi!', wari-!ini::: ḍu!manga:::,
 cut across+lInDu-will do yes! 3Du-went all the way

wat+wir-añi, 'guda ṇi-ña wumbuli,
 sing+3Du/3Sg-did that's all MSg-this what's it?

ḍu!+a-y ṇi-ña wumbul', 'yi!', wari-!ini
 sing for+lInDu/3Sg-will do MSg-this what's it? yes! 3Du-went

ga-na-ṇga,
 there

'Now let's go slowly along this way. ...going there. There we will do it, this way we will do it.' 'All right! We will cut across.' 'All right!' They went along, all the way, singing. 'Now this what's-it?, we will sing (the song) for this what's-it?, we will sing this what's-it.' 'All right.' They went along there.

79) (song) wagabirāmaya wagabirāmaya jawaṇḍama ...

wari-ma, birg+biri-juñi ṇa-mulwari, guda wari-ma
 3Du-said clap+3Du/3Sg-did MSgObl-boomerang that's all 3Du-did it

(Text 40)

wari-'ŋa now , wari-ma wari-!ini-!ini ga-na-ña ,
 3Du-went 3Du-did it 3Du-Rdp-went there

(part of song), they said. They clapped the boomerangs. Then they did that, they went then. They did that, they went there.

80) gudija+wari-ma gi-ñindi , ŋuwi-ri now , this way ,
 go around point+3Du-did this way eastward

'gi-ñindi , gi-ñindi ŋa-jura ɾadbur ŋaŋga-ya
 1InDu-will go country MSg-that

ŋa-baliŋay ' , wari-yi-!ana , 'guda ga-na-ña-ñindi
 1InDu/3Sg-will head for 3Du-told-Recip that's all that way

ŋa-jura yo! ' , wari-!ini::: du!manga::: ,
 1InDu-will go yes! 3Du-went all the way

They went around (a point), this way. Going eastward, this way.
 'Let's go this way, let's head for that place,' they said to each other. 'Let's go over that way now!' They went along, all the way.

81) wiri-naji ŋaŋga-yimar du!+wiri-yama ŋaŋga-yimar wumbul ,
 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-that send+3Du/3Sg-did what's it?
 wumbul ,

(song) guñiñbariŋa yaɾaya!indu ...

They saw that what's-it?, they sent that what's-it? (part of song).

82) wari-mindini war+wir-añi juy! , 'ay! ŋi-ñingar
 3Du-said sing+3Du/3Sg-did going hey! MSg-(this-)coming

ŋa-na wumbul , guda maɾamaɾa ŋa-jura-yura ŋaŋga-ya-ra
 MSg-the what's it? that's all slow 1InDu-Rdp-will go MSg-that-Ø

xxx ŋaŋga-ya-ra now , gayi ŋula ga-ya-ñindi ŋa-yura , gi-ngari
 MSg-that-Ø other not that way 1InDu-will go here

bugi ŋa-jura (error) , ŋa-'nu ' , 'yi! , ga-ya-ra
 right 1InDu-will go 1InDu-will sit yes! there

ŋa-'nu , yi! ' ,
 1InDu-will sit yes!

They sang (that), going along. 'Hey! A what's-it? is coming this way. Let's go along slowly. Let's not go that way, (to) anywhere else. Let us go - (or rather) stay right here.' 'Yes, we will stay there, yes!'

(Text 40)

83) wari-!ini::: wumbuli , ya!+wir-añi ɲaŋga-yimar
 3Du-went what's it? go past+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that

wumbul , xxx ,
 what's it?

(song) rabaŋja ɲanajina
 rabaŋja wurunjuŋana

ga-na wari-mindini wari-!ini , biɽg+biri-jujuñi , ɖu!manga juy !
 3Du-said 3Du-went clap+3Du/3Sg-did all the way going

wari-!ini yet , biɽg+biri-jujuñi ,
 3Du-went still

They went along, (to) what's-it?. They went past that (place), what's-it? (part of song), they said (as) they went along. They were clapping (boomerangs) all the way, going along still, they clapped boomerangs.

84) wari-!ini-!ini::: wumbuli , 'ɲi-ña wumbul
 3Du-Rdp-went what's it? MSg-this what's it?

ɲa-baliŋay maɽamaɽa ɲa-jura' , wari-ma , 'yi ! ,
 1InDu/3Sg-will head for slow 1InDu-will go 3Du-said yes!

wari-!ini-!ini::: bay+wari-nbu wiri-minani mbaŋara , 'ɲi-ña ɲi-ña
 3Du-Rdp-went stand+3Du-did 3Du/3Sg-saw pl.n. MSg-this

ɖigay yi! ,
 nearby yes!

They went along, (to) what's-it? 'Let's head for this what's-it?. let's go slowly,' they said. 'Yes!' They went along, then stood up. They saw the place mbaŋara. 'This (place) is nearby, yes!'

85) wari-!ini::: guñiñ+bari-'ɲa , xxx ɲi-ña , 'yi !' ,
 3Du-went continue+3Du-did MSg-this yes!

wuɽ+w-añi::: that much !a!a+wari-!ini , ɲa-na ɲugu w-anji ,
 put down+3Sg/3Sg-did wade+3Du-did MSg-the water 3Sg-sat

(song) !a!a!a!a!a baŋiŋdabaŋi
 windijburu windijburu ...

ga-na wari-mindini ,
 3Du-said

They went along, they kept travelling. ... 'Yes!' It (a python) put down (water?). They were wading, the water was this deep (i.e. up to here on their body; this was not deep enough to suit them). (part of song), they sang.

(Text 40)

86) (song) windijburuma baŋiŋɖalama ...

ga-na wari-mindini wari-!ini , gi-ña+wari-nbu , 'yi ! gi-ñindi
 3Du-said 3Du-went here+3Du-did yes this way

yilijili , juy ! warŋgu jub+ŋa-yura ɲaŋga-ya , warŋgu ' ,
 on the side going until go down+1InDu-will do MSg-that until

'yi ! ' , wari-!ini::: , xxx ŋa-na ɲi-ña wumbul wiri-naŋi ,
 yes! 3Du-went MSg-the MSg-this what's it? 3Du/3Sg-saw

(part of song), they sang, going along. They went along here.
 'Yes! (We will go) this way, along the side (coast). (We will) go
 along until we go down (to) that, until (we go there).' 'All right.'
 They went along. They saw this what's-it?

87) baɾa+wu-ma , 'ɲi-ña miŋi ɖigay , ɲi ! ' , 'yo ! ' ,
 look back+3Sg-did MSg-this now nearby yes! yes!

wari-!ini-!ini::: , bay+u-nbu , ɲaŋga-yi ,
 3Du-Rdp-went stand+3Sg-did it

(song) windijburuma baŋiŋɖalama ...

It (a python) looked back. 'It (the place we want) is nearby now,
 yes!' 'Yes!' They kept going. It (one of them) stood up. (part of
 song).

88) 'ɲi-ña ɲa-baliŋay ɲaŋga-ya-ra , gi-ñindi
 MSg-this 1InDu/3Sg-will head for MSg-that-Ø this way

ɲa-jura yilijili , ga-na mal+a-yura ,
 1InDu-will go on the side go up+1InDu-will do

jub+ŋa-yura ɲaŋga-ya wumbul , yo ! ' , wari-!ini-!ini juy !
 go down+1InDu-will do MSg-that what's it? yes! 3Du-Rdp-went going

gudagaya::: , wiri-naŋi ɲaŋga-yimar ɲi-ña wumbul , ɾadbur ,
 constantly 3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-that MSg-this what's it? country

ɲuruma , bay+u-nbu ,
 deep stand+3Sg-did

'We will head for this (place), that (place). We will go this way,
 along the coast, going up and down (at) that what's-it?, yes!' They
 went along, still going. They saw this what's-it? A place, deep
 (water), it was (stood) there.

89) 'ay ! gu-ɲuruma ɲa-na ɲi-ña , ɲa-na ɲugu , ɖaɖbu ' ,
 hey! not-deep MSg-the MSg-this MSg-the water ground

(Text 40)

wari-yi-!ana , 'ma!uy! , ɖaɖbu , gi-ñindi gi-ñindi gi-ñindi , ɖaɖbu
 3Du-to!d-Recip no! this way ground

ŋa-na ŋi-ña , ga-na ŋa-jura bugi' , 'yi! ,
 MSg-the MSg-this lInDu-will go still yes!

'Hey! This (place) is not deep (enough). This water (is not deep enough), there is ground (under the water, but not far enough).'
 They told each other (that). 'No, there is ground here; we will keep going.' 'All right.'

90) wari-!ini-!ini maɾamaɾa , ga-na waɾajara ɖu!+wir-añi ,
 3Du-Rdp-went slow floodwaters sing for+3Du/3Sg-did
 (song) waɾajara ñanuwarima ...

ga-na wari-mindini , wari-!ini-!ini ɖu!manga wart+wili-ganji ,
 3Du-said 3Du-Rdp-went all the way sing+3Pl/3Sg-did
 guda ,
 that's all

They went along slowly, singing (the song) of the floodwaters.
 (part of song), they sang. They went along, all the way. They sang,
 that's all.

91) guda , 'ay! , ay! , wa!bu-ri ŋa-'nu guda mini ,
 that's all hey! southward lInDu-will sit that's all now

ay! , gi-ña ŋa-'nu wumbuli ŋaŋajalya , guda mini ŋaŋa-ya
 here lInDu-will sit what's it? pl.n. MSg-that

ŋaŋajalya , ga-na-ŋga ŋa-'nu , ga-na-ŋga , ŋaŋajalya , yo! ,
 pl.n. there lInDu-will sit pl.n. yes!

wari-!ini-!ini wiri-naji ŋi-ña ,
 3Du-Rdp-went 3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-this

Then, 'Hey! We will stay (over there), to the south now. Hey!
 We will stay here, at what's-it?, at the place ŋaŋajalya. There at
 ŋaŋajalya, we will stay, there at ŋaŋajalya, yes!' They went along,
 they saw this (place).

92) (song) gagurujaɖbunngu gagurujaɖbunngu ...

wari-mindini , bay+wari-nbu that much now , 'ay! garay! ' that much
 3Du-said stand+3Du-did hey! hey!

now 'ŋi! , wari-!ini ñanay , wu-!ini 'ay! , ŋuruma ŋa-na ŋi-ña
 yes! 3Du-went far away 3Sg-went hey! deep MSg-the MSg-this

(Text 40)

garay! nuruma , ni ! yi ! nurumay ! ,
hey! yes! yes! deep!

(part of song), they sang. They stood up (with their heads out of the water), that much (i.e. waist-deep). 'Hey!' That much (i.e. chest deep, as they moved into deeper water). 'Yes!' They went further. It (one of them) went. 'Hey! It is (very) deep here! Hey! It is deep! Yes! Deep!

93) naliga na-mbulmi ni-na yi ! , wari-!ini war+wili-ganji:::
come on! lInDu-will do MSg-this yes! 3Du-went sing+3Pl/3Sg-did
(song) gagurujaɖbunɡu gagurujaɖbunɡu ...

'Come on! Let's do it here, yes!' They went along, they sang:
(part of song).

94) jub+ari-'na bay+wari-nbu , that much , 'bay+na-ju!iyi
go down+3Du-did stand+3Du-did stand+lInDu-did

stand up , na-na ɲugu wa-'wu!u , yi ! , yi ! ,
MSg-the water 3Pres-3Sg-sits yes!
(song) gagurujaɖbunɡu gagurujaɖbunɡu

dil+wiri-yama!i na-na wumbul na-ɾadbur ,
hold+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-the what's it MSgObl-country

They went down. They stood up (to see how deep the water was). (It was) that deep (i.e. so deep that their heads did not reach the surface). 'We are standing, (but) the water is (over our heads). Yes!' (part of song). They held it (boomerangs) at the what's-it?, the country.

95) (song) gagurujaɖbunɡu gagurujaɖbunɡu

bay+wari-nbu that much , 'maraɲuɾu na-mbulmanji now , garay ! ,
stand+3Du-did head lSg-am doing it hey!

ni ! yi ! , baɲdar-ñiɾiñiɾi ni-na ɾadbur , yi ! '
yes! yes! very deep MSg-this country yes!
(song) ɲaɲajalya ɟiɾirwirañi ...

'ɲaɲajalya na-na ni-na na-ɾadbur war+a-ganjiyi , yo ! ,
pl.n. MSg-the MSg-this Ø-country sing+lInDu/3Sg-do yes!

(part of song). They stood up, it was that deep (over their heads). 'My head is doing it (i.e. is underwater) now, hey! Yes! This place is very deep! Yes!' (part of song). 'This place is ɲaɲajalya, we are singing (it)! Yes!'

(Text 40)

96) bay+wari-nbu , bay+wari-nbu maɭuy , 'garagarañu balwayi ɲugu' ,
stand+3Du-did no! huge big water

wari-yi-ɭana , 'ɲa-na ɲugu balwayi miɲi , yo ! ' ɲur+wari-ma
3Du-told-Recip M_{Sg}-the water big now yes! dig+3Du-did

jaw+ari-ma::: ña-ɲgul ,
dig+3Du-did NeObl-leg

*They stood up. No! (i.e. their heads were not out of water.)
'(This is) a huge body of water,' they said to each other. 'The water
is very big (deep) now, yes!' They were digging with their feet
(to make the trough even deeper).*

97) jaw+ari-ma gi-ñindi wari-ma::: , ɲur+wiri-ji wari-mbuɭma ,
dig+3Du-did this way 3Du-did that dig+3Du/3Sg-did 3Du-did

'guda , ga ɲiya-ra , gi-ñindi ɲi-mbuɭmay , ga ɲina-ra
that's all as for you(Sg) this way 2Sg-will do it as for I

ɲa-mi , ga ɲiya-ra ɲi-ña , ɲa-mi ga-na
1Sg-will do as for you(Sg) M_{Sg}-this 1InDu-will do that

ɲa-'nu , yi ! , ga-ya-ra ɲaliga' , guɾid+bari-'ɲa ,
1InDu-will sit yes! there come on! flip over+3Du-did

*They dug there, they did that. They dug, they did it. 'Now you do
it there, while I do that (here). You (do it) there, we will do it.
We will stay (here), yes! Come on, there!'*

98) ɲur+wiri-ji ɲaɲga-yimar ɲa-ɾadbur , ɲur+wiri-ji::: maɭuy ,
dig+3Du/3Sg-did M_{Sg}-that Ø-country no!

yir+u-ganji , duɲ+bari-'ɲa , bay+wari-nbu , 'maɭuy , ñanañanayi
stand+3Sg/3Sg-did get up+3Du-did stand+3Du-did no! far away

ɲa-na ɲi-ña ɲugu , jaɾag+ɲa-jujuɲuni ɲi-ña ɲugu , ɲa-ɾadbur
M_{Sg}-the M_{Sg}-this water make+1InDu/3Sg-do M_{Sg}-this water Ø-country

ɲaga' , wu-ma ɲa-na gayi ,
our(InDu) 3Sg-said M_{Sg}-the other

*They were digging out that place. They dug it. No! They stood up.
'No! The water (extends) far (over our heads). We are making this
body of water, this country of ours,' said one of them.*

99) 'yo ! , yo ! , yo ! , ɲaɲajalya , ɲa-na ɲi-ña ɲaɲajalya ,
yes! pl.n. M_{Sg}-the M_{Sg}-this pl.n.

(Text 41)

(song) *ṇaṇajalya buḍbuḍbarima ...*
ḍiṛirwirañi ṇaṇajalya

wi:ya , guda .
that's all (in Nunggubuyu language) that's all

'Yes! This place is ṇaṇajalya.' (part of song). That is all.

TEXT 41 GUNABIBI MERMAIDS (MYTH)

Narrator: Johnnie

1) I tell you , I start from two , from ṇaylrinji and maṛumaṛu ,
 pl.n. pl.n.

from number one place , maṛumaṛu ḍuṇ+bala-'ṇa wal-a
 pl.n. get up+3Pl-did Pl-the

wul-gil'yiringil'yiri maṛumaṛu-yana , wala-ḷini::: war+wil-añi
 Pl-mermaid pl.n.-Abl 3Pl-went sing+3Pl/3Sg-did

maṛumaṛu , ḍuḷ+wil-añi ḍuḷ+wil-añi::: , all right ḍuḷ+wil-añi
 sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did

ṇa-na wumbul ṇaḍij (error) , jĩḍdijĩḍi , jĩḍdijĩḍi
 MSg-the what's it? hibiscus tree sp.

ḍuḷ+wil-añi::: ,
 sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did

I will tell you (the story), starting from two (places), from ṇaylrinji and maṛumaṛu (where the two groups of mermaids set out from), from that number-one place (maṛumaṛu, an important ritual centre). At maṛumaṛu the mermaids got up (and set off), from maṛumaṛu. They went along, singing, at maṛumaṛu. They were singing (the song) of hibiscus tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus), or rather of jĩḍdijĩḍi tree (Thespesia populnea, which is closely associated with hibiscus in that they are both used for spear shafts). They sang the song for jĩḍdijĩḍi tree.

2) jub+ala-'ṇa wala-ḷini mayamaya , ḍuḷ+wil-añi , maṛamaṛa
 go down+3Pl-did 3Pl-went plain sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did slow

wala-ḷini::: , war+wili-ganji wili-naji ṇa-na ṛay , ṇa-na
 3Pl-went sing+3Pl/3Sg-did 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-the bird MSg-the

wumbul , ḍunguṛunguṛji , ḍuḷ+wil-añi ṇaṅga-yimar
 what's it? bittern (bird) sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that

(Text 41)

ḍungurungurji, ḍu!+wil-añi ḍungurungurji, juy!, wili-naji
 bittern going 3Pl/3Sg-saw

wumbul, ṅanga-yimar, ḍalaṛala, war+wili-ganji ṅanga-yimar
 what's it? MSg-that egret sing+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that

ḍalaṛala ḍu!manga juy!,
 all the way going

They went down (to) the plain. They sang for it (jĩḍi jĩḍi tree). They went slowly. They sang, and (then) they saw the bird - the what's-it?, the bittern. They sang (the song) for that bittern. Going along, they saw what's-it?, that egret. They sang for that egret, all the way through.

3) wala-!ini mayamaya, ḍu!+wil-añi, wala-!ini::,
 3Pl-went plain sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did 3Pl-went

wili-nani, ṅa-na wumbul, garinji, ḍu!+wil-añi
 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-the what's it? jabiru sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did

ṅanga-yimar garinji, maṛamaṛa ḍu!+wil-añi !ir+wili-jujuñi
 MSg-that slow sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did clap+3Pl/3Sg-did

ṅa-na mulwari, !ir+wili-jujuñi wayi+wili-jañi ṅanga-yimar
 MSg-the boomerang leave+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that

garinji, garinji wayi+wili-yi,
 jabiru leave+3Pl/3Sg-did

They went (to) the plain. They sang for it (egret). They saw what's-it?, jabiru (crane-like bird). They sang for that jabiru. They sang slowly. They clapped the boomerangs. They clapped boomerangs, and left that jabiru. They left it.

4) juy! birg+bili-ji ṅa-na mulwarl, birg+bili-ji wal-a
 going clap+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-the boomerang Pl-the

wul-gilyirngilylri, wala-!ini maṛamaṛa, war+wili-ganji
 Pl-mermaid 3Pl-went slow sing+3Pl/3Sg-did

ṅanga-yimar wumbul, biliwu, mararabaṇa, ṅa-na
 MSg-that what's it? their(Pl) part of ritual song MSg-the

guḍangiji, juy! wala-!ini war+will-ganji ḍu!manga
 part of ritual song going 3Pl-went sing+3Pl/3Sg-did all the way

jĩḍi jĩḍi wili-naji, ḍu!+wil-añi ṅanga-yimar jĩḍi jĩḍi,
 tree sp. 3Pl/3Sg-saw sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that tree sp.

(Text 41)

Going along, they clapped the boomerangs (in the style for the maṇḍiwa ritual). The mermaids clapped the boomerangs. They went slowly along. They sang that mararabaṇa song cycle (part of the gunabibi ritual), (also) the guṇḍaṅgiji song cycle. They went along, singing (the song) all the way. They saw jiṇḍijiṇḍi tree. They sang for that jiṇḍijiṇḍi tree.

5) juy! waybu-ri mararabaṇa, juy! guraṇaṇaṇaṇa,
going southward part of ritual song woman's dance
gaṛ+wala-mindini, ṇa-na guraṇaṇaṇaṇa gaṛ-gaṛ+wala-mindini juy!,
dance+3Pl-did MSg-the Rdp-dance+3Pl-did going
wili-naji ṇaṅga-yimar wumbul, balubalu, balubalu
3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-that what's it? pelican
ḍu!+wil-añi wayi+wili-jañi, wala-ḷini wili-nani ṇa-na
sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did leave+3Pl/3Sg-did 3Pl-went 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-the
wumbul, ṇaṅṇag, ṇaṅṇag ḍu!+wil-añi, ṇaṅṇag ḍu!+wil-añi:::
what's it? sea-eagle
ṇa-na ṇaṅṇag, ḍu!+wil-añi ṇaṅga-yimar ṇaṅṇag, wala-
MSg-the MSg-that Pl-the
giḷyiringiḷyiri,
mermaid

Going southward, (they sang) the mararabaṇa song cycle. Going along, the guraṇaṇaṇaṇa (woman's dance) they danced. They danced the guraṇaṇaṇaṇa. They saw that what's-it?, pelican. They sang for the pelican. They left it. They went (further), they saw what's-it?, white-breasted sea-eagle. They sang for the sea-eagle. The mermaids sang for that sea-eagle.

6) ḍu!+wil-añi, jangar+u-jujuñi ṇaṅga-yimar wala-ḷini:::
sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did make nest+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that 3Pl-went
wumbul, guraṇaṇaṇaṇa juy!, gaw+ala-mindini, wala-ḷini:::
what's it? women's dance going call out+3Pl-did 3Pl-went
wumbul, wili-naji, ṇaṅga-yimar ḍilyag, ga-na wili-naji
what's it? 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-that eaglehawk 3Pl/3Sg-saw
ṇaṅga-yimar, juy! wala-ḷini, wala-ḷini:::, wala-ḷini mayamaya,
MSg-that going 3Pl-went 3Pl-went plain

(Text 41)

juy! ɖulmanga, ɳanga-yimar guraɳaɳaɳa ga-na gaɾ+wala-mindini,
going all the way MSg-that women's dance dance+3Pl-did
ɖulmanga,
all the way

They sang for it (sea-eagle). It was making a nest, that (sea-eagle). They went along, (dancing) the women's guraɳaɳaɳa dance. They were shouting out. They went along. They saw what's-it?, that eaglehawk (wedge-tailed eagle). That was what they saw. They kept going and going, (and reached) the open plain. They kept going all the way. That guraɳaɳaɳa was what they danced, all the way through.

7) wala-ɭini::, wumbul ɖul+wil-aɳi, ɾayi, ɳanga-ya
3Pl-went what's it? sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did bird MSg-that
wumbul, juɳjuɳmila, ɳanga-yimar ɾayi, wili-naji, juy;
what's it? sandpiper MSg-that bird 3Pl/3Sg-saw going
wala-ɭini, wili-naji ɖalaɾala, mijimbaɳu, ɳa-na baɭgur ga-na
3Pl-went 3Pl/3Sg-saw egret big crowd MSg-the fish
wu-jaɭi, wili-naji balubalu, mijimbaɳu, jaɾi, wu-jaɭi
3Sg/3Sg-ate 3Pl/3Sg-saw pelican big crowd many 3Sg/3Sg-ate
ɳa-na walaɳan, ɖul+wil-aɳi, ɳanga-yimar balubalu,
MSg-the fish sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that pelican

They went along. They sang for what's-it?, the bird, that what's-it?, sandpipers. They saw that bird. They kept going, they saw a big flock of egrets. Fish are what they (egrets) were eating. They (mermaids) saw pelicans - many, a big flock. They (pelicans) were eating fish. They (mermaids) sang for those pelicans.

8) wala-ɭini:: marɳga, ɖul+wil-aɳi marɳga, jub+ala-'ɳa
3Pl-went pl.n. sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did go down+3Pl-did
wumbul, jɪɳɪjɪɳɪ, war+wil-aɳi, from there
what's it? tree sp. sing+3Pl/3Sg-did
wumbul, wala-'ɳa now wumbuli, juy! wala-ɭini ɳanga-yimar
what's it? 3Pl-went what's it? going 3Pl-went MSg-that
ɳi-ɳa, yunguwan, wala-ɭini:: wumbul, guraɳaɳaɳa,
MSg-this ritual 3Pl-went what's it? women's dance
gaɾ+wala-mindini, ɖulmanga,
dance+3Pl-did all the way

(Text 41)

They went (to) marŋga. They sang (the song) for the place marŋga. They went down (to) what's-it? (There were) jĩŋdĩjĩŋdĩ trees (Thespesia populnea). They sang. After that, what's-it? They went then, (to) what's-it? They went along (to) that thing, this ritual. They went, (to) what's-it? They performed the guraŋaŋaŋa dance all the way.

9) wili-naji garinji bay+u-jinji, ŋaŋga-yimar garinji bay+u-jinji, 3Pl/3Sg-saw jabiru stand+3Sg-did MSg-that

wili-naji, ɖuɭ+wil-añi, wala-ɭini::: wumbul wili-naji, sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did 3Pl-went what's it? 3Pl/3Sg-saw balubalu, mayamaya, wayi+wili-yi ŋaŋga-yimar balubalu, guda pelican plain leave+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that pelican that's all waybu-ri wala-'ŋa, wala-ɭini:::, ɾuluɾulu, southward 3Pl-went 3Pl-went pl.n.

They saw a jabiru standing (there). That jabiru was standing. They saw it. They sang for it. They went along, they saw what's-it?, pelican, (in) the open plain. They left that pelican. Then they went south. They went along, (to) the place ɾuluɾulu.

10) wili-naji ŋaŋga-yimar ŋaŋŋa, ɖuɭ+wil-añi, ŋaŋga-yimar 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-that sea-eagle sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that

ŋaŋŋa:::g, ɖuɭ+wil-añi ŋaŋga-yimar ŋaŋŋa:::g, wayi+wili-yi, sea-eagle leave+3Pl/3Sg-did

juy!, wili-naji, wumbul jamanbara, jamanbara going 3Pl/3Sg-saw what's it? paperbark tree

ɖuɭ+wil-añi, ŋaŋga-yimar jamanbara, ɖabaliya, wumbul sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that paperbark tree tree what's it?

wili-naji, jayawuru, jayawuru wart+wil-añi, ɖuɭ+wil-añi 3Pl/3Sg-saw blue-tongued lizard sing+3Pl/3Sg-did

ŋaŋga-yimar jayawuru wayi+wili-yi, MSg-that lizard leave+3Pl/3Sg-did

They saw that white-breasted sea-eagle. They sang for it, then left it. They saw that paperbark tree and sang for it, that tree. They saw what's-it, the blue-tongued lizard, and sang it, then they left it.

(Text 41)

11) wala-'na , wili-naji nanga-yimar ni-ña , wumbul , rayi ,
3Pl-went 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-that MSg-this what's it? bird

ga-na bay+u-jinji nanga-yimar rayi , ga-na yangar+wala-!ini ,
stand+3Sg-did MSg-that bird go ahead+3Pl-went

duṛuṇ+bili-yi nanga-yimar rayi , wal-a
frighten away+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that bird Pl-the

wul-giḷyiringiḷyiri , war+wil-añi , yi::: wala-!ini::: ,
Pl-mermaid sing+3Pl/3Sg-did 3Pl-went

bañaj+bala-'na mayamaya , wurgu-naji , wala-yi-!ana , ni-ña
come out+3Pl-did plain 3Sg/3Du-saw 3Pl-told-Recip MSg-this

na-na nayirinji ganu , 'agu! niṛwi-ñay l' , wala-yi-!ana ,
MSg-the pl.n. in east hey! us(ExPl)! 3Pl-told-Recip

They went along. They saw that (thing), this what's-it?, the bird, that bird that was standing (there). As they went forward, they frightened off that bird. The mermaids were singing. They went along, (then) they came out (onto) the open plain. She (one mermaid) saw them (two from the other group), (the ones from) this place nayirinji, to the east, and they spoke to each other. 'Hey! It is us!' they said to each other.

12) wala-!ini::: wumbul , balba wili-naji , na-na !irjal ,
3Pl-went what's it? river 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-the mangrove

duḷ+wil-añi nanga-yimar !irjal , wili-naji ni-ña
sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that mangrove 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-this

nanga-yimar wa!ajandama , duḷ+wil-añi nanga-yimar wa!ajandama ,
MSg-that crocodile sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that

wala-!ini::: , wala-yi-!ana ,
3Pl-went 3Pl-told-Recip

They went along, (to) what's-it? They saw the river. The mangroves (on the edge of the river), they sang for those mangrove trees. They saw that (thing), this (estuary) crocodile. They sang for that crocodile. They went along, talking to each other.

13) 'niṛwi-ña niwi-giḷyiringiḷyiri , niwi-!ini maṛumaṛu-yana' ,
we(exPl) lExPl-mermaid lExPl-went pl.n.-Abl

wala-yi-!ana , 'ga nuṛwu-ña' , 'ay l gi-ñingar niwi-!ini
3Pl-told-Recip as for you(Pl) hey! coming this way lExPl-went

(Text 41)

wumbull-yana , nayirinji-yana ' , 'yi ! ' , wala-!ini::: , walba-ya
what's it?-Abl pl.n.-Abl yes! 3Pl-went river-Per

du|manga war+wili-ganji nanga-yimar ŋi-ña , yunguwan ,
all the way sing+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that MSg-this ritual

war+wili-ganji ,
sing+3Pl/3Sg-did

'We are mermaids. We have gone from 'maṛumaṛu,' they said one to the other. 'What about you?' 'We have come this way from what's-it?, from nayirinji.' 'Yes!' They went along the river, all the way singing this ritual (song). They sang.

14) wurgu-naji , wili-naji du|+wil-añi wuru-yimar
3S/3Du-saw 3Pl/3Sg-saw sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did Du-that

wur-waḷima , wulumbu-naji , wur-waḷima , duṇ+bir-añi ,
Du-circumcised 3Pl/3Du-saw stand+3Du/3Sg-did

du|+wil-añi ju|+urgu-yi (wrong Aux) nanga-yimar dawar ,
sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did swallow+3Sg/3Du-did MSg-that snake

garagarañu nanga-yimar dawar ju|+urg-añi war-a wur-waḷima ,
huge MSg-that snake swallow+3Sg/3Du-did Du-the Du-circumcised

It (snake) saw them two. They (mermaids) saw it (snake). They sang for it. They saw the two recently circumcised boys. They (two boys) got it up (i.e. aroused it). They (mermaids) sang for it. It swallowed them (the two boys), that snake did. That huge snake swallowed the two recently circumcised boys.

15) guda waraja-ri , wari-mbulma , waraja-ri::: , wawuḷundu ,
that's all upward 3Du-did it upward pl.n.

nanga-yimar mulwari ga-na juyub+iri-jujuñi , dub+ir-añi
MSg-that boomerang pull out+3Du/3Sg-did pull out+3Du/3Sg-did

nanga-yimar mandura , mandura dub+gu-yurayi nanga-yimar
MSg-that thinking become unstuck+3Sg-would do MSg-that

wumbul , mulwari , na-na nanga-yimar dawar , dil+w-arna
what's it? boomerang MSg-the MSg-that snake hold+3Sg/3Sg-did

nanga-yimar mulwari ,
MSg-that boomerang

(Text 41)

Then they (two boys) did it, upward. At the place wawu!undu, they pulled up that boomerang (which was planted in the ground). They pulled it up, thinking (hoping) that it would become unstuck. That boomerang. That snake, it was holding onto that boomerang.

16) *dil+w-arna nanga-yimar mulwari na-dawar , ga-na*
hold+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that boomerang MSgObl-snake

gud+birl-yi nanga-yimar mulwari , guda wari-'na yi ! ,
erect+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that boomerang that's all 3Du-went yes!

warj+birl-nina nanga-yimar wumbul , mulwari , ga-na
get+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that what's it? boomerang

juyub-irl-ganji nanga-yimar mulwari , wawu!undu ,
pull out+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that boomerang pl.n.

The snake was holding onto that boomerang, the boomerang which they (two boys) pushed upright. Then they went, they picked up that what's-it?, boomerang. They pulled out that boomerang, (at) the place wawu!undu.

17) *ga-nlyi ju!+urg-añi nanga-yimar dawar , ju!+urg-añi ,*
still swallow+3Sg/3Du-did MSg-that snake

guda waraja-ri , nad+burgu-yagañi na-dawar
that's all upward rush+3Sg/3Du-did MSgObl-snake

ju!+urg-añi , guda waraja-ri war+wili-ganji::: ,
swallow+3Sg/3Du-did that's all upward sing+3Pl/3Sg-did

duḍul wumbuli , nabiṛiwiri , nabiṛiwiri ,
all the way to what's it? pl.n.

du!+wil-añi nanga-yimar nabiṛiwiri ,
sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that pl.n.

It swallowed them, that snake (did). It swallowed them, then it rushed them along. The snake swallowed them. Then they (mermaids) went upward (inland), all the way to what's-it?, the place nabiṛiwiri. They sang (the song) for that (place) nabiṛiwiri.

18) *guda waraja-ri wumbuli , wumbuli , wungunji , wala-'na*
that's all upward what's it? pl.n. 3Pl-went

waraja-ri::: , jalagan , jalagan war+wili-ganji nanga-yimar ,
upward pl.n. sing+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-that

(Text 41)

wari-ma (should be 3Pl) wumbul , big+bili-yi (should be 3Pl/3Pl)
 3Du-did that what's it? carry+3Pl/3Sg-did

wul-ag-agur , wul-ma!uma!u , wala-!ini wulu-yimar
 Pl-Rdp-child Pl-covered with sores 3Pl-went Pl-that

wul-gi!yiringi!yiri waraja-ri du!+wil-añi , rañ+bil-añi
 Pl-mermaid upward sing for+3Pl/3Sg-did hit+3Pl/3Sg-did

na-na jargun , naba gurañañañañ gaç+wala-jinji ,
 MSg-the ritual dance also women's dance dance+3Pl-did

Then (they went) inland (to) what's-it?, the place wungunji. They went inland, (to) the place jalagan. They sang for that place jalagan. They (the two places) were what's-it? They (mermaids) carried the children, who were diseased (covered with sores, from having eaten improper foods). The mermaids went inland. They sang for (the country). They performed the jargun (a performance danced by women, but sung by men), and also they danced the gurañañañañ.

19) juy! waraja-ri , wala-!ini:: balba , balwayi balba , wala-!ini ,
 going upward 3Pl-went river big river 3Pl-went

waraja-maryi juy! , wala-!ini xxx ñanga-yimar ñi-ña , biliwu
 along the top going 3Pl-went MSg-that MSg-this their(Pl)

wumbul , yunguwan , war+wili-ganji du!manga juy! wala-!ini ,
 what's it? ritual sing+3Pl/3Sg-did all the way going 3Pl-went

They went along inland. A big river. They went across the interior. They went along, (performing) this what's-it? of theirs, the ritual. They sang all the way. They went along.

20) wala-!ini:: du!ul wumbuli , walbundu , wili-baliñali
 3Pl-went all the way to what's it? pl.n.

wili-baliñali ñanga-yimar walbundu now , ga wili-naji
 3Pl/3Sg-headed for MSg-that pl.n. and 3Pl/3Sg-saw

ñanga-yimar ñi-ñingar walulu , wulgu-naji ña-walulu ,
 MSg-that MSg-(this-)coming wind 3Sg/3Pl-saw MSgObl-wind

'garay! ñirwi-ñay! , agu ñarwu-ña ñawu-mamba-mambali' ,
 hey! we(ExPl) hey! we(InPl) lInPl-Rdp-(semimoiety name)

'yi! , ña-ñangu ña-çadbur nuwu-wuliyi , walbundu' , 'yi!' ,
 yes! NeObl-which NeObl-camp 2Pl-sit pl.n. yes!

(Text 41)

They went all the way to what's-it?, the place walbundu. They headed for walbundu then. They saw that Wind coming toward them. Wind saw them. (They said to it,) 'Hey! It is us! Hey, we and you are all of the mambali semimoiety.' (Wind replied,) 'Yes! What is (the name of) the place where you are staying, (perhaps) walbundu?' 'Yes!'

21) guda nanga-yimar ðuŋ+g-aŋa nanga-yimar walulu
 that's all MSg-that get up+3Sg-did MSg-that wind
 wargali-r , wu-!ini , 'ga nurwu-ña gangu-ñindi nuwu-!indiyi ' ,
 westward 3Sg-went as for you(Pl) to where? 2Pl-go
 'gi-ñindi waybu-ri niwi-!indiyi , nanga-ya niwi-baliŋanji wumbuli
 this way southward lExDu-went MSg-that lExPl-head for what's it?
 na-ɾadbur ' , wala-ma ,
 Ø-country 3Pl-said

Then that Wind got up (and went) westward. It went. (Before going, it asked them) 'As for you all, where are you going?' 'This way, southward, we are going. We are heading for that country, what's-it? (i.e. walbundu),' they said.

22) 'walbundu , gi-ña , ni-ña war+wi-ganjiyi na-ɾadbur
 pl.n. here MSg-this sing+lExPl/3Sg-did Ø-country
 walbundu , yi ! , walbundu ' , gu!+u-nbu nanga-yimar jawulba ,
 pl.n. yes! drink+3Sg-did MSg-that old man
 namunjulali , 'nanga-yimar malbu gu!+u-nbu , na-na nugu
 (man's name) MSg-that old man MSg-the water
 biŋ+g-añi jabay biŋ+g-aŋa na-na nugu
 finish up+3Sg/3Sg-did maybe finish off+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the water
 wala-yi-!ana ,
 3Pl-told-Recip

'This place walbundu, we are singing (for) the country walbundu. Yes, walbundu!' That old man (a male elder of the 'mermaids') drank up (the water from the billabong). 'That old man, namunjulali, drank it. He finished up (all) the water. Maybe he finished up the water,' they (the others) said to each other.

23) na-nulawar wala-!ini , na-na nulawar biɖ+bili-yi::: ,
 MSgObl-honey 3Pl-went MSg-the honey carry+3Pl/3Sg-did

(Text 41)

ṇad+balā-'ṇa ṇa-ṇugu ṇara+wala'ṇa , maḷuy , 'ṇa-na ṇugu
run+3Pl-did MSgObl-water look+3Pl-did no! MSg-the water

biṇ+g-aṇa garu-wu! , ṇaṅga-yimar jawulba ṇamunjulali ga-na
finish+3Sg-did hey you(Pl)! MSg-that old man (man's name)

guḷ+u-jinji , biṇ+g-añi ṇaṅga-yimar ṇugu , ṇamunjulali ' ,
drink+3Sg-did finish off+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that water (man's name)

*They went (for) honey. They carried honey over their shoulders.
They went rapidly (for) water. They looked around, but nothing!
(The billabong had been drained.) 'Hey you! The water is gone!
That old man ṇamunjulali has drunk it all, that ṇamunjulali has
finished up all the water!'*

24) all right , ṇa-na bijabija war+bili-yagañi , guda
MSg-the yamstick get+3Pl/3Sg-did that's all

jalg+bili-jujuñi gi-ñindi now , ...
stab+3Pl/3Sg-did this way

*All right, they got a yamstick. Then they stabbed him (ṇamunjulali)
along there (narrator points to his belly)...
(Brief interruption while new tape was put on.)*

25) jalg+bili-jujuñi gi-ñindi ṇanja-ya , ṇa-na bijabija , gi-ñindi ,
stab+3Pl/3Sg-did this way belly-Per MSg-the yamstick this way

gi-ña jalg+bili-yi , galimba gi-ña jalg+bili-yi , galimba gi-ña ,
here stab+3Pl/3Sg-did and here stab+3Pl/3Sg-did and here

ṇa-na bijabija , ṇa-na waṇaji , waṇaji , waṇaji jalg+bili-yi
MSg-the yamstick MSg-the yamstick stab+3Pl/3Sg-did

ṇanja , galimba gi-ña jalg+bili-yi ,
belly and here

*They stabbed him here, in the belly, (with) the yamstick. Along
here they stabbed him, and here, and here (i.e. in the chest, etc.).
They stabbed him with a yamstick. They stabbed him here.*

26) ga ṇa-na ṇugu yur+w-aṇa , ṇa-na ṇugu yur+w-aṇa ,
and MSg-the water come out+3Sg-did MSg-the water

ḷabaḷabaya w-anji , all right , ga-na wala-'ṇa , ṇa-na ṇalga
full 3Sg-sat 3Pl-went MSg-the coolamon

warj+biri-niṇa , biḍ+bili-yagañi wal-a wul-giḷyiringiḷyiri ,
get+3Pl/3Sg-did carry+3Pl/3Sg-did Pl-the Pl-mermaid

(Text 42)

29) *namunjulali nanga-yimar jawulba malbu garagarañu jawulba*
(man's name) MSg-that old man old man huge old man

namunjulali, walbundu ga-na gu!-u-nbu nanga-yimar nugu,
pl.n. drink+3Sg-did MSg-that water

guda jaw+ili-ganji, na-na nanja gu!+u-nbu na-na nugu
that's all jab+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-the belly water

walbundu.

pl.n.

That old man namunjulali was huge (a giant). It was at walbundu that he drank that water. Then they jabbed holes in him. His belly. He drank that water, at walbundu.

TEXT 42

TWO DUGONG HUNTERS (MYTH)

Narrator: Johnnie

1) *'ga ñiya-ra naḍugu jaṛag+ñi-juju raṇ+ñi-gay*
and you(Sg) rope make+2Sg/3Sg-will do hit+2Sg/3Sg-will do

jaṛag+ñi-juju naḍugu', wu-yi na-na balwayi, 'ga ñina-ra
3Sg/3Sg-told MSg-the big and I

ñi-ña najin jaṛag+na-juju, guda ma!uy na-na ma!bi,
MSg-this canoe make+1Sg/3Sg-will do that's all no! MSg-the point

guda nanga-ya ḍabaliya na-na ma!bi wuṛ+i-Ø,
that's all MSg-that wood put down+2Sg/3Sg-will do

naba raṛar, naba mawa!, guda ya!ajga na-jura', 'yi!'
also harpoon floater that's all quickly 1InDu-will go yes!

'You will make some rope, you will make ('hit') it,' the big man told (the other man). 'For my part I will make this bark canoe. Then (there is) no harpoon point. You will put that wooden harpoon point down - also the harpoon and the floater. Then we will go quickly.' 'Yes!'

2) *jaṛag+u-ji nanga-yimar balwayi, na-na najin*
make+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that big MSg-the canoe

wuṛ+w-añi, ḍalaḍala ninjani, mayawajawa,
put down+3Sg/3Sg-did board what? paddle

widiwidi+wir-añi nanga-yimar najin wuṛ+wir-añi,
carry in arms+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that canoe put down+3Du/3Sg-did

(Text 42)

na-na naɖugu ,
MSg-the rope

That big one made it. He put down the canoe, the wooden planks (used as seats), the paddles. The two of them carried that canoe. They put it down (in the water), (also) the rope.

3) 'ga ɲiya-ra yangar ga ɲina-ra ɲawuɭ , guda ɲa-jura
as for you(Sg) ahead I behind that's all lInDu-will go
wumbuli-ɲindi , ɲanga-ya ɲa-baliɲay waɭja ,
what's it?-toward MSg-that lInDu/3Sg-will head for dugong and turtle
yimunguɲi-ɲindi ɲa-jura ' , 'yi ! ' , yi:: jaɭab+ari-ma:: ,
pl.n.-toward lInDu-will go yes! paddle+3Du-did
ɖuɭmanga wiri-gandayaruɲi ɲanga-yimar waɭaɲan , wugudubargu ,
all the way 3Du/3Sg-speared MSg-that fish mullet sp.
ɲuruɭanga , wiri-gandayaruɲi , war-a wur-maɭbiɲgari ,
golden trevally (fish) Du-the Du-dugong hunter

'You go in front (as the harpooner) and I will stay behind (as the paddler). We will go for what's-it?, we will look for dugong or turtles.' We will go to the place yimunguɲi.' 'All right.' They paddled along. Along the way they speared those fish - mullets, golden trevally. The two dugong hunters.

4) wur-maɭbiɲgari wiri-gandayaruɲi ɲa-na waɭaɲan , guda
Du-dugong hunter 3Du/3Sg-speared MSg-the fish that's all
buju+wiri-ji ɲanga-yimar buɖalar , jaɾag+biri-ji
use firestick+3Du/3Sg-did MSg-that firestick make+3Du/3Sg-did
ɲa-na waɖgar , waɾi+wari-yaɲa guda , wiri-jaɭi
MSg-the fire make fire+3Du/3Sg-did that's all 3Du/3Sg-ate
ɲanga-yimar waɭaɲan , 'yi ! , guda ɲa-jura mini ' , wari-ma ,
MSg-that fish yes! that's all lInDu-will go now 3Du-said
jaɭab+ari-mindini jaɭab+ari-ma jaɭab+ari-ma ,
paddle+3Du-did paddle+3Du-did

The two dugong hunters speared fish. Then they operated a firestick. They made fire, they built up a fire then. They ate the fish. 'Yes, now let's go,' they said. They paddled. They paddled and paddled.

(Text 42)

5) 'ñi-ña ña-baliñanji ñi-ña ðaðbu ' , wari-yi-!ana ,
 MSg-this 1InDu/3Sg-head for MSg-this shore 3Du-told-Recip
 wu-yi ña-na ñaŋi-yana , wari-!ini::: , 'duŋ+g-a
 3Sg/3Sg-told MSg-the behind 3Du-went raise+2Sg/3SgImp-do!
 ña-na ñaŋga-yimar yaŋgar-manjar ' , wu-minani baŋara::: ,
 MSg-the MSg-that in front 3Sg/3Sg-saw pl.n.
 ña-ɽadbur wu-minani , guda wu-yi ga-na ñaŋi-yana ,
 Ø-country 3Sg/3Sg-saw that's all 3Sg/3Sg-told behind
 'garay ! , ñi-ña yunduñuga yunduñuga , yunduñuga ñi-ña mijimbaŋu ' ,
 hey! MSg-this green turtle big crowd

'We will head for that shore (a rock in the sea),' they said to each other. The one in back (the paddler) told (the other). They went along. (He said,) 'Raise that (harpoon) in front!' They saw the place baŋara, they saw the place. Then the one in back said, 'Hey! A big crowd of green turtles are here!'

6) wiri-minani , wiri-minani::: , jaj+biri-yi , warj+gu-niŋa
 3Du/3Sg-saw chase+3Du/3Sg-did get+3Sg/3Sg-did
 ñaŋga-yimar ɽajar , wu-minani::: , ma!uy , yi::: ja!ab+ari-ma
 MSg-that harpoon 3Sg/3Sg-saw no! paddle+3Du-did
 gi-ñindi ŋuwi-ri , ja!ab+ari-'ña wiri-minani
 this way eastward paddle+3Du/3Sg-did 3Du/3Sg-saw

They saw it (one turtle). They chased it. He (the harpooner, in the prow of the canoe) got that harpoon. He looked for it (the turtle), but nothing! They paddled this way, eastward. The paddled. They saw it.

7) 'garay! ñi-ña ñaliga ðaðbu ña-baliñay ñi-ña ,
 hey! MSg-this come on! shore 1InDu/3Sg-will head for MSg-this
 yo ! , ñaliga ja!ab+ña-mi ga-ya-ñindi ' ,
 yes! come on! paddle+1InDu-will do that way
 ja!a-ja!ab+ari-mindini::: , ja!ab+ari-ma ja!ab+ari-ma ja!ab+ari-ma ,
 Rdp-paddle+3Du-did paddle+3Du-did
 'garay ! jabay gi-ña wa-'wu!u , ñi-ña ña-na wumbul ,
 hey! maybe here 3Pres-3Sg-sits MSg-this MSg-the what's it?
 yunduñuga ' , wu-yi , 'yo ! , ja!ab+ña-jura ga-ya-ñindi
 green turtle 3Sg/3Sg-told yes! paddle+1InDu-will do that way

(Text 42)

now ' , ' yi ! ' ,
yes!

'Hey! Let's head for that rock here. Come on! Let's paddle that way!' They paddled along. They paddled and paddled. 'Hey! Maybe it (turtle) is here. Here is the what's-it?, the turtle,' he told (the other). 'Yes! Let's paddle that way now!' 'All right!'

8) ja|ab+ari-ma , ja|ab+ari-ma , ja|ab-ja|ab+ari-mindini::: , yi:::
paddle+3Du-did Rdp-paddle+3Du-did

ma|uy , wari+wari-'na , yaṇa+wari-jinji ga-ya-ra yimunguṇi ,
no! return+3Du-did sleep+3Du-did there pl.n.

wiri-gandayaruṇi wumbul wa|añan wiri-ja|i , ñim+bir-añi ,
3Du/3Sg-speared what's it? fish 3Du/3Sg-ate camp out+3Du/3Sg-did

baḍa ñim+bir-añi , wari-'na yaja+wiri-ji , ṇa-waligi-ni ,
later 3Du-went hunt+3Du/3Sg-did MSgObl-dugong-Purp

ma|uy , wari+wari-'na , yimunguṇi ,
no! return+3Du-did pl.n.

They paddled and paddled along. Nothing. They went back. They slept there, at yimunguṇi. They speared some what's-it?, fish, and ate them. They camped. Then they camped (again; i.e. another night passed). They went hunting for dugong. Nothing! They went back (to) yimunguṇi.

9) ñimug+u-ma , yaṇa+wari-jinji , yaṇ+w-añi , 'guda
get dark+3Sg-did sleep+3Du-did dawn+3Sg/3Sg-did that's all

ṇa-jura , ṇa-wa|jay ! ' 'yi ! ' , wari-|ini:::
1InDu-will go MSgObl-dugong or turtle yes! 3Du-went

yaja+wiri-jujuṇi::: , gi-ñindi yimbi-ri yaja+wiri-ji ma|uy ,
hunt+3Du/3Sg-did this way northward hunt+3Du/3Sg-did no!

gi-ñindi waybu-ri yaja+wiri-jujuṇi ma|uy , 'ṇaliga ṇa-ga
this way southward hunt+3Du/3Sg-did no! come on! let's go!

ga-ya-ñindi ḍud+ṇa-yagay ga-ya wu|unun jabay wa-'-wu|u ' ,
that way find+1InDu/3Sg-will do there below maybe 3Pres-3Sg-sits

yaja+wiri-ji , ma|uy , wari-|ini::: , ma|uy , wari+wari-'na
hunt+3Du/3Sg-did no! 3Du-went no! return+3Du-did

yimunguṇi-ñindi ,
pl.n.-toward

(Text 42)

It got dark. They slept. It dawned. 'Now let's go, for dugong or turtles!' 'All right!' They went along, hunting. They hunted this way, going north. Nothing! They hunted going south. Nothing. 'Come on! Let's go that way! Maybe they (dugong, turtles) are down there, we will find them.' They hunted. Nothing. They went further. Nothing. They went back toward the place yimunguñi.

10) wiri-ja!i-ya!i muraɽbu , galimba ɲuyɲuy , wa!aɲan wiri-ja!i-ya!i ,
3Du/3Sg-Rdp-ate crab and rays fish 3Du/3Sg-Rdp-ate

wiri-ja!i ɲaŋga-yimar wa!aɲan , guda , 'guday! , yi!
3Du/3Sg-ate MSg-that fish that's all that's all! yes!

ɲaliga yajaɲa-juju . ɲaŋga-ya , wumbul , ɲaŋga-ya ɖaɖbu
come on! hunt+1InDu/3Sg-will do MSg-that what's it? MSg-that shore

ɲa-baliɲay ' , 'yi ! ' , ɖuɲ+bari-'ɲa , wari-!ini:::
1InDu/3Sg-will head for yes! get up+3Du-did 3Du-went

wiri-naji ɲaŋga-yimar garagaraɲu yunduɲuga ,
3Du/3Sg-saw MSg-that huge green turtle

They ate crabs, also stingrays. They ate fish. They ate those fish. 'Now come on! Let's go hunting that what's-it?. Let's head for that shore (that rock in the sea).' 'All right.' They set off. They went along, and saw that enormous green turtle.

11) 'guda ɲi-ɲa jawɲa-'y garay! ' ,
that's all MSg-this jab+1InDu/3Sg-will do hey!

wari-yi-!ana , 'yi ! ' , wari-!ini::: , ma!uy , warj+gu-niɲa
3Du-told-Recip yes! 3Du-went no! get+3Sg/3Sg-did

ɲaŋga-yimar ɽajar guda gurya buyuriyiɲa , jalgu-yi ,
MSg-that harpoon that's all hurray! strike+3Sg/3Sg-did

ɽaŋ+bir-aɲi maraɲuɽu , juy! ja!ab+tari-ma , yimunguñi , ɲaŋga-yi
kill+3Du/3Sg-did head going paddle+3Du-did pl.n. he

waɽi+wu-jinji ɲa-na gayi yimunguñi , ga ɲaŋga-yiribaɲa
build fire+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-the other and he in turn

wu-!ini buɖalar , warj+gu-niɲa ,
3Sg-went firestick get+3Sg/3Sg-did

'Now let's jab (harpoon) this one, hey!' they said to each other. 'All right!' They went along. Nothing. They got that harpoon, then hurray! He (the harpooner) struck it. They hit it on the head (to knock it out). They paddled (to) yimunguñi. One of them built up a

(Text 42)

fire, one of them (at) yimunguŋi. As for the other, he went (for) firesticks. He got it.

- 12) !iw-!iw+u-ji ŋaŋga-yimar wumbul ga-niyi
 Rdp-do crookedly+3Sg/3Sg-did MSg-that what's it? only
- !arag+u-nbu , ŋaŋga-yimar wurwala w-anji wu-mindini,
 fall into+3Sg-did MSg-that pit 3Sg-sat 3Sg-did that
- ga-na !arag+u-nbu gaw+u-ma , gaw+u-ma , 'gay ! , gay !
 fall into+3Sg-did call out+3Sg-did hey!
- !arag+ŋa-nbu , warj+gu-yali ŋaŋga-ya ŋaɖugu
 fall into+1Sg-did get+2Sg/3SgImp-do! MSg-that rope
- jaɾ+angu-ju ' , wu-yi , 'gay ! ' , ɖuŋ+g-aŋa ,
 pull+2Sg/3Sg-will do 3Sg/3Sg-told hey! get up+3Sg-did
- mal+w-aŋa wu-!ini:: ,
 go up+3Sg-did 3Sg-went

He went crookedly around that what's-it? But he fell into that pit. It (the pit) was sitting there, like that. When he fell in he called out. 'Hey! I have fallen in! Get that rope and pull me (out)!' he told (the other man). 'Hey!' He (the other man) arose and climbed up (to the opening over the pit). He went along.

- 13) 'gay ! ' , wu-naji , 'ay ! ' , ŋara+w-aŋa ŋi-ña , ŋi-ña
 hey! 3Sg/3Sg-saw hey! look+3Sg-did MSg-this MSg-this
- wu!uŋun , 'gangu+ŋi-ma ' , '!arag+ŋa-nbu , ŋad+gu-!a
 below do what?+2Sg-did fall in+1Sg-did run+2SgImp-do!
- warj+gu-yaji wumbul ŋaɖugu ŋaɖugu ŋaɖugu warj+gu-yaji
 get+2Sg/3SgImp-do! what's it? rope get+2Sg/3SgImp-do!
- ŋaɖugu ' , 'yi ! ' , wu-baliŋa!i ŋaŋga-yimar ŋaɖugu warj+gu-niŋa ,
 yes! 3Sg/3Sg-headed for MSg-that rope get+3Sg/3Sg-did
- ŋa-na ŋajin , guda wari+ya-'-ganji ,
 MSg-the canoe that's all return+Centr-3Sg/3Sg-did

'Hey!' He saw him then. 'Hey!' He looked around, at this (pit) below. 'What happened to you?' 'I fell in. Go and get what's-it?, rope! Get rope!' 'All right!' He went looking for that rope. He got it (at) the canoe. Then he took it (the rope) back.

- 14) 'yi ! , ŋa-na ŋaɖugu yaj+a-'-yami ' ,
 yes! MSg-the rope throw+Centr-2Sg/3SgImper-do!

(Text 42)

yaɟ+gu-yama ɲa-na ɲaɟugu , mal-mal-mal-mal ɲa-yawuru-yur ,
 throw+3Sg/3Sg-did MSc-the rope going up to him

jaɟ+u-ji , jaɟ-jaɟ+u-jujuɲi ɲanga-yimar ɲaɟugu maɟuy , yi ! ,
 pull+3Sg/3Sg-did Rdp-pull+3Sg/3Sg-did MSc-that rope no! yes!

baɟa , jaɟ+u-ji maɟuy , jaɟ+u-ji maɟuy , 'ɲula
 again pull+3Sg/3Sg-did no! not

ɲalg+u-mi ' wu-ma , baɟa more jaɟ+u-ji ,
 succeed(?) +3Sg-will do 3Sg-said again pull+3Sg/3Sg-did

'waɟara jaɟ+angu-jiɪ waɟara ' ,
 hard pull+2Sg/1Sg-do!

'Yes! Throw the rope down here!' He threw (one end of) the rope. Upward toward him he pulled (the other man). He pulled and pulled on that rope, but no good! Yes, again he pulled, but no good! He pulled, no good! 'It isn't working,' he said. Again he pulled, harder. 'Pull as hard as you can!' (said the man below).

15) yi ! jaɟ+u-ji , jaɟ+u-ji , maɟuy , 'garay ! ,
 yes! pull+3Sg/3Sg-did no! hey!

wayi+ɲingu-niɲuy , yi ! , yi ! ' , 'ɲunumanguyur jaɟ+angu-ju
 leave+1Sg/2Sg-will do yes! yes! further pull+2Sg/1Sg-will do
 ɲunumanguyur ga-na ɲingu-jaɲani ɲunumanguyur jaɟ+angu-ju , yi ! ' ,
 1Sg/2Sg-tell yes!

jaɟ+u-ji waraja-ri , waraja-ri jaɟ+u-ji , ɟalag+u-nbu ,
 pull+3Sg/3Sg-did upward fall in+3Sg-did

Yes, he pulled and pulled, but nothing! 'Hey! I will leave you here, yes!' (But the man down below said,) 'Pull me up some more. Pull harder, I tell you, yes!' He pulled him up (further), he pulled him up (further). (But) then he (the man at the top) fell in (with the other man).

16) yi::: , 'guda yijiri gi-ɲa ɲa-'nu ,
 that's all for good here 1InDu-will sit

ɟarag+ɲa-nbu ' , jawtari-ma gi-ɲindi maɟuy , jawtari-ma manuga ,
 fall in+1InDu-did dig+3Du-did this way no! stone

jawtari-ma gi-ɲindi maɟuy , jawtari-ma gi-ɲindi maɟuy , jawtari-ma ,
 no!

(Text 42)

wulun jaw+ari-ma , maɭuy , yi:: guda , ñim+bil-añi
below that's all camp+3Pl/3Sg-did

ñim+bil-añi , ñim+bil-añi , ñim+bil-añi , ñim+bil-añi , ma!uy ,
no!

ñim+bil-añi . xxx ñim+bil-añi .

'So now we will be here for good! We have fallen in.' They tried to dig their way out (through the side of the pit), but no good! They tried to dig out below, but no good! (Meanwhile,) they (their relatives) spent the night (at another place). They spent a night, they spent a night, they spent a night... (i.e. five nights passed). Nothing (i.e. the two dugong hunters did not return to the camp). They spent a night, they spent a night (two more nights passed).

17) ɲajin ɖuŋ+g-aŋa now , from wunubaryi-yana
 canoe get up+3Sg/3Sg-did pl.n.-Abl

duŋ+bala- 'ŋa jaɭab+ala-ma , ga wili-naji ŋaŋga-yimar ɣayi
get up+3Pl-did paddle+3Pl-did and 3Pl/3Sg-saw MSg-that bird

diw+u-jañi , 'yi ! yi ! garu-wu ! , wara-ya , nabaɾ+wari-ma ,
fly over+3Sg/3Sg-did oh! you(Pl)! Du-that die+3Du-did

yimunguṇi yimunguṇi yimunguṇi ṇabarɔwari-ma jabay',
die+3Du-did maybe

wur+wil-añi ŋaŋga-yimar , ŋad+bala-'ŋa , ŋa-na garaw
put down+3Pl/3Sg-did M_{Sg}-that run+3Pl-did M_{Sg}-the carcass

gar+wili-yina ,
smell+3Pl/3Sg-did

Then a canoe set off from the place wunubaryi. They got up (and set off), paddling. Then they saw birds (presumably some type of hawk) flying over (where the two men died). 'Oh dear! Hey you!' (said one man to the others). 'These two men died - maybe they died at yimunguṇi.' They put that (canoe) down. They ran along. They smelled the rotting carcasses.

18) wala-!ini ɲara+wala- 'ɲa , 'wir-ña , wir-ña mini garwa
 3Pl-went look+3Pl-did Du-this now carcass

nad+bala-!a wir-n̄a wir-n̄a wir-n̄a , wir-n̄a nabaɾ+wari-ma , yi !
run+2PlImp-do! die+3Du-did yes!

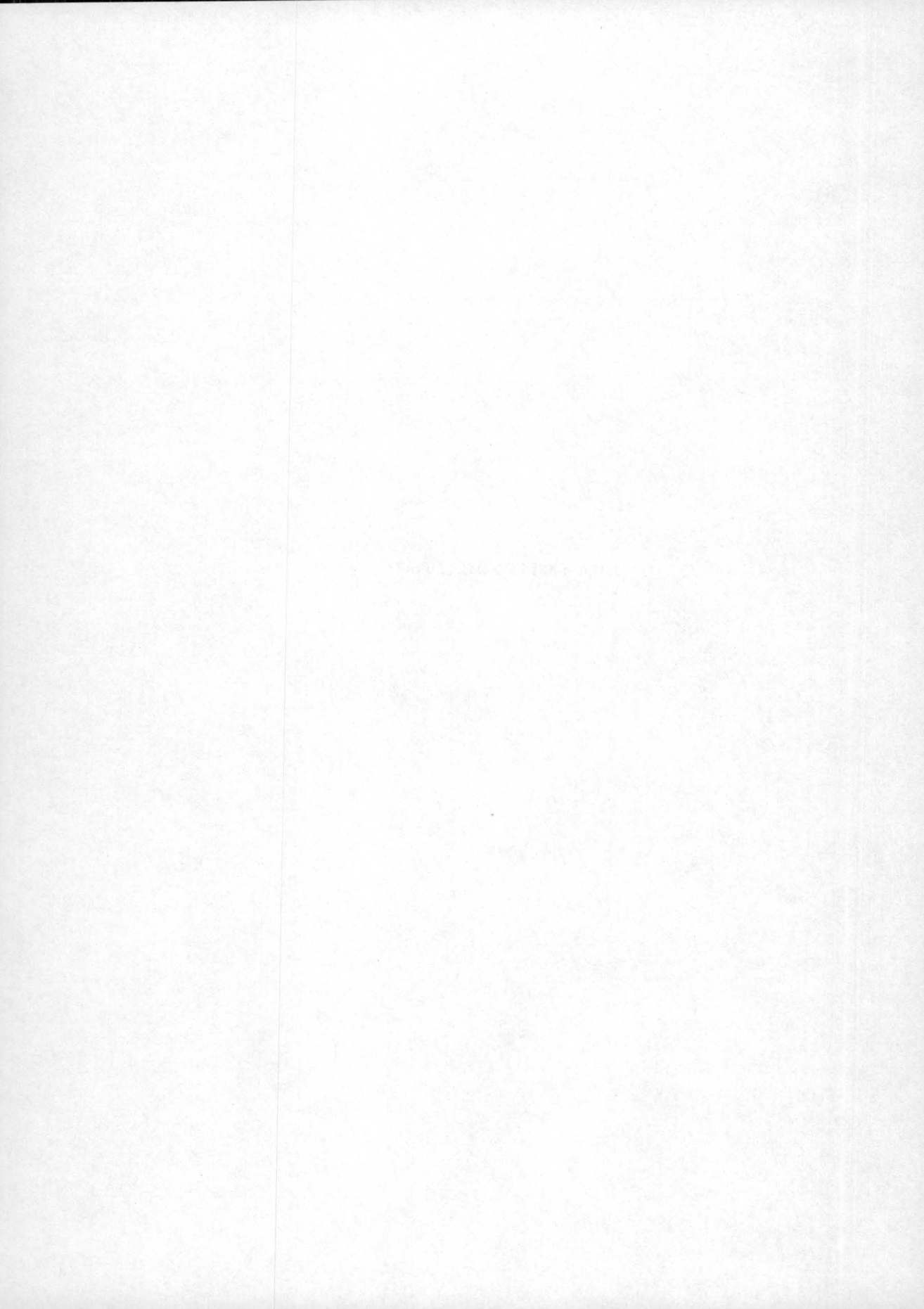
war-a wur-ma|biŋgari ŋabaɾ+wari-ma', wari+wala-'ŋa, wulumbur-yi,
Du-the Pl-dugong hunter die+3Du-did return+3Pl-did 3Pl/3Pl-told

(Text 42)

wal-a wul-ganuganu, !u!+wala-ma ŋa-na mulwari warj+bili-niŋa
 Pl-the Pl-old people cry+3Pl-did MSg-the boomerang get+3Du/3Sg-did
 !u!+wala-ma::: , dɒb+il-añi ŋa-na wumbul guda ,
 pull out+3Pl/3Sg-did MSg-the what's it? that's all
 gi-ñindi .
 this way

They went along and looked. 'Here they are! Run to the carcass(es)! Here they are! They are dead! The two dugong hunters are dead!' They went back. They told the old people (who had stayed back at the camp). They cried. They got a boomerang and cried. They pulled it (the boomerang) out. This way.

MARA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY



INTRODUCTION

What follows is a Mara-English dictionary of some 1800 items (more or less depending on how an item is defined). It is based partly on material obtained in texts, but to a larger extent on directly elicited material. This is particularly the case with body-part terms, flora-fauna, etc.

Late in my Mara fieldwork I obtained a copy of Ken Hale's Mara field notes. These contained at least 200 items which I had not obtained, and I was able to go over these items with my informant (Mack Riley). The material in this dictionary is, however, based entirely on my own transcriptions and glosses even in cases where Hale's material was used. That is, where Mack Riley disagreed with the gloss which Hale obtained, or where my transcription of Mack's pronunciation differed from Hale's transcription, I have followed Mack for the purposes of this dictionary. In a few cases Mack simply did not recognise the word and I have omitted it from the dictionary.

These decisions are due to the obvious fact that I am responsible for the material appearing here and I therefore prefer to use material that I can personally vouch for. Hale had only about a week to work on Mara and was thus obviously unable to check glosses or transcriptions adequately. Moreover, Mack indicated to me that some of the words in Hale's material were really Yanyula rather than Mara. Therefore, although Hale's material was invaluable to me in suggesting vocabulary items to be verified with Mack, I felt I should not directly incorporate material from Hale's notes which I was unable to confirm with my own informant.

A handful of words in Hale's notes referring to subincision and the like have been omitted to avoid offending Mara people.

I am most grateful to Hale for giving me *carte blanche* to use his Mara material at my discretion. As just indicated, despite the fact that I had been working on the language for more than two months when I finally got a copy of Hale's material (which he had obtained in about a week), there were at least 200 items which I had not been able to collect myself but which I was then able to obtain after seeing this material.

The dictionary entries are fairly straightforward. Each item begins with the stem followed by a word-class label, which for verbs indicates transitivity (*Intr*, *Tr*) and also indicates whether the stem is inflectable (*Inflect*) or if not which Aux it takes. The Aux is given in parentheses, hence *VTr(-ganji)* is a transitive verb taking

-ganji/-ayi as Aux. Often only the past continuous form (-ganji) is given to save space, but for suppletive paradigms both forms are given, hence *VTr(-jañi/-niñuyi)*. If a given verb-particle can take more than one Aux, the dictionary entry is broken up into two or more subentries, one for each Aux.

Nouns are usually labelled as *NM*, *NF* or *NNe* depending on noun-class (masculine, feminine, neuter). Nouns labelled simply as *N* include adjective-like nouns which agree in class with another noun, and adverb-like nouns which usually do not take noun-class marking.

Having dealt with flora-fauna vocabulary for several languages in the area, I hope I can honestly say that the specific identifications (where not qualified by 'perhaps' or the like) are 90% accurate in terms of the taxonomy used by botanists and zoologists in this region in 1976 or so. However, it should be noted that this taxonomy is unstable and will certainly change over the years, due both to taxonomic revisions and to improvements in relating local specimens to existing taxonomic works.

There are a fair number of cross-references among dictionary entries, involving synonyms or other closely associated stems. Occasional cross-references to texts are given where this is thought to provide useful exemplification of a stem, but many items which occur in the texts are not specified as such in the dictionary to save space and because cross-references would, in many cases, not contribute much to understanding the meaning and usage of the stem. It should be stressed that if a dictionary entry does not include textual cross-references, this certainly does not necessarily mean that the stem does not occur in texts.

Attention is called to the list of abbreviations at the beginning of this volume.

A

- a *VTrInfl* See -ganji.
- a *VIntrInfl* See -anji.
- agui *Part* Hey there!
(Text 41.20)
- agur *N* child (boy or girl).
MSg Nom ṇagur, *FSg Nom* n-ṇagur.
Vocative: watur! Other forms
based on the root -agur, hence
Pl wul-ag-agur, *2Sg* ṇi-'gur
(you are a child).
- alaṇḍarbuṛa *NM* chestnut rail
(bird). *Syn* jaraḍadbuwa,
ṇirṇirṇ. Occasionally
pronounced walaṇḍarbuṛa.
- alawa *N* of the Alawa (language
group). *Syn* waḷiburu. Takes
the form -galawa after a
consonant.
- alguwalgu *NM* shellfish *sp.* said
to resemble mindiwaba, but
smaller, found in mangroves.
- aluṅguḷi, etc. *VTrInfl* to wait
for; a transitive *Aux.*
(Text 27.1; *Gr* 11.3)
- aḷalaḷala *NM* suckerfish,
Remora sp. Has six syllables.
Obḷ ṇa-aḷalaḷala.
- andayari, etc. *VTrInfl* See
-gandayaruṇi.
- anja *VTrInfl* See -ganji.
- anji *VIntrInfl* to sit;
intransitive *Aux.* (*Gr* 11.4)
- anji *VTrInfl* See -ganji.
- anjiyi *VTrInfl* See -ganji.
- anu *VIntrInfl* See -anji.
- aṇi *VTrInfl* See -ganji.
- aṇa *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -ḷini.
- argul *N* other. Used only in
Sg/Du Obḷ, hence *MSg* ṇa-'rgul,
FSg ya-'rgul, etc. *Ex*
ṇibuṇibuna ṇa-'rgul-yu day after

tomorrow ('tomorrow, another').
Nom gayi. *Pl* wayara.

-arṇi *VTrInfl* See -arṇaḷi.

-arṇaḷi, etc. *VTrInfl* to scratch;
transitive *Aux.* (*Gr* 11.5)

-ay *VTrInfl* See -ganji.

B

- bab *VTr(-jujuṇi)* to block, to
cause to stop (moving). *Ex*
bam+ṇa-ji ṇa-'ḷi I stopped
him with my body.
- baba *NM* (my/our) elder brother.
Cf. ḷalu-mar, ṇuḷuṅgaḷ. *Obḷ*
ṇa-baba.
- n-baba *NF* (my/our) elder sister.
Cf. ḷalu-mar, ṇuḷuṅgaḷ. Vocative
baba.
- bad *VTr(-ganji)* to abandon, to
leave aside/behind. *Cf.* wayi.
VIntr(-gunbuni) to go down to
the sea (and get into boat).
(Text 3.1)
- badad *VTr(-ganji)* to rip, to
tear up.
- baday *VIntr(-mindini)* (fish) to
jump around, to escape (hunter).
Often reduplicated (baday-baday).
- n-badbanma *NNe* midriff bulge
(soft flesh and fat on side,
under lowest rib). *Obḷ*
ṇa-badbanma.
- baḍa *Part* later.
- baḍab *VIntr(-mindini)* to jump
in surprise, to start; (tortoise)
to dive suddenly. *Rdp* baḍa-baḍab.
- baḍabaḍa *VIntr(-mindini)* to shake
body or head, to move agitatedly.
VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi) to shake
body or head; to go along
agitatedly. *VTr(-jujuṇi)* to
shake (something). *Cf.* giya.
- baḍaḍa *N* baby; very small. *MSg*
Obḷ ṇa-baḍaḍa. *Rdp* baḍa-baḍaḍa.

very small ones.

baḍaṇ NM humpy (bark dwelling).
Cf. yulway.

baḍbaḍa NM butterfly, moth.

baḍgala NM large dog (garwiṛi).

baḍurga NM marine long-tom fish.
Young: wiṛiñmanjar.

bajaṇi NM freshwater crocodile.
Syn ḍaḍajara.

bal VIntr(-mindini) to pound
(with a stone or other hard
object). **VTr(-jujuṇi)** to finish
(job, etc.). **VTr(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi)**
to mark, decorate; write on.

balabalaṇara NM small louse in
armpit or pubic hair. Cf. muṇḍul.

balajagu N left-handed; left-hand
(side). *Ex* ḍiw+a-'-jamama
ṇa-balajagu he throws from
(with) the left-hand side.

balanaga NM very large dugout
canoe (muwaḍa).

n-balanga NM junction
(of rivers). *Obl* ṇa-walanga.

balba NM river. *Obl* ṇa-walba.
Per (irregular) walba-ya.
Cf. gulma.

balg VIntr(-nani) to give off
light; to be lighted (on fire).
VTr(-garaṇuni) to ignite.
VTr(-linmaḷi) to ignite.

balgiṇ N salty, bad-tasting.
Cf. guṇḍaṇḍa.

-baliṇaḷi, etc. VTrInf^l to hunt
for, to head for. (Text 41.20;
Gr 11.6)

balmaṇa NM hat. Syn gulabajara.

balubalu NM pelican.

balwayi N big. Used in *Sg/Du*.
Pl ganuganu.

bal VIntr(-lini/-yurayi) to sneak
along. **VTr(-baliṇaḷi)** to sneak
up on.

baḷa VIntr(-lini/-yurayi) to
revolve, to go around. Often
reduplicated when meaning to
revolve (repeatedly). (Text
38.3) **VTr(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi)**
to go around (something,
someone). Often reduplicated.
VTr(-jujuṇi) to cause to
revolve, to make (something)
turn around. Often redupli-
cated. **VIntr(-gunbuni)** to be
born. (Text 36.1)
VTr(-ganji) to give birth to,
to bear (said of the mother,
or more generally of the mother's
clan and its country).

baḷa NM a wattle, *Acacia*
difficilis. (Term given by A,
not recognised by MR.)

baḷabaḷa NM tree fork; platform
formed by forked sticks. Syn
galagala.

baḷajalbaḷajal NM a climbing
vine with a root (informants
disagree on its edibility,
but is said to resemble
maṇaḍba). Possibly an *Ipomoea*
sp.

baḷay VTr(-ganji) See mbaḷay.

baḷgad-min N Occurs in n-ḍuru
baḷgad-min bowlegged
(‘boomerang legs’).

baḷgan NM mangrove tree with
buttressed roots, *Rhizophora sp.*
Applied to *Rhizophora stylosa*
at Numbulwar.

baḷgbaḷgururu NM mudlark
(‘peewee’). Syn ḍilḍilgururu.

baḷgur NM rainbowfish; (more
generally) any small fish.
Cf. waḷaṇan. (Both of these
terms occur in Text 41.7.)

baḷingama NM antelope kangaroo,
Macropus antelopinus.
Especially male. Female:
gaṇḍalburu.

baḷiri NM very old sand goanna
(waḍabir).

baḷṇa NM See mbaḷṇa.

ba|ya *N* male (human or animal).
Pl ba|ya-wa|ya.

-bama *VTrInfl* See -bayna|i.

bamaña *NM* a shrub with small leaves, whitish bark, and small yellow fruits (edible), *Diospyros* sp. Applied to *Diospyros ferrea* var. *humilis* at Numbulwar, and to the same(?) sp. at Borroloola.

bambal *NM* 1. sea-sponge; coral.
 2. mud-dauber wasp, *Eumenes* sp.
Cf. renbur.

bambiliwar *NM* king tide (very high tide); tidal wave.

bambir *VTr(-jujuñi/-|arbuyi)* to spray up a jet of water, to spout, to blow (said of dugong and similar marine mammals after surfacing to breathe). Object is 3Sg. *Ex* bambir+u-|arbu it (dugong) blew. *Cf.* mambul, yungud.

bambuja *NM* stringybark tree, *Eucalyptus tetradonta*. Because this is the dominant tree in some forest areas, the term can be used to designate such forests, as in *Pergressive bambuja-ya* 'through the stringybark forest'. Bark: yulway.

bandiyan *NM* king brown snake, *Pseudechis australis*.

-banji *VTrInfl* See -bayna|i.

n-baṇaṇa *NF* (my/our) father's sister (auntie). *Cf.* n-mari-.

baṇar *NM* a tree with marble-like fruits, *Owenia vernicosa*.

baṇbaṇgari *NM* a vine with edible yam, *Ipomoea* sp. (According to *MR*, identical to maṇaḍba, *Ipomoea pes-caprae* ssp. *brasiliensis*.)

baṇḍar-min *N* deep (water). *Cf.* next entry and ṇuruma.

baṇḍar-ñiriñiri *N* deep (water). *Cf.* baṇḍar-min, ṇuruma.

n-baṇḍij *NNe* or baṇḍij *NM* kidney. *Obl* ña-baṇḍij, ṇa-baṇḍij.

baṅgiba *NM* very fat green turtle (yunduṇuga).

baṇmira *NM* tree sp. used for firesticks, *Wrightia saligna*.

baṇaj *VIntr(-|ini/-yurayi)* to come out. *Cf.* yur, ṇa (Text 41.11). *VTr(-ganji)* to cause to come out.

baṇ *VIntr(-|ini/-yurayi)* to become split or cracked. *VTr(-jujuñi/-|arbuyi)* to split. *VTr(-ganji)* to break in half, to split. (Text 40.5) *Rdp* baṇ-baṇ.

-bara *N* countryman, close relative. Used with pronominal genitive form frozen as prefix in irregular construction, hence ṇina-bara my countryman (*Obl* ṇa-ṇina-bara). (*Gr* 12.7).

bara *NM* north-west wind. This is the dominant wind during the wet season. *MR* says that the arrival of this as the dominant wind is a sign that dugong are heading for deep water to breed.

barawu *NM* 1. boat, ship.

2. batfish, *Platax* spp.
Obl ṇa-barawu.

barga *NM* sawshark ('combfish').

barij *NM* young barramundi fish (miriji).

-baruṇi, etc. *VTrInfl* to defecate (3Sg object); to defecate on (thing, person); to lay (egg). *Ex* wiri-wari they (two) defecated. (Text 34.2; *Gr* 11.7)

baruwa *NM* black feathers used as decoration. *Cf.* ṇaman, marda.

baṇa *VIntr(-mindini)* to look around, to look back. (Text 40.7) *VIntr(-|ini/-yurayi)*

- to look around or back.
VIntr(-gunbuni) to look around or back.
- baṛaga NM** swag (portable bedding).
- baṛaj VTr**(-jujuñi) to mould into a ball with hands (said of wax, etc.). Cf. ḍag, ḍaj.
VTr(-arṇaḷi) to mould into a ball (forcefully).
- baṛar N** 1. level, flat.
 2. adolescent girl with breasts only half-developed. *Pl* wul-baṛa-baṛar.
- baṛibaṛi NM** shooting star, comet.
- baṛj VIntr**(-mindini) to wag tail (said of dog, etc.). *Rdp* baṛj-baṛj.
- baṛmunu NM** a fairly young, reddish-brown form of the sand goanna, *Varanus gouldii* (waḍabir).
- baṛurbaṛur NM** a kurrajong tree with glossy, smallish leaves, *Brachychiton diversifolium*. Cf. wuṇṇugulun.
- baw VIntr**(-ḷini/-yurayi) to come out (of water). Cf. yur.
- bawa NM** 1. bits of grass used as kindling.
 2. wooden braces on sails.
- bawayiṇḡaḷi, etc. *VTrInfl* to throw at. *Ex* ṇangu-wayiṇḡa he threw it (especially, boomerang) at me; he hit me with a (thrown) boomerang (or other object). (Gr 11.8; Text 29.3)
- bay VIntr**(-gunbuni) to stand up. *VIntr*(-jinji) to be standing. *VTr*(-ḷinmaḷi) to stand (something) up. Cf. gud.
- baya N** (far) in the south. Cf. bayi.
- baya-baya N** (far) in the south. Cf. bayi.
- bayamaḷguru NM** large shark *sp.* (larger than yulmunji).
- baya-maryi N** along to the south. Cf. bayi.
- bayawiji NM** adult female dugong which has previously borne young. Cf. gurwiji (pregnant dugong), waligi (general term).
- bayi N** in the south. Cf. wa-yana, waybu-ri.
- bayibayi NM** short rope in middle of boat rigging. Cf. guliṇa.
- bayṇaḷi, etc. *VTrInfl* transitive *Aux.* *Pa Pot*: -yiṇayi. (Gr 11.9)
- bib VIntr**(-jinji) (tide) to be high.
- n-bibi NF** (your) mother, mother's younger sister. *Obl* ya-bibi. Cf. n-gajiri.
- bidiriri NM** masked plover (bird).
- bidiriṇḡur VTr**(-jujuñi/-ḷarbuyi) to drill a hole in.
- bidja NM** very wild dingo (biḷgur).
- biḍ VIntr**(-anji) to be assembled in large number; to be abundant. (Text 21.1). *VTr*(-ganjiḷi/-nḡiyi) to make a heap of. Cf. yiriḍ.
VTr(-ganji) to make a heap of. Cf. yiriḍ. *VTr*(-galuni) to have on one's head, back or shoulders. *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to carry on one's head, back or shoulders. *VTr*(-jagayagaḷi) to carry on one's head, back or shoulders. *VTr*(-jujuñi) to carry on one's head, back, or shoulders. (Text 41.26)
- biḍbiḍ VIntr**(-jinji) to lie face down. Cf. guḷaṇaw.
- big VTr**(-ganji) See biṇ.
- bigana Part** because; because of (with following noun). (Gr 13.5)

bij *VIntr*(-|ini/-yurayi) (celestial body) to rise.

bija- *NM* **bija-mar** (your)mother's father. **bija-ṇanja** (his/their) mother's father. *Obl* ṇa-wija-.

n-bija- *NF* **n-bija-mar** your mother's father's sister. **n-bija-ṇanja** (his/their) mother's father's sister. *Obl* ya-wija-.

bijabija *NM* yamstick. *Syn* waraji.

bijaja *NM* (my/our) mother's father. *Obl* ṇa-bijaja. *Cf.* bija-.

n-bijaja *NF* (my/our) mother's father's sister. *Cf.* n-bija-.

bijibiji *NM* crest of cockatoo (ṇirwula).

n-bijibiji *NNe* head hair.

bijiji *NM* day (unit of time). (Text 31.2)

bijiri *NM* file snake. *Syn* jaṇmijaṇmi.

bij-min *N* big-eyed. Also magur bij-min with magur eye.

bijul *N* Occurs in giṇḍir ṇi-bijul you have large penis! (swearword).

bil *VTr*(-wanani) to give something to eat, to feed. *Cf.* bir, ḍul.

bilg *VIntr*(-mindini) to become weak. *VTr*(-arṇali) to make (someone) weak.

bilin *VIntr*(-|ini/-yurayi) to become wide(r). *VTr*(-ganji) to widen, to make wide(r). *Cf.* bil-min.

-bilingali *VTrInfl* transitive Aux. Past Pot -wilingayi. (Gr 11.10)

bil-min *N* wide. *Cf.* bilin.

biḷay *VTr*(-mindini) to lick. *Ex* biḷay+ṇangu-ma it licked me.

n-bilbar *NNe* neck. *Obl* ṇa-wilbar.

biḷgur *NM* dingo (wild dog). Very wild: bidja. *Cf.* garwiṇi (dog).

biḷi *VIntr*(-|ini/-yurayi) to enter. *VTr*(-ganji) to put in.

biḷir *VIntr*(-mindini) to be white or shiny. *Cf.* buralg-min.

biḷir-min *N* white, shiny. *Cf.* biḷir.

biḷmur *NM* See mbiḷmur.

n-binja *NNe* head hair; leaves, foliage. *Obl* ṇa-binja or ṇa-winja.

-bingali *VTrInfl* transitive Aux. Past Pot -winṇayi. (Gr 11.11)

biṇ *V* See biḍ.

biṇbiṇḍu *NM* rainbow bird.

biṇḍawara *NM* large bag made from stringybark fibre (yulway). *Cf.* yaḷgiñ.

biṇḍay *NM* certain riverside cane-grasses, such as *Chionachne cyathopoda* at Ngukurr. Applied by *MR* also to *Imperata cylindrica* at Numbulwar. *Cf.* ḍarin.

biṇi- *NM* **biṇi-ḍi** (my/our) father's elder brother or (man's) younger brother's son. **biṇi-mar** (your).... **biṇi-ṇanja** (his/their).... Vocative ṇa-biṇiṇi. *Obl* ṇa-wiṇi-.

n-biṇi- *NF* **n-biṇi-ḍi** (my/our) younger brother's daughter (male speaker), etc. *Obl* ya-wiṇi-.

biṇmirin *NM* ghost gum ('whitebark') tree. More common term: mawar.

biṇbinjala *NM* small bat *sp.* found in mangroves.

biṇ *VIntr*(-|ini/-yurayi) to become extinct or finished up; to die off. *VTr*(-ganji) to

- finish, to use up. *VTr*(-jujuñi/-jarbuyi) to be finished with, to have finished.
- bir *VTr*(-jujuñi) to lay out (a bed). *VTr*(-wanani) to give something to eat to, to feed. Cf. bil, dul. *VIntr*(-mindini) to be full (of food), to be sated.
- bira *VTr*(-jujuñi) to carry on back, to carry piggyback. See dagi. (Text 40.72)
- birib *VTr*(-jañi/-niñuyi) to fill up a space. (For example, water filling up puddles, people filling a site.)
- biribiri *NM* 'corkwood' tree; coolamon made from this tree.
- birid *VTr*(-jujuñi) to do (something) again, to repeat.
- birililyi *NM* red-collared lorikeet (a large parrot).
- biriři *VTr*(-jujuñi) to suspend, to hang (something) up.
- biriwulwul *VTr*(-jujuñi) to set up (windbreak); to reinforce (humpy) to stop the wind. (Text 11.2)
- bir *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) to shift, to move slightly (in sitting position). *VTr*(-ganji) to shift, to move (something) slightly.
- birg *VTr*(-jujuñi) to clap boomerangs, as in circumcision (mañdiwa) singing. Cf. lir. (Text 41.4)
- birir *NM* *Vetiveria elongata*, a grass found on sand dunes at Numbulwar; *Heteropogon* sp., a grass whose stems are sucked for their sweet liquid.
- birwiři *NM* a tree whose fruits are eaten by birds, *Canarium australianum*.
- birmbir *NM* louse eggs.
- biya *VTr*(-ganji) to remove fat from cooked carcass.
- biyała *NM* flat grinding stone. *Syn* gulji.
- biyir *VTr*(-jujuñi) to make rope (by rolling strands of bark fibre on one's thigh). *Syn* way.
- bu *VIntr*(-mindini) to set fires; (person) to blow. *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) to set fires.
- bubaři *NM* herring sp. *Syn* burmbiyin.
- bubij *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) (twister) to twist. Cf. yiwur.
- n-bubu *NNe* small sore on body. *Obł* ña-bubu. *N* having sores. *Ex* jarbu ña-bubu I have sores on my feet.
- bubuñara *NM* black-headed rock python, *Aspidites melanocephalus*. *Syn* buyubuyu. (Text 35)
- bud *VTr*(-jujuñi) to cure (sick man), to remove bone from (by sorcery, using a tree branch - this cures the sick man).
- bud *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) to creep out (said of young sprout in ground, tide, etc.). Attested in triple reduplication: bud-bud-bud+ga-'-linu it (tide) creeps out.
- budabuda *NM* torch, burning stick. *Syn* jiwuyiwulya (more common).
- budal *N* of the budal semimoiety. ña-wudal or ña-budal I am budal. *Pl* wul-budal.
- budalar *NM* fire-stick (vertical stick inserted into a second stick with a hole in it, called gulañañ); certain tree spp. whose wood is good for fire-sticks, especially *Premna acuminata*.
- budir-min *N* greedy, selfish. ñi-budir-min you are greedy.
- buduga *NM* a tree often used for

firesticks, *Clerodendrum floribundum*.

buḍurgu *NM* brolga (crane).
Syn guḍurgu.

bug *VIntr*(-nani) (rainbow) to shine. *Cf.* wiḍaragama.

buga *NM* a scaly skin infection which gradually spreads but is not cancerous.

bugaḍ *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) (tree) to lose bark. *VTr*(-ganji) to strip off bark of (tree).

bugbana *NM* swamp pheasant.
Syn bulbulgija.

bugi *Part* precisely, just, right (as in 'right there'). wangiḷ
bugi just one. ga-ya-ri bugi
right there.

buju *VTr*(-jujuṇi) to operate firestick (buḍalar); to make sparks with firestick.

bul *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to go too slow, to be late, to lose race; to stick (back, etc.) out. (Text 40.28) *VIntr*(-jinji) to sail, to have sail up; (serpent in myth) to have back sticking out of water. *VTr*(-jujuṇi) to float (something) along. Subject is 3Sg (water or wind); object is boat or other object. *Ex* bul+wurgu-ji they (two boats) floated along; the water floated them along. *VTr*(-ganji) to cause to float, to take floating along. *VIntr*(-nani) to be dry. *Cf.* bunji. *VTr*(-ḷinmaḷi) to dry out, to make dry. *Cf.* bunji. *VIntr*(-buyini) to be blind (or nearly blind). *Cf.* gabuji.

n-bulabula *NNe* shoulder; shoulder blade. *Obḷ* ña-wulabula. *Syn* n-jabiḷi.

n-bulanba *NF* senior wife (if a man has more than one). Junior wives can be described as ñaṇi-yirña (subsequent).

n-bulbul *NNe* heart. *Obḷ* ña-bulbul.

bulbuldu *N* lightweight, not heavy. *VTr*(-ganji) to make lightweight, to lighten.

bulbulgija *NM* swamp pheasant.
Syn bugbana.

bulg *VTr*(-jujuṇi/-ḷarbuyi)
1. (tide) to rise. Subject and object are 3Sg. *Cf.* wur.
2. to swell up. *Ex* bulg+ṇa-yi I (e.g. a boil on my body) got swollen. *Cf.* ḷumbud.

bulg-min *N* heavy.

bulgur *NM* 1. black-striped grunter, *Amniatibia percoides* (a freshwater perch sp.).
2. a large tree sp. found near lagoons.

bulḷgun *NM* extinguished fire.

bulubulu *NM* a tree sp. said to be common near Ngukurr.

bulugbulug *NM* small louse.
Cf. muṇḍul.

bulugi *NM* bullock. *Syn* mugawu.

bululu¹ *NM* paperbark coolamon (container), tied up with string. *Cf.* ṛalga.

bululu² *VIntr*(-mindini) to thunder. *Cf.* ṇur.

buluṅgija *NM* tree sp. found near mangroves with dangerous milky sap, *Excaecaria agollacha*. *Cf.* ḷibulu.

bulurubiṇa *NM* snake sp., possibly the white-bellied mangrove snake, *Fordonia leucobalia*.

bulwul *VIntr*(-jinji) (boat) to sail along. *Ex* bulwul+wari-jinji they (two boats) sailed along. *VTr*(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi) to sail (boat) along. *Ex* bulwul+ṇa-yi I sailed it. Nominalisation: bulwul-manjar.

buḷaṅgaṅga *NM* a shrub with soft white fruits, *Securinea virosa* (near Numbulwar). May

- also cover other *Securinea* spp.
- buḷḷu NM ashes. *Obl* ḡa-buḷḷu.
- buḷunbuḷun NM spoonbill (bird). Occasionally also white ibis. *Cf.* guḡḡiḡḡi.
- bumbay VTr(-jujuḡi) to burn off (fur). *Cf.* wul.
- bunaḷaḷa NM wild orange, *Capparis* sp. (not collected).
- bunguri NM a tree with edible fruit, *Persoonia falcata*. *Syn* gulubiḡḡama.
- bunji N dry. *Ex* ḡa-bunji I am dry. *VIntr*(-mindini) to become dry. *Cf.* bul. VTr(-jujuḡi) to dry out, to make dry. *Cf.* bul.
- buḡbulibuḡbuli NM cluster of stars. *Cf.* gamirinji.
- buḡḡubunḡḡu 1. N pregnant. *Syn* ḡanjayama.
2. NM mangrove snail with grooves on shell, *Nerita* sp.
3. NM wasp gall on bloodwood tree (jaḡḡin).
- buḡḡuḡu N hot (said especially of ground or water; not used for persons). *Cf.* wuḡ, jaḡ.
- buḡ VTr(-bayḡaḷi/-yiḡayi) to suck (e.g. bone). *Cf.* juḡjuḡ. VTr(-arḡaḷi) to do a good job.
- buḡala NM very mature waterlily root (gaḡaya).
- bur VTr(-biliḡaḷi) to like, to want. (Text 28.1). VTr(-ganji) to doze off, to 'eye-sleep'. Object is 3Sg.
- burala NM march fly (several spp. of biting flies).
- buralḡ VIntr(-mindini) to become white. VTr(-jujuḡi) to make white. *Cf.* buralḡ-min.
- buralḡ-min N white. *Cf.* buralḡ.
- buraḷaburaḷa NM morning star; evening star.
- burandi NM itchy area on body, itchiness.
- burbur VTr(-jujuḡi) to stop (permanently) at (a place). Object is 3Sg.
- burgaḷun NM tree sp. with edible fruit.
- n-burguburgu NNe tail feathers of emu. *Syn* n-guḡguḡ.
- burgun NM or n-burgun NNe scar (including chest scars on adult men).
- buriburi NM bits of wood, foliage, etc. (i.e. the rubbish left over after firewood is used).
- burj VTr(-jujuḡi) to clap. *Recip* burj+ga-'la-jujuḡu-ḷana they clap their hands.
- burmbiyin NM herring sp., called waḷgara in Nunggubuyu. *Syn* bubaḷi.
- burḡal VIntr(-mindini) (meat) to become rotten. *Cf.* jib.
- burugala NM a wattle sp. Apparently a synonym of buruwaḡji.
- buruḷu NM pandanus sp. According to MR, *Pandanus spiralis* (tall sp. at Numbulwar). *Syn* mugara. According to A, *Pandanus aquaticus* (small riverine sp. at Ngukurr). *Cf.* buruḷuburuḷu.
- buruḷuburuḷu NM 1. cuttlefish shell, frequently found washed up on beach.
2. river pandanus, *Pandanus aquaticus*. (Used in this sense by MR, not by A, *cf.* buruḷu.)
- buruḡandi NM smelly tortoise sp.
- buruḡburuḡ NM itchiness, itchy spot on skin. *Syn* burandi.
- buruwaḡji NM wattle with bluish

ḡajbiḡajbi *NM* grasshopper.

n-ḡaju *NNe* calm spot in water.
Obl ḡa-ḡaju. Distinct from
-ndaḡu-.

ḡalaḡala *NM* wooden board or plank;
wooden box. (Text 42.2).

ḡalag *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to fall
down. *VIntr*(-ḡini/-yurayi) to
pass away, to die. *Cf.* ḡabar,
biḡ. *VTr*(-juḡuḡi) to knock
down; to drop.

ḡalala *NM* windbreak; dam (across
river or creek).

ḡalaḡala *NM* egret (bird).

ḡalg *VIntr*(-mindini) to be broken
or shattered; (flower) to bloom.
VTr(-juḡuḡi) to burst (something).
VTr(-arḡaḡi) to burst (something)
forcefully.

ḡalinja *NM* log.

ḡalḡunji *NM* frilled lizard.
Syn gabaḡa.

ḡal *VTr*(-juḡuḡi) to sing with
tapsticks and (usually)
didjeridu accompaniment. *Cf.* war.

ḡamar *VIntr*(-mindini) to warm up,
to get warm (after being cold).
VTr(-juḡuḡi) to warm (something)
up.

ḡaḡ *VTr*(-juḡuḡi) to slice
(especially ḡalma yams). Also a
nasalised form of ḡaj.

ḡaḡ *VIntr*(-mindini) (floodwaters)
to get low, to drop in level.

ḡaḡaḡa *NM* 1. moon. *Syn*
waḡaḡarin.

2. type of grub found in ant
mounds.

3. chambered nautilus (large
shell sp.).

ḡaḡan *NM* (his/their) younger
brother. Also ndaḡu-ḡanja.

n-ḡaḡan *NF* (his/their) younger
sister. Also n-ḡaju-ḡanja
(-ndaḡu-).

ḡaḡaḡara *NM* lancewood tree,
Acacia shirleyi.

n-ḡaḡul *NNe* root; (less often)
trunk of tree. *Obl* ḡa-yagul.

ḡaḡulirḡa *N* many, big group.
Cf. ḡaḡirimba (which is mainly
for human referents). (Texts
16.1, 28.3, 30.2, 33.1, 40.17)

ḡar *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to hide
oneself. *VIntr*(-anji) to be
hiding, to stay in hiding.
VIntr(-ḡini/-yurayi) to come
out, to present oneself (at a
camp).

ḡariḡari *NM* green tree frog,
Litoria caerulea. *Cf.* ḡaruḡji.

n-ḡariḡari *NNe* groin (but not
genitals). *Obl* ḡa-ḡariḡari.

ḡarin *NM* coastal cane grass,
Phragmites karka. *Cf.* biḡḡay,
jabuḡarin.

ḡar *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to be
stranded on shore at low tide.
Cf. ḡud.

ḡawali *NM* a goanna with very
long tail, *Varanus glebopalma*.

ḡawar *NM* snake (generic term).
Occasional meaning: rainbow.
Cf. wiḡaragama.

n-ḡaway *NNe* word; language.
Obl ḡa-yaway.

ḡay *VIntr*(-mindini) to flee.
VTr(-jaḡi/-niḡuyi) to chase
away. *VIntr*(-nani) (fire) to
spread. *VTr*(-ḡinmaḡi) to make
(fire) spread.

ḡi *VTr*(-ganji) to remove lice
from (someone). *Refl*
ḡiḡa-ganjiyi-ḡana I remove
lice from myself. *VTr*(-ganjiḡi)
(same meaning).

ḡib *VTr*(-ganji) to hold or carry
(e.g. dillybag) under armpit.

ḡid *VTr*(-ganji) to pluck (hair
or feather). *VIntr*(-ḡini/
yurayi) (hair or feather) to
fall out.

ḍiḍibawaba *NW* lotusbird. This is the only bird which habitually stands on water lily leaves. *Cf.* mururunguṇa.

ḍiḍiguru *NM* olive python, *Liasis olivaceus* (probable identification). *Syn* gurujaḍbungu.

ḍiḍij *VTr*(-ganji) to set bush fires (wurgmalan).

ḍiḍijar *NM* whistling kite (hawk). Like gulumbiji but noisier.

ḍigay *N* close-up, nearby. *Ex* ṇi-ḍigay. You are nearby.

ḍijar *N* vulva (used in swearing expressions). *Cf.* ṇambiṇambi, ṇar-min, yabaja, n-jalbar.

ḍil *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) (airplane, shooting star) to streak along in sky; (person) to snap knuckles. *VTr*(-arṇaḷi) to hold, to grip. *VTr*(-ganji) to form a line. Object is 3*Sg.* *Ex* ḍil+wil-añi they formed a line.

ḍilbin *NM* a very small mullet *sp.*

n-ḍilḍil *NW* stick with feathered string, used in ceremonies. Called ḍa:mbuḷg in Nunggubuyu. *Obl* ṇa-ḍilḍil.

ḍildilgururu *NM* mudlark ('peewee'). *Syn* baḷgbaḷgururu.

ḍiliḍili *NM* freshwater; rainwater (especially as contrasted with standing water). *Cf.* wuḷin, ṇugu (this is the common word for water).

ḍiliñ *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) (fire) to send off sparks.

ḍiliṇa- *NM* sister's son's son. *Obl* ṇa-yiliṇa-. Vocative: yiliṇa.

n-ḍiliṇa- *NF* sister's son's daughter. *Obl* ya-yiliṇa-. Vocative yiliṇa.

ḍilug *VTr*(-jujuñi) to cause something to move or twitch. Not used in the sense of

'transport (move a long distance)'.

ḍilyag *NM* wedge-tailed eagle ('eaglehawk'). *Syn* ḍiwanguwangu.

ḍilyar *NM* a hakea tree with long thin leaves, brownish nut, *Hakea arborescens*.

ḍilg *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) (rope, etc.) to be taut, to be pulled tight. *VTr*(-ganji) to pull very hard on (rope, etc.).

ḍimalḍimal *VIntr*(-jinji) (light clouds, miñiriri) to appear in sky.

ḍinḍin *VTr*(-jujuñi) to shake (woomera and spear).

ḍingalḍingal *NM* a prostrate vine with yellow flowers, dangerous spiny fruits, *Tribulus cistoides*.

ḍir *VIntr*(-mindini) to fart. *VTr*(-jaruñi) to copulate with.

ḍira *VIntr*(-jinji) to be tied up or chained; to be in jail. *VTr*(-jujuñi) to tie up.

ḍiringilḍiringil *NM* bush lily, *Crinum asiaticum*.

ḍirwu *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to jump into water; to go into water. *VTr*(-jamaḷi) to throw or push into the water. *Vtr*(-ḷinmaḷi) to cause to go or jump into the water. *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to cause to go or jump into the water. (Text 29.3)

ḍirir *VTr*(-ganji) 1. to look over (an area).
2. to cut or strip off bark of (tree). *Cf.* ṇalay.

ḍiw *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to fly, to fly away. *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to fly over or around (something). *VTr*(-jamaḷi) to throw away.

- ḍiwan *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to fall onto fire or coals. *VTr*(-jujuñi) to cook (on coals). *VTr*(-bayṇaḷi/-yiqayi) to cook (on coals). The *Aux* -jujuñi is much more common than -bayṇaḷi.
- ḍiwanguwangu *NM* wedge-tailed eagle ('eaglehawk'). *Syn* ḍilyag.
- ḍub *VTr*(-jaruñi) to hold, to grip. *VTr*(-jujuñi) to throw (spear). (Text 29.3). *VTr*(-ganji) to pull out (stuck or embedded object); to uproot. (Text 41.15). *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to become unstuck (said of an object which had been stuck or embedded in a substance). (Text 41.15)
- ḍubal *NM* 'leichhardt tree', presumably *Nauclea coadunata*.
- ḍubuḍubu *NM* a shell-eating bird in mangroves, perhaps black bittern.
- ḍud *VTr*(-jagayagaḷi) to find; to bear (child). *Cf.* baḷa. *VTr*(-arṇaḷi) to find; to bear (child). Less common than the preceding combination. *VIntr*(-mindini) to be found; to be born. (Text 36.2) *Cf.* baḷa.
- ḍudbunḡu *VIntr*(-jinji) (serpent in myth) to have back hunched; (stony ridge) to extend over a distance. (Text 40.28)
- ḍududbari *Part* in a (straight) line, in file.
- ḍuḍuḍ *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to attach (e.g. spearhead to spear shaft).
- ḍuḍul *Part* until, all the way to. *Ex* ḍuḍul ṇa-wurugara-ñu all the way to the beach (gurugaran). Similar to but less common than warṇgu. Mara ḍuḍul is less common than ḍuḍul in Warndarang. A special sense occurs in ḍuḍul ṇaḷ+a-'-ma. It makes a lot of noise; *cf.* ṇaḷ+a-'-ma it speaks, makes a sound. (Gr 4.14)
- ḍug *VIntr*(-mindini) to sprout (said of a tiny shoot just breaking through the soil).
- ḍugḍug *VIntr*(-mindini) (heart) to throb, to beat.
- ḍuguḍugu *NM* (short) stick. *Syn* jirijiri.
- ḍugululan *NM* a wattle with bluish leaves, *Acacia holosericea*. *Syn* buruwanji, and perhaps burugala and yalara.
- ḍuj *VTr*(-jujuñi/-ḷarbuyi) to break (rope, etc.); to cut off (foreskin). *VTr*(-ganji) (same meaning).
- ḍuja *NM* a scrambling plant with long edible root, *Boerhavia diffusa*. Called ḍujaḍuja in Warndarang, ṛi:ja in Nunggubuyu.
- ḍul *VTr*(-wanani) to give something to eat to, to feed. *Cf.* bir, bil.
- n-ḍula *NNe* upper leg, thigh. *Obḷ* ṇa-yula.
- ḍulbari *NM* a honey bee, *Trigona* sp., called ṇalyurwa in Nunggubuyu. *Cf.* ṇulawar, etc.
- ḍul *VTr*(-jamaḷi) to send (something) away; to sell. *VTr*(-ganji) to sing (the song) of, in rituals such as maṇḍiwa and ḷurgun. (Text 41.1ff.)
- ḍulḡ *VIntr*(-mindini) to be out of breath. *VTr*(-arṇaḷi) to cause to be out of breath.
- ḍulmanga *Part* all the way, right through to the end. (Text 41.2)
- ḍum *VIntr*(-mindini) (waves) to break (on beach or shore).
- ḍumbuyumbu *NM* sandalwood, *Santalum lanceolatum*.
- ḍun *V* See ḍud.

ḍunbur *VIntr*(-mindini) to become straight (and thin).

VTr(-jujuñi) to straighten.

ḍunbur-min *N* straight (and thin).

ḍuṇ *V* See ṇḍuṇ.

ḍuñul *NM* pieces, scraps.

VIntr(-mindini) to become pieces or scraps. *VTr*(-arṇaḷi) to make into scraps, to reduce to scraps.

ḍuṇal *NM* spear (generic term).

Obl ṇa-yuṇal. *Cf.* mayaḷungu, ṇargidiḡidi, wañin, murṇiñ, wiḷmur.

ḍunguḷ *VIntr*(-mindini) to explode, to blow up.

ḍunguṇḡurji *NM* See ṇunguṇḡurji.

ḍurg *VIntr*(-mindini) to be out of breath ('short wind').

ḍurgundu *NM* and *VTr*(-jujuñi) See ḍurgungu.

ḍurgungu¹ *NM* cross-pole (laid across forked-sticks, galagala); cross-beam (in canoe).

ḍurgungu² *VTr*(-jujuñi) to lay across. *Cf.* preceding entry.

n-ḍuru *NNe* leg. (See baḷgad-min for only attestation.) *Cf.* ḍula.

ḍuṇum *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to frighten away.

ḍuṇuṇ *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) See ḍuṇum.

ḍuwaw *NM* koel (bird).

ḍuymanji *NM* wild potato *sp.*
Similar to ṇambiṇṇambiḍ.

gabanban *NM* insect gall found on bloodwood trees (jaṇñin). The larvae inside these galls are edible.

gabilibili *NM* spotted lizard *sp.*
Also gabilili.

gabilili *NM* spotted lizard *sp.*
Also gabilibili.

gabir *NM* a form of *Triglochin procera* (small plant in swamps) with edible tubers; another form (jaṇḡul) has larger tubers.

gabū *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to come. Used only in imperative positive. *Ex* gabu+ya-'-ḷa 'Come!' (*Sg*). *Ex* gabu+ṇa-'ḷa-'ḷa 'Come!' (*Pl*).

gabuji *N* blind. Occasionally means 'old woman'. *Pl* gabu-gabuji. (Text 6.8)

gabul *N* cooked; ripe.
VIntr(-mindini) to become cooked, ripe.

gad *VTr*(-jujuñi/-ḷarbuyi) to break or cut in half. *Cf.* baṇ.

gad-min *N* skin-and-bones, having bones protruding. *Ex* malir ṇa-gad-min I have a bony back.

gaḍabura *NM* tree *sp.*, *Mallotus nesophila* (at Numbulwar). Probably refers primarily to another *sp.* not at Numbulwar.

gaḍaj *VTr*(-ganji) to sift (in hands).

gaḍigaḍi *NM* (my/our) mother's brother, etc. *Cf.* jamul-.
Obl ṇa-gaḍigaḍi.

n-gaḍigaḍi *NF* (my/our) mother's elder sister. Also n-ṇajamu.

gaḍiṇa *NM* bellyache, upset stomach.

gaga- *NM* mother's mother's brother (-mar 'your', -ṇanja 'his/her/their'). *Obl* ṇa-'ga-.
Cf. gugū.

G

ga *Part* as for; and (*Gr* 13.9).

-ga- *Prf* Neuter noun-class prefix in demonstratives.

gabala *NM* frilled lizard. *Syn* ḍaḷṇunji.

gajag *VIntr*(-l̥ini/-yurayi) to have bone dislocated; to have tooth come out, etc. *Ex* guyuru gajag+ŋa-l̥ini my tooth fell out. *Rdp* gaja-gajag.

gajaguru *NM* owl *sp.* *Syn* yilayi. Said to be lighter in colour than gurgur.

n-gajiri *NF* (my/our) mother or her younger sister. *Obl* ya-gajiri. *Cf.* n-bibi, n-garña.

gajurani *NM* a tree, *Alstonia actinophylla*. (Term provided by A, not recognised by MR.)

gal *VIntr*(-l̥ini/-yurayi) to grow, to grow up. (Text 36.2)
VTr(-ganji) to raise (child).
VTr(-jinji) to bite.
VTr(-galuni) to hold in teeth.
VIntr(-mindini) to cut down trees (especially to get honey). *Cf.* jadba, jab.

galagala *NM* 1. tree fork. *Syn* ba|aba|a.

2. forked stick (across which cross-poles, durgungu, are laid in ceremonial ground).

n-galagban *NNe* hip. *Obl* ña-galagban.

galagi *NM* dirty water; dust. *Cf.* ñuru. *Obl* ña-'lagi.

galamaŋi *NM* tooth ache.

galaŋaŋda *NM* a small flat wild potato, perhaps *Microstemma sp.* (not seen). *Cf.* wumi|ara.

n-galaŋaŋda *NNe* knee cap.

galawa *N* of the Alawa language group. Also alawa, wa|iburu. *Pl* gala-'lawā.

galga *NM* war party, group of warriors. Usually *Sg* in form.

galgal *NM* stone axe. *Obl* ña-galgal.

galgalgara *N* strong, firm. *Ex* ña-galgalgara I am strong.

galijiri *NM* a shrub with greenish fruits in the wet season, possibly *Cansjera* or *Opilia*.

galimba *Part* and.

galiwaŋa *NM* machete; metal axe.

galŋ-alŋi-ya *N* fat, corpulent. Related to n-galŋi.

n-galŋi *NNe* body, main torso or trunk. *Cf.* galŋ-alŋi-ya. *Obl* ña-'lŋi.

galŋi *Part* 1. Particle used with temporal adverbs referring to future points in time: galŋi ba|da later; galŋi ŋibunibuna tomorrow. Less common than in Warndarang. (Texts 5.5, 8.5, 9.2)

2. full (as in 'full brother', indicating definite, rather than merely classificatory, relationship). *Ex* galŋi ŋiri|ja my full brother (or at least a close classificatory brother). *Cf.* wariya.

-galuni, etc. *VTrInfl* to have, to keep, to hold onto; transitive *Aux* (*Gr* 11.13, Text 36.2).

galwa|a *NM* large witchetty grub, similar to ma|ur.

gal *VTr*(-ganji) to take out (from fire, oven, grave, etc.).

galalgalal *NM* skink lizard (any of several *sp.*).

galambar *NM* tall grasses, mainly *Sorghum spp.*

galg *VTr*(-jujuŋi) to break up, to smash (e.g. stones); to hatch (egg).

galga *NM* tadpole; minnow (baby fish).

galiwan *NM* paperbark with small leaves, *Melaleuca acacioides*.

galŋar *N* having holes.

- n-gaḷṇar *NNe* anus. *Obl* ṇa-'ḷṇar. *Ex* gangu-gangu n-ṇiyyin what is (your/his) name?
- gaḷugu *N* poor fellow! Also gaḷuguṇara. *Cf.* wariya.
- gaḷuguṇara *N* See gaḷugu.
- gamagama *NM* personal ornaments and decorations.
- gambir- *NM* (man's) daughter's son. Suffixes -ḍi 'my/our', -mar 'your', -ṇanja 'his/her/their'. *Obl* ṇa-'mbir-.
- n-gambir- *NF* (man's) daughter's daughter. *Obl* ya-'mbir-.
- gamiñ *N* *PL* of gamiñ-mar.
- gamiñ-mar *NF* adolescent girl (with developed breasts). The suffix -mar is used in the *Sg/Du*. *PL* gamiñ. *Cf.* n-guṇa-wuṇa-ṇa, n-giriya, n-waḍugara.
- gamirinji *NM* star; starfish.
- gan *VTr*(-jujuṇi/-ḷarbuyi) See gad.
- ganagu *Part* not. Used with present and past tense. *Cf.* ṇula, maḷuy.
- ga-nariṇa *NM* (his/their) father. *Cf.* ṇaluru. *Obl* ṇa-'-nariṇa.
- gandaḷinja *NM* inland scrub tree *sp.* said to have reddish wood.
- gandar *NM* paperbark with fairly small leaves, found on side of billabong or in brackish swamps (as at Numbulwar), *Melaleuca cajaputi*. *Syn* lanambur. *Cf.* yirimal.
- gandayaruṇi, etc. *VTrInfl* to spear; transitive *Aux*. *Pa Pot* -andayariyi. (*Gr* 11.14; Text 29.3)
- gandiri *NM* flour; food. *Cf.* mama.
- gangu *VIntr*(-mindini) to be doing what? *Ex* gangu+ṇi-manji what are you doing?
- gangu-gangu *N* how many? what's the matter? what kind?
- gangu-ṇindi *N* to where?
- ga-ni-ja *NM* (his/their) son, brother's son. *Cf.* -ni-ja-
Obl ṇa-'-ni-ja.
- n-ga-ni-ja *NF* (his/their) daughter, brother's daughter.
- ga-niyi *Part* still. *Ex* ga-niyi wa-'-wuḷu he is still sitting.
- ganji, -ganja, -ganjini *VTrInfl* to take, convey; transitive *Aux*. (*Gr* 11.16) *Pa Pot* as main verb (to take): -yagayi (see -jagayagaḷi).
- ganjili, -ganjima, -ganjiji *VTrInfl* transitive *Aux* (distinct from -ganji). (*Gr* 11.17).
- ganuganu *N* big (*PL*); big people (used of ancestors). *Sg/Du* balwayi. *Cf.* gudar. (Text 42.18).
- gaṇamuru *NM* 'long-nosed' honey bee, *Trigona sp.* Called miṇiguya in Nunggubuyu. *Cf.* ṇulawar, etc.
- gaṇaya *NM* root of water lily in shallow water, *Nymphaea* ?violacea. Growth stages: njirigilil, yalarayan, buṇala, giḷgara.
- gaṇbana *NM* sugarleaf (sugary substance on leaves of some eucalypts).
- gaṇbiribiri *NM* raft. *Syn* wuguṇu.
- gaṇbug *NM* axe handle.
- gaṇbulaṇi *NM* pussycat.
- n-gaṇḍa *NNe* rear end; buttock section (of carcass). *Obl* ṇa-gaṇḍa.
- gaṇḍalburu *NM* female antelope kangaroo (baḷingama).
- gaṇḍiṇa *NM* walking stick, cane.

- Obl* ña-gaṇḍina. *Syn* řidiřidi. (especially, straight up).
- n-gaṅgul *NMe* calf (of leg). *Obl* ña-ṅgul. garaḷaḷan *NM* wattle whose wood is used for making spear shafts. *Syn* manja|manja|.
- gaṅgulugulu *NM* two-lined dragon (lizard). garañbilili *NM* tall grass *sp.* found on sandhills. (Term obtained from *A*, not recognised by *MR*.)
- gañ *VTr*(-ganji) to bend; to straighten (by bending). garay! *Part* Hey you!
- gaña *Sff* Diminutive suffix, used with *ṅgiyu* 'small' (*ṅgiyu-gaña*). garbun *NM* a prostrate plant found on beaches.
- gaṇa *N* (far) in the east. gargaḷa *N* (far) in the west.
- gaṇa-gaṇa *N* (far) in the east. gargaḷa-maryi *N* along in the west.
- gaṇa-maryi *N* along to the east. gargaḷi *N* in the west. *Cf.* wargaḷi(r), wargaḷi-yana.
- gaṅgul- *NM* sister's daughter's son. *Sff*: -ḍi 'my/our', -mar 'your', -gaṇja 'his/her/their'. Vocative waṅgul-i. *Obl* ṇa-'ṅgul-*.* gargañ *NM* brown falcon. *Cf.* malwiḍiwiḍi.
- n-gaṅgul- *NF* sister's daughter's daughter. *Obl* ya-'ṅgul-. garimaḷa *NM* 1. taipan (a deadly snake)., *Oxyuranus scutellatus*.
- Vocative waṅgul-i. 2. a tree *sp.* *Syn* yiwanguḷabuju.
- gaṇu *N* in the east. *Cf.* ṇuwi-ri, wanga-yana. garinji *NM* jabiru (bird).
- gar *VIntr*(-nani) (meat) to be roasting in native oven. garjala *NM* small freshwater eel-tailed catfish *sp.*, *Neosilurus ?rendahli*. Called aḷaḷij in Nunggubuyu.
- VTr*(-jujuñi) to roast (meat) in native 'oven' in ground. garabagarmba *NM* a wattle with thorns, possibly *Acacia farnesiana* (based on description from *MR*; description from *A* did not match this *sp.*).
- garabi *NM* sedge with edible tubers, *Eleocharis dulcis*. *Syn* mulalu. garadada *NM* string decoration worn around neck and side of torso.
- garadji *NM* wax from spinifex grass (warawi). garbarmba *NM* spikeless ray *sp.* Called ḍu:mbi in Nunggubuyu. Has tubercles on tail but no noticeable spike.
- garagarag *NM* darter ('diver duck'). *Syn* maguḷaṇbirima. n-garña *NF* (his/their) mother, mother's younger sister. *Obl* ya-'rña. *Cf.* n-gajiri.
- garagarañu *N* very big. More emphatic than balwayi. (Text 41.14). garubu *NM* hawkbill turtle, *Eretmochelys imbricata*. Has large, parrot-like beak.
- garaja *N* on top; uphill; upriver. *Cf.* waraja. garuḍji *NM* green frog *sp.* Informants disagree as to whether this

- is identical to *ɖariɖari*.
- garulaña *NM* glossy ibis. *Cf.* *guŋɖiŋɖi*.
- garur! *Part* you two!
- garuwu! *Part* you (*PL*)! Often takes the form *garuwuy*!
- garwa *NM* rotten food, rotten meat. *Cpd* *magu garwa N* orphan. *Ex* *magu ŋa-garwa* I am orphan. *VIntr*(-mindini) to be very rotten. *Cf.* *jib*.
- garwiři *NM* dog, especially small one. Large: *baɖgala*. *Cf.* *biɭgur*. *PL* (*wul*-)*garwi-garwiři*.
- gar *VIntr*(-mindini) to dance. (*Text* 41.6 and many other examples). *VIntr*(-jinji) to dance (in circumcision ceremony, *maŋɖiwa*). (*Text* 41.18)
- gararuni *VTrInfl* transitive *Aux*. *Pā Pot* -aɖařiyi. (*Gr* 11.18)
- gaɖaw *VIntr*(-mindini) to have joint (e.g. ankle) sprained or very stiff.
- gaɖayara *N* clean (especially water). *Ex* *ŋa-gaɖayara* I am clean.
- gaɖbi *NM* certain perches including the flag-tailed grunter.
- gaɖgunja *NM* nankeen night-heron.
- gaɖiři *NM* small shrub used for medicine. (Term obtained from *A*, not recognised by *MR*.)
- gaɖiyi *N PL* of *gaɖiyi-mar*.
- gaɖiyi-mar *N* man (not woman); Aboriginal (not White); human (not animal). *Sff* -mar occurs in *Sg/Du*. *PL* *gaɖiyi*. *Obl* (*MSg*) *ŋa-'ɖiyi-mar*.
- gaɖj *VIntr*(-mindini) to become clean. *Cf.* *gaɖŋ-min*. *VTr*(-jinji) to pick up (many objects), to collect (objects). *VTr*(-arŋaɭi) to get a handful of (something).
- gaɖjir *NM* water python, *Liasis fuscus*.
- gaɖŋirimba *N* very many, big group (normally human, referring especially to war parties; *cf.* *galga*).
- gaɖŋ-min *N* clean. *Cf.* *gaɖj*.
- n-gaɖurbi *NNe* fishhook (goanna collarbone).
- gaw *VIntr*(-mindini) to call out, to shout. *VTr*(-jaŋi/-niŋuyi) to call out to (someone).
- gawab *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) to go or set off in early morning. (*Text* 27.2)
- gawam *V* See *gawab*.
- n-gawuŋa *NF* cow. *Obl* *ya-gawuŋa*.
- gayani *NM* yamstick. *Syn* *bijabija*.
- gayari *Part* (for) a long time; long ago. Distinct from *ga-ya-ra* 'there'. (*Text* 36.4 'long time')
- gayawawa *NM* mullet *sp.* which holds head out of water.
- gayayuŋa *N* married (man). *PL* *wul-gayayuŋa*.
- gayi *N* other. Used chiefly in Nominative case, and only in *Sg/Du*. Replaced by *wayara* in *PL*, and by -argul in *Sg/Du* Oblique cases. (*Texts* 31.1, 39.3)
- gi- *Prf* Neuter prefix in *gi-ngara* here, etc.
- gidmagid-min *N* rough, having rough surface (e.g. crocodile skin).
- gid *VTr*(-arŋaɭi) to choke, strangle (used with *n-biɭbar* throat). *Ex* *biɭbar gid+g-arŋa* he choked him.

giḍa *VTr*(-ganji) to carry
piggyback.

giḍaj *VTr*(-jujuñi) to hook
(something) up, to catch hold
of (something) with a hook.
VTr(-arṇaḷi) to hook (something)
up. This combination implies
greater effort or work than the
preceding.

giḍigiḍi *NM* small freshwater
eel-tailed catfish *sp.*

gig *VIntr*(-mindini) to sing a
curse song (especially, to
kill an enemy). *VTr*(-mindini)
to curse by singing. *Ex*
gig+ṇangu-manji he curses me
(by singing). *Cf.* ñiṛi.

gil (*VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to crawl,
to creep, to move very slowly.

gilibirma *NM* diamond trevally,
Alectis indica.

gilibuḷ *NM* bull.

gilili! *Part* (a shout).

gilwir *NM* yellowish paint.

gilwir-min *N* yellowish or
greenish colour. *Cf.* gilwir.

gilg *VTr*(-ganji) to take
(something) away from (someone).
Ex gilg+ṇingu-ganjiyi I am
taking it from you. Object is
'you'.

gilgara *NM* a form of gaṇaya
(water lily root corm) with
irregular outside surface.

gimaju *NM* Milky Way.

gimay *VIntr*(-jinji) to stand
for a long time, to not sit
down.

gingirigingiri *N* rough, lumpy.

n-giṇḍir *NNe* penis. *Obḷ* ña-giṇḍir.
For swearing expressions
involving this term *cf.* bijuḷ,
mumamura, ṛulgu, jigiḍ-min.

giñmulgiñmul *NM* sleepy cod,
Oxyeleotris lineolatus.

gingira *NM* wild rice, *Oryza sp.*

gir *VTr*(-jujuñi) to cut open
(carcass) from the neck
downward.

giraba *NM* young sand goanna
(waḍabir). Younger than
baṛmunu.

giri-giriya-ya *N* having a woman
or women (i.e. a married man).
From n-giriya.

girimbu *NM* euro (hill kangaroo),
Macropus robustus. Female:
n-ṇaḷunji.

n-giriya *NF* woman (adult).
Obḷ ya-giriya. *Pl* wul-giriya.
Cf. n-janawa, n-gamiñ-mar.

giṛi *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to
bother, to be trouble for; to
be a lot of work for. *Ex*
giṛi+ṇiwiṇgu-yi it bothered
us; it was a lot of work for
us. (Text 3.2)

giwararama *NM* full-grown male
agile wallaby (ṇargulamba).
Syn jidbiḷiri.

giya *VIntr*(-jinji) to shake
(head, hand, etc.). Often
reduplicated giya-giya. *Cf.*
baḍabaḍa. *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi)
to shake (something). Often
reduplicated.

gubaḷ *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to
eat rotten or unhealthy food.
Cf. garwa.

gubijiji *NM* rain. *Cf.* jiḷ,
wuḷarayin.

guḍaguḍayi *NM* pied oyster-
catcher (bird). *Cf.* ṛululṇaṇa.

gud *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to erect;
to plant (in ground); to put
up, hoist (sails).

guda *Part* that's all. As
conjunction: then (emphasises
a transition). (*Gr* 13.6)

gudagaya *Part* always, frequently,
constantly, all day. (Text
40.88)

- gudar *N* ancestor; former (time, etc.). *Pl* guda-wudar. *Ex* n-gudar (in) the old days. (Texts 15.1, 36.4)
- gudar-ma(r) *N* old (not recent).
- n-gudar-ma(r) *NNe* the old days, long ago. *Obl* ña-wudar-ma(r). (Text 9.2)
- gudid *VTr*(-ganji) to carry slung over shoulder.
- gudija *VIntr*(-mindini) to go around (point or obstacle). (Text 40.80)
- guḍaṅgiji *N* See guṇḍaṅgiji.
- guḍargu *NM* brolga (crane). *Syn* buḍargu.
- guḍaṛi *NM* 1. headdress worn in dreamtime by ṅgiḷyiringiḷyiri beings. *Cf.* gumuṇḍuṅu.
2. horn (of bull).
- n-guḍguḍ *NNe* tail feathers of emu. *Obl* ña-guḍguḍ. *Syn* n-burguburgu.
- guḍijbal *NM* mangrove with edible fruits, *Avicennia marina*. *MR* says that when this is in flower, it signals that green turtles (yunduṇuga) are moving close to the shore for feeding.
- n-guḍuguḍuṇin *NNe* moon just after rising. *Obl* ña-guḍuguḍuṇin.
- gugu *NM* mother's mother's brother. *Obl* ṇa-gugu. 1st person possessor; for 2nd and 3rd *cf.* gaga-.
- n-gugu *NF* mother's mother. *Obl* ya-gugu. Used with 1st person possessor; for 2nd and 3rd *cf.* gaga-.
- n-gujan *NM* (pure) sand, as on beach. *Obl* ña-wujan. *Cf.* ṇalwur.
- gujaṇi *NM* brush-tailed possum. Female: wunamuḍura. Male: waṅgirma. Young: yirigigi.
- gujirwujir *NM* jellyfish. *Cf.* wajgalṇu.
- guju *VTr*(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi) to tickle.
- gul *VIntr*(-anji) to stop (for a while), to stop and sit. *VIntr*(-jinji) to be dark or dim; to be in the dark.
- gulabajara *NM* hat. *Syn* balmaṇa.
- guladu *NM* shade; shadow. *Obl* ṇa-wuladu.
- gulaḷ *VIntr*(-jinji) to shake head slightly; to point (with lower lip).
- gulawudi *N* novice seeing secret ritual for first time. *Pl* wul-gula-gulawudi.
- gulban *NM* tree *sp.* said to be like ti-tree(jamanbara) and another paperbark (gaḷiwan), but typically inland and with very small leaves, perhaps *Melaleuca alsophila* (not collected).
- gulbun *N* long dillybag (made from kurrajong string). *Cf.* yaḷgiṇ.
- gulduru *NM* bonefish, bony bream, *Fluvialosa erebi*.
- gulg *VIntr*(-jinji) to be or become heavy.
- gulg-min *N* heavy.
- gulinja *NM* black plum tree, *Vitex glabrata*. *Syn* waṅṇu.
- guliṇa *NM* long rope in sail-boat's rigging. *Cf.* bayibayi.
- gulji *NM* flat grinding stone. *Syn* biyaḷa. *Cf.* yaḷbun.
- gulma *NM* or n-gulma *NNe* creek. small river. Multiple: gulma-wulma. *Obl* ña-wulma. *Cf.* balba.
- gulubiṇḍama *NM* a tree with edible fruits, *Persoonia falcata*. *Syn* bunguri.
- gulugulu *VTr*(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi) to wait for turtle/dugong to surface. *Cf.* -guluguluwuni.
- guluguluwuni *VTrInf* to wait

- (in boat, for dugong or turtle to surface). *Pa Pot* -guluguluwuyi. (*Gr* 11.19; *Texts* 6.1, 6.5)
- gulul *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to fall into pit or hole.
- n-gululgulul *NNe* country with many holes or depressions.
- gululu *VIntr*(-mindini) to thunder. Also bululu.
- gululugba *Part* camping. *Ex* ŋiwi-ḷini gululugba we went camping. (*Text* 9.3)
- gulumbiji *NM* black (fork-tailed kite), a hawk *sp.* *Cf.* ḷiḷijar.
- gulurgulur *NM* burial ground. (Obtained from *J*, not recognised by *MR.*)
- gul *VIntr*(-jinji) to drink. *Ex* gul+wari-jinji ṇa-na ṇugu they (*Du*) drank water. (*Text* 41.26) *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to drink. *VTr*(-wanani) to give something to drink to. *VTr*(-jujuṇi) to clean off (ground).
- gulaḷ *VTr*(-jujuṇi) to wash.
- gulambijbij *NM* beach stone curlew. *Cf.* guwiḷu.
- gulaṇaṇi *NM* grey-crowned babbler.
- gula-ṇaw *VIntr*(-jinji) to lie down face up. *Rdp* gula-ṇaw-ṇaw.
- gulgulgul *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to walk with head drooping forward.
- gulimbilgulimbil *NM* firefly. *Syn* guḷiyalguḷiyal.
- guḷiyalguḷiyal *NM* firefly. *Syn* gulimbilgulimbil.
- n-gulmarmar *NNe* dusk (after sunset but still light).
- gulṇurgulṇur *NM* or n-gulṇurgulṇur *NNe* country with holes. *Syn* mambumambu, n-gulurgulur.
- gulugal *NM* bad head cold. Worse than janur. *Obl* ṇa-wuḷugal.
- n-gulugal *NNe* brain. *Obl* ṇa-gulugal. *Cf.* preceding entry.
- guluruṇ *NM* didjeridu.
- gumba *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to hunt for freshwater (especially lagoon) game, such as tortoises and file snakes. *Ex* gumba+ṇawu-jura we will hunt freshwater game.
- gumbi *NM* meat. *Cf.* next entry.
- n-gumbi *NNe* flesh (especially in human body). *Cf.* preceding entry.
- gumbu *NM* urine. *Obl* ṇa-wumbu. *Cf.* next entry.
- n-gumbu *NNe* bladder. *Cf.* preceding entry.
- gumuṇḷuṇu *NM* headdress worn in gunabibi ritual. *Cf.* guḷaṇi.
- gun *V* See gud.
- gunabibi *NM* name of a secret ritual based on the travels of the ṇḡiḷyiringiḷyiri beings in the dreamtime. *Cf.* jargun, guraṇaṇaṇaṇa.
- gunaḷu *N* a climbing vine, *Tinospora smilacina*.
- gunangala *N* black bream (freshwater perch *sp.*), *Hephaestus sp.*
- gunbuni, etc. *VIntrInfl* intransitive *Aux.* *Pa Pot* -nbuyi. (*Gr* 11.20)
- gundir *N* toadfish.
- gundug *VIntr*(-ḡanji) to make crooked. *Cf.* next entry.
- gundu-gundug *N* crooked.
- guniṇ *VIntr*(-mindini) to travel, to go (to another country).
- gunja *N* harmless, peaceful;

- blunt (not sharp, *Syn* ñiŋñiŋ).
Cf. yaramba.
- gunjadgunjad *NM* shellfish,
especially small bivalves with
glossy shells (such as *Mactridae*).
- gunjil *VIntr*(-jinji) to sit in
the shade.
- gunubul *NM* a small tree,
Alphitonia excelsa.
- n-gunujuru *NNe* generosity. *Obl*
ña-wunujuru with generosity,
generously. Text 12.1.
- gunaru *NM* 1. red-bellied black
snake, *Pseudechis porphyriacus*.
2. hot weather; hot season
(just before wet season). *Ex*
ña-wunaru-ni in the hot season.
- n-gunaru *NNe* sun; sunlight,
daytime. *Obl* ña-wunaru. *Cf.*
preceding entry.
- gunḍagaṛa *NM* log float (for
crossing river).
- gunḍama *NM* plains turkey, bustard.
Syn jambirina.
- gunḍaṇḍa *N* 1. very salty (water).
Cf. ḷaban, ḡalgigarabi.
2. policeman.
- gunḍaŋgiji *N* female
ŋgiḷyiringiḷyiri being in
dreamtime.
- n-gunḍi *NNe* ankle. *Obl* ña-wunḍi.
- gunḍil *NM* bush fly; any flying
insect (fly, wasp, bee).
- gunḍinḍi *NM* ibis *sp.* (white or
straw-necked). *Cf.* garulaṇa.
- gunḍuru *NM* or n-gunḍuru *NNe*
clear sky. *Cf.* n-baṇara
(-mbaṇara).
- gunḡun *NM* hot coals, embers.
Obl ña-wunḡun.
- guniṇara *NM* tree with large,
reddish figs, *Ficus racemosa*.
- guñan *NM* milk. *Cf.* next entry.
- n-guñan *NNe* 1. female breast,
tit.
2. similar parts of animals,
objects, etc. such as wooden
blocks on each side of sail-
boat, pelvic fin of fish, etc.
Cf. preceding entry.
- guña-wuña-ña *N* having developed
breasts. From guñan. *Cf.*
n-gamiñ-mar.
- guṇun *N* not know. *Ex* guṇan
he/she does not know. *Ex*
ḡa-wuṇun I do not know.
- guṇuṇu *NM* or n-guṇuṇu *NNe* smoke.
Cf. galagi, yunguḍ. *Obl*
ḡa-wuṇuṇu, ña-wuṇuṇu.
- guṇur *NM* termite or ant mound.
Obl ḡa-wuṇur.
- gur *VTr*(-ganji) to soak. *Ref*
gur+u-ga-ḷana it will get
soaked. *VTr*(-jamaḷi) to soak.
Vtr(-ḷinmaḷi) to soak. *Cf.*
ñilḡ.
- guralgmaninja *NM* blue-winged
kookaburra.
- guralaḡura *NM* morning or evening
star. (This form given by *J*,
while *MR* rejected this in
favour of buraḷaburaḷa.)
- guraṇaṇaṇaṇa *NM* a song and
performance for women,
associated with the gunabibi
ritual. *Syn* ḷayinjabudubudu.
Distinct from jargun.
(Text 41.5).
- gurb *VTr*(-jujuñi/-ḷarbuyi) to
cut or smooth out (wood, e.g.
spear shaft) with a stone
edge. (Text 13.2)
- gurb-gurb *NM* stone edge (used
as a carving or chipping tool).
Cf. ḡadjinadji.
- gurguḷ *NM* 1. grey hair. *Cf.*
wul, wul-min.
2. green grass (fresh grass
which springs up after old
vegetation has been burnt off).

3. long-horned grasshopper (this sense uncommon). *Syn yaḷagaga* (senses 2 and 3). *Obl* ṇa-wurgu!.
- gurguḷ-min *N* grey-haired. *Cf.* gurgu!.
- gurgur *NM* large owl, probably winking (barking) owl and perhaps also boobock owl. *Cf.* yilayi, jiliwiḍjiliwiḍ, gajaguru.
- guriña *NM* small jumping insect, perhaps a cricket. *Cf.* next entry.
- n-guriña *NM* female ghost. *Cf.* mawur.
- guriya *NM* See gurya.
- gurjaḍa *NM* eucalypt with rust-like substance on young leaves, *Eucalyptus ferruginea*.
- guruḍuguruḍu *NM* a form of the pied butcherbird. *Cf.* jaḍbururu.
- gurugu *NM* hailstone.
- gurujaḍbungu *NM* olive python, *Liasis olivaceus* (identification probable). *Syn* ḍiḍiguru.
- guruḷuwul *NM* riverside form of the paperbark, *Melaleuca leucadendron*, with narrow leaves. *Syn* raḷbar. Most informants apply this term to the paperbarks along the river at Ngukurr. *Cf.* rambana.
- n-guruṇaran *NNe* beach. *Obl* ṇa-wuruṇaran.
- guruḷ *NM* small grass *sp.* near billabong or spring.
- guruyuyu *NM* clams, including the giant clam, *Tridacna sp.*
- gurwiji *NM* pregnant female ḍugong (waligi).
- gurwiḡgurwiḡ *NM* whimbrel, eastern curlew (two sandpiper-like beach birds with long bills).
- gurya *NM* excrement; honey bees' 'excrement' (small eggs). *Cf.* next entry. For idioms involving this stem *cf.* mundud, buyur. *Cf.* n-ṇalbun.
- n-gurya *NNe* anus; rear end; guts; especially lower intestines ('shit guts'); butt end (e.g. of spear shaft). *Cf.* preceding entry.
- guryala *NM* red flying fox, *Pteropus scapulatus*. *Cf.* madjur.
- guḡ *VIntr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to poison (fish) with chemically potent trees such as murṇanawu and wuḍuḍan.
- guḡa *NM* semen.
- guḡid *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to flip over, to be flipped over. *VTr*(-ganji) to slip (something) over; to stir. *VTr*(-jujuṇi) to flip (something) over.
- guḡin *V* See guḡid.
- guḡiṛi *NM* young emu (jiwiḍiwiḍi).
- guḡñ *VIntr*(-mindini) to have an itch.
- guḡñil *VIntr*(-mindini) to feel good (after eating a variety of foods, instead of just one kind).
- guḡu *VTr*(-jujuṇi) to go and get (water). *Cf.* ḷir.
- guḡumbirimбири *NM* smoke cloud. *Cf.* yunduyunduwara.
- guḡuṅgug *NM* peaceful dove. *Cf.* marababa.
- guḡuy *VIntr*(-mindini) (fish) to jump away, to escape.
- guwaḍa *VTr*(-jinji) to hear, to listen to. *Ex* guwaḍa+ṇangu-jinji he heard me. Sometimes intransitive 'to listen' (e.g. Text 40.3). *Cf.* next entry.
- n-guwaḍa *NNe* ear. *Cf.* preceding entry. *Obl* ṇa-wuwaḍa.

- guwīlu NM southern stone-curlew.
Syn ɲaɾug.
- guy VTr(-jañi/-niɲuyi) to point at, to indicate.
- guyabiri NM sharply curved (returning) boomerang, such as were used chiefly by peoples well to the east (e.g. Mornington Island). Cf. mulwari.
- guyal N of the guyal semimoietiy.
Pl wul-guyal. Ex ɲa-guyal I am guyal.
- guyalira NM butterflyfish, *Selenotoca multifasciata*.
Syn mandara.
- guyañ NM gutta percha tree (has dangerous milky sap), *Excaecaria parvifolia*. Syn jaɲaɲara.
- guyiya N a small shrub with edible berries, *Grewia retusifolia*.
- guyma N (far) in the north.
- guyma-guyma N (far) in the north.
- guyma-maryi N along in the north.
- guymi N in the north. Cf. yimbi-ri, yimi-yana.
- guyug VIntr(-mindini) to spit.
Syn jug.
- n-guyuru NNe tooth. Obl ña-guyuru.
- jabi VTr(-jujuñi) to hold on to, to grip, to seize.
- n-jabiɭi NNe shoulder, shoulder blade. Obl ña-yabiɭi. Syn n-bulabula.
- jabɾari NM a small herb with strong odour.
- jabuɖubuɖu NM fish sp. about 30 cm. long, found along beaches.
- jabuɾarin NM toy spear made from cane grass (ɖarin).
- jadba VTr(-ɭini/-yurayi) to chop down (tree); to cut off or sever. Ex jadba+ɲalg-aɲa n-murji I cut off their hands. (Text 11.2)
- jaɖ VIntr(-nani) to be burning, to be very hot. Cf. wuñ, bu. VTr(-jujuñi) to construct a dam (ɖalala) across a creek. VTr(-ganjiɭi) to choke. Ex jaɲ+angu-nji I choked ('it choked me').
- jaɖbaramba NM white-breasted sea-eagle. Syn ɲaɲɲaɲ, wuriyaɲanga.
- jaɖbururu NM pied butcher-bird.
- jaɖiwaɲaɲi NM flatback turtle, *Chelonia depressa*.
- jag VTr(-bayɲaɭi/-yiɲayi) to chew (briefly).
- jaganda NM young antelope kangaroo (baɲingama).
- jagaɾ NM saliva; foam on waves.
- jagayagaɭi VTrInfl to carry; transitive Aux. Cf. -ganji. Pa Pot -yagayi. (Gr 11.21, 11.38)
- jagiɖij NM vegetable food (as a change of diet after eating meat for a long time). Cf. jalbij, mama.
- jagiɖij VIntr(-mindini) to eat vegetable food (instead of meat)

J

- jab VTr(-ganji) to cut through or break (sapling of tree, to make a spear shaft). VIntr(-mindini) (fish) to gulp down (smaller fish, etc.).
- jabada NM short-necked tortoise sp., perhaps *Elseya dentata*.
- jabay Part maybe.
- jabi N late afternoon. Syn yawuryawur.

jagiri *NM* or *n-jagiri NNe* reddish black water lily seed pod.
Called *gaga|irig* in Nunggubuyu.
Cf. *ya|bun*.

jaguḍ *VIntr*(-|ini/-yurayi) to be nearly dead, to be dying.

jaguḍaguḍama *NM* olive python, *Liasis olivaceus* (identification probable). *Syn* *ḍiḍiguru*, *gurujaḍbunu*.

n-jagu| NM testicles. *Obl* *ña-yagu|*.

jaj *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to chase.

jal *VTr*(-minani) to wait for, to watch for. *VIntr*(-anji) to hang down, to droop (e.g. fruit on tree).

jalamiṇḍi *NM* wax in ears.

-jalani, etc. *VTrInfl* to taste.
Pa Pot -yalayi. (*Gr* 11.22)

jalbij *NM* meat (as a change of diet from vegetable food). *Cf.* *jagiḍij*, *gumbi*.

jalbij *VIntr*(-mindini) to eat meat (instead of vegetables) for a change of diet. *Cf.* *jagiḍij*. (*Text* 1)

jalg *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to stab; to (actually) spear or harpoon. Puts greater emphasis on actual contact than jaw. *Cf.* *jalg-jalg-manjar*. *VTr*(-jujuñi) (same meaning; this *Aux* less common, but see *Text* 41.24).

jalgiñ *NM* tree goanna *sp.*, perhaps *Varanus timorensis*.

jalg-jalg-manjar *NM* thorn. From *jalg*.

jalji *Part* first (adverb). (*Text* 6.8)

jalma *NM* 1. yam (*Dioscorea sp.*) with round root which must be treated in water before being eaten.

2. a thick-bodied mantis *sp.* or similar insect.

jalug *VIntr*(-mindini) 1. to be satisfied (e.g. with food).
2. (object) to become cool or cold.

jalya *N* know. *Ex* jalya he knows. *Ex* ṇa-yalya I know.

jaḷab *VIntr*(-|ini/-yurayi) to paddle, to paddle along.
VIntr(-mindini) to paddle.
Rdp jaḷa-jaḷab.

jalababa *Vintr*(-|ini/-yurayi) (sea) to be rough, to have waves. (*Gr* 40.23)
VIntr(-mindini) (sea) to be rough.

jaḷaḷa *VIntr*(-|ini/-yurayi) to go for a walk, to 'go walkabout'.

jalangara *NM* gutta percha tree (has dangerous milky sap), *Excaecaria parvifolia*. *Syn* *guyañ*.

n-jalbar NNe vulva. The term *ḍijar* is used in swearing expressions.

jalḡ *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to get bogged (in mud, etc.). *Cf.* *ḷud*. *VIntr*(-anji) to be bogged (in mud, etc.). *Cf.* *ḷud*.

-jaḷi, etc. *VTrInfl* to eat.
Pa Pot -yiyi. (*Gr* 11.23; *Text* 30.3)

n-jalu NNe arm; branch (of tree); wing (of bird). *Obl* ṇa-yalu.

jaḷu-yaḷu-ya *N* having (many) arms.

jam *V* See *jab*.

n-jamal NNe wrist. *Obl* ṇa-jamal.

-jamali *VTrInfl* transitive *Aux*.
Pa Pot -yamiyi. (*Gr* 11.24)

jamanbara *NM* ti-tree, a paper-bark tree typically found on flood plains, with very large thick leaves, *Melaleuca viridiflora*. Distinct from *ṛanga*.

- jamba *VTr*(-jujuñi) to get revenge on.
- jambagu *NM* tobacco (loanword).
- jambirina *NM* plains turkey, bustard. *Syn* guṇḍama.
- n-jaminjamin *NNe* eyebrow.
- jamul- *NM* jamul-mar (your) mother's brother. jamul-ṇanja (his/their) mother's brother. *Cf.* gaḍigaḍi. *Obl* ṇa-yamul-.
- n-jamul- *NF* n-jamul-mar (your) mother's elder sister. n-jamul-ṇanja (his/their)....
- jamulmulanja *NM* bivalve shellfish *sp.*
- jamurga *N* short (not long or tall).
- n-janamba *NNe* forehead, scalp. *Obl* ṇa-yanamba.
- n-janawa *NF* female. *Obl* ya-yanawa. *Pl* wul-jana-yanawa.
- jangar *VTr*(-jujuñi) to make nest. *Cf.* next entry.
- n-jangar *NNe* nest. *Obl* ṇa-jangar. *Cf.* preceding entry.
- janur *NM* light head cold. Not as bad as guḷugal.
- jaṇḍalmin *NM* or n-jaṇḍalmin *NNe* calm (windless) place. Also jaṇḍalmi, jaṇḍalmir.
- jaṇmijaṇmi *NM* file snake, *Acrochordus javanicus*. *Syn* bijiri.
- jaṇñin *NM* bloodwood with long thin nuts, *Eucalyptus polycarpa*. *Syn* ṇaḷṇaḷ.
- jañi, -jaṇa, etc. *VTrInfl* to tell (someone); transitive *Aux*. *Pa Pot* -niṇuyi. (*Gr* 11.25; *Text* 42.5)
- jaṇani *NM* shovel spear. *Syn* ḷayin.
- jaṇar *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to be distributed or passed around. (*Text* 4.1). *VTr*(-ganji) to distribute (food, etc.). *Ben* ma-jaṇar to distribute (food, etc.) to. (*Text* 4.1)
- jaṇgay *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to go hunting for terrestrial game (e.g. kangaroos).
- jaṇgu *NM* or n-jaṇgu *NNe* horizontal cross-cuts (in tree which is being made into a dugout canoe). *Cf.* following entry. (*Text* 13.2)
- jaṇgu *VTr*(-ganji) to make cross-cuts (especially, horizontal cross-cuts in tree while making dugout canoe). *Cf.* preceding entry.
- jaṇguyala *NM* damper (cake made from crushed water lily seeds, cycad nuts, etc.).
- jaradadbuwa *NM* chestnut rail (bird). *Syn* alaṇdarbuṇa.
- jaranaḷ *NM* wild grape, *Ampelocissus* or *Cissus* *sp.*
- jarawuni *VTrInfl* to take (dogs) hunting. *Pa Pot* -yarawuyi. (*Gr* 11.26)
- jarb *VIntr*(-jinji) (tree or stick) to be straight. *Cf.* ḍunbur.
- n-jarbu *NNe* foot; footprint, track. *Obl* ṇa-yarbu.
- jargun *NM* women's dance and associated songs (sung by men), associated with gunabibi ritual. Distinct from guraṇaṇaṇaṇa.
- jaruñi *VTrInfl* transitive *Aux*. *Pa Pot* -yariyi. (*Gr* 11.27)
- jaṇ *VTr*(-jujuñi) to drag, to pull along; to pull up or out.
- jaṇag *VTr*(-jujuñi) to make, to build. *Cf.* yumar.
- jaṇamara *NM* pearl shell, *Pinctada sugillata*. This was used in trade with desert peoples to the south.

jaṛawana *NM* black-faced
cuckoo-shrike.

jaṛbur *NM* coastal whistling tree,
Casuarina equisetifolia. *Syn*
waguwagu. (Term obtained from A,
not recognised by MR.)

jaṛgul *NM* a swamp plant, probably
a form of *Triglochin procera*
with edible tubers slightly
larger than those of another
form called gabir.

jaṛi *N* many; much. Sometimes
reduplicated: jaṛi-yaṛi. *Cf.*
ḍaṇulirña, mijimbaṇu, gaṇṇirimba.
Cf. also next entry. (Texts
40.17, 41.7, 42.5)

n-jaṛijbur *NNe* tail (of dugong).
Cf. n-jigur. *Obl* ña-jaṛijbur.

jaṛiyaṛi *VTr(-ganji)* to do
(something) many times to.
Cf. jaṛi.

jaṛud *VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi)* to
hobble along (with walking-stick,
ṛidiṛidi); to be lame, to have
a bad leg.

jaw *VTr(-ganji)* to harpoon; to
poke or stab; to (actually)
spear. *Cf.* -gandayaruṇi, jaḷg.
VIntr(-mindini) to dig a hole.
VTr(-jujuṇi) to stab. (This
combination much less common
than the preceding, but occurs
in Text 41.27.)

jawaduma *NM* marine fish sp.,
perhaps an emperor.

jawalawala *NM* fish sp., probably
an emperor.

n-jawaṇḍa *NNe* whisker, beard; jaw,
chin. *Obl* ña-yawaṇḍa.

jawaruwaru *NM* young male dugong
(waligi).

jawayiga or jawayigaḍi *Part* good
work! thank goodness!

jawjaw *NM* water lily stem.

jaw-jaw-manjar *NM* sharp edge.
From jaw.

jawug *VTr(-ganji)* to shorten.
Cf. jamurga.

jawulba *N* old man, old person;
boss, respected person. *Pl*
wul-jawu-jawulba, wul-jawu-
yawulba. *Cf.* malbu, gabuji.

jawuṇbuṇ *N* short. Less common
than jamurga.

jawuru *N* his, hers, its. *Cf.*
following entry.

jawuru *NM* baby dugong (waligi).
Cf. preceding entry.

jawuṛi *VTr(-ganji)* to pester;
to confuse, to cause to be
mixed up. *Ex* jawuṛi+ṇambiri-
ganjiyi you (*Du*) get me mixed
up.

jayawuru *NM* blue-tongued lizard.
Syn ḷirga.

-ji *VTrInfl* See -jujuṇi.

ji *VTr(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi)* to shake
out (blanket, etc.).

jib *VIntr(-mindini)* (meat) to
get rotten. *Cf.* burñal,
garwa.

jibar *NM* string (made from
kurrajong bark, mbaḷarayan).
Cf. ṇadugu.

jibilawuna *NM* whistle-duck
(either of two spp.). *Syn*
jirbili.

jid *VTr(-ganji)* occurs in magur
jid+ṇang-aṇi it (fly) bothers
my eyes. *VTr(-gaṛaṛuni)* to
burn up (rubbish or scraps).
Cf. bu. *VTr(-jujuṇi)* poke
(e.g. stick poking into one's
eye).

jidbiliri *NM* adult male agile
(sandy) wallaby (ṇargulamba).

jiḍ *VIntr(-jinji)* 1. (liquid)
to drip.

2. to have tears running down
side of face, to have runny nose,
etc.

jidaḅ *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to sneak up.

jigidi *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to lose skin, to shed skin.
VTr(-ganji) to skin (animal).
Cf. ṛa.

jigidi-min *N* Occurs in giṇḍir
 ṇi-jigidi-min you have crooked penis! (swearing).

jigmalimali *NM* small owl, perhaps boobook owl. *Cf.* gurgur.

n-jigur *NNe* tail (of dog, fish, etc.).

jijij *VTr*(-jujuṇi) to clean (guts of carcass).

jijug *NM* spectacled hare-wallaby, *Lagorchestes conspicillatus*.
 Very small wallaby with orange rings around eyes.

jilagjilag *NM* aquatic plant, apparently mainly the small yellow-flowered water lily, *Nymphoides sp.*

jilbi *NM* (water) spring.

n-jili *NNe* side (of body, house, etc.). *Obḷ* ṇa-yili. *Cf.* yili, yilijili.

jilibijilibi *NM* fairly tall riverside grass *sp.*, said to be used as nest material by swamp pheasant.

jiligari *N* owner, boss (of country, ceremony, etc.). *Pl* wul-jili-yiligari. *MSgObḷ* ṇa-yiligari.

jililimbij *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to have eyes watering.

jiliwiḍjiliwiḍ *NM* owl *sp.* *Cf.* gurgur, yilayi, gajaguru.

jiliwiṛi *NM* small, cormorant-like bird *sp.* Said to resemble mawubundu.

jil *VIntr*(-jinji) to rain. *Ex* jil+a-'-juḷu it is raining.
 Subject is gubijiji (rain).
VIntr(-gunbuni) to rain. Less common than the preceding.

VTr(-jinji) to rain on. *Ex* jil+angu-jinji it rained on me. (Text 11.1-3) *VTr*(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi) to show (something) to; to inform; to tell (order). *Ex* jil+angu-ya show (it) to me!
Ex jil+ṇa-yi warṇgu gaṛ+u-ma I told him to dance, I made him dance.

-jili *VTrInfl* See -jujuṇi.

jilig *NM* light-coloured tern *spp.*

jimbalar *NM* small crayfish *sp.*
Cf. majiga.

jinaliri *NM* emu. *Syn* jiwidiwiḍi.
 Young guṛiṛi.

jindigirijindigiri *NM* willy wagtail (bird). *Syn* jiriṇaḍjiriṇaḍ.

-jinja, -jinjini *VTrInfl* See -jaḷi.

-jinji, etc. *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* an *Aux.* *Pa Pot* -yinjiyi.
 (Gr 11.28).

jinma *NM* whaler (river) shark.
Syn ruṇuriṇ.

jiṇḍijiṇḍi *NM* coastal tree used for spear shafts, *Thespesia populnea*. Distinct from ṇaḍij, though the two may be confused.

jiṇ *VTr*(-jinji) to adhere to (said especially of leech, migamiga). *Cf.* maṇ.

jinguḷili *NM* conkerberry (shrub with thorns, edible berries), *Carissa lanceolata*.

jir *VIntr*(-nani) to warm oneself (by fire).

jirbiyu *NM* whistle-duck (two *spp.*). *Syn* jibiḷawuna.

jiri *VIntr*(-mindini) to sneeze.

jirijiri *NM* short stick.
Syn ḍuguḍugu.

jiriṇḍiḍ *NM* quail.

jiriṇaḍjiriṇaḍ NM willy wagtail (bird). *Syn* jindigirijindigiri.

jirmaga NM echidna (porcupine). *Syn* wubular.

n-jirngin NNe clitoris. *Syn* n-maḷabaṇu.

jirṇujga NM eucalypt said to resemble woollybutt (wungurun) and majarawaj.

n-jiri NNe nose. *Obl* ṇa-yiṛi. *Cf.* yunguḍ.

jiriburiwuri NM great trevally (large marine fish). *Syn* ṇilṇiluna.

jirjir NM coastal jungle (including monsoon scrubland). Occasionally refers to one particular tree *sp.*, *Diospyros sp.* (*Syn* in this sense: bamaṇa). *Cf.* muḍiḍi.

jiwal NM tree with very hard wood, *Pemphis acidula*. Used to make harpoon points, and the term can be used to refer to such points. (*Cf.* maḷbi, the modern metal point.) Distinct from njiwal.

jiwi NM or n-jiwi NNe fur (of kangaroo, etc.).

jiwiḍiwiḍi NM emu. *Syn* jinaḷiri. Young guṛiṛi.

jiwuru NM wild cassava (tree whose saplings are dug up for edible yams), *Cochlospermum sp.* *Syn* ḷibulu.

jiwuyiwulya NM torch, stick burning at one end (used for light at night, and occasionally in light cooking). Called 'fire stick' in local English, but not to be confused with fire-sticks used to make fire (ḡulaṇaṇ, buḍalar).

-jiyi VTrInfl See -jujuṇi.

n-jiyil NNe tongue. *Obl* ṇa-jiyil.

ju! Part See juy!

-ju VTrInfl See -jujuṇi.

ju VTr(-ganji) to fish (with net). *Rdp* ju-ju. This is distinct from juju. *Cf.* wuḷ (fish with hook and line).

jub VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi) to go down. VTr(-ganji) to take down. *Rdp* ju-jub.

juḍjuḍju NM osprey.

jug VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi) to spit. VTr(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi) to spit on. *Rdp* ju-jug.

juguṛ VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi) to have a cramp.

juju VTr(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi) to shoo (insect, etc.) away.

-juju VTrInfl See -jujuṇi.

jujuṇanba NM long distance. *Ex* jujuṇanba wari-ḷini they went a long way. Not a common word, *cf.* ṇanaṇanayi, n-ḡunanjina.

-jujuṇi VTrInfl transitive Aux. *Pa Pun* -ji (for some stems -ḷarbu). (*Gr* 11.29-30)

juḷ VTr(-ganji) to swallow; to attach (spear blade, harpoon spike, etc.).

juḷaḡal NM sea-grass eaten by dugong.

-juḷiyi, -juḷu, etc. VIntrInfl/VTrInfl See -jinji.

juḷulu VTr(-ganji) to push.

jumbala NM sail (of sailboat).

jumbud VIntr(-gunbuni) to have head leaning forward and back hunched. *Cf.* ḍudbuṅgu.

jumur VIntr(-jinji) to have head leaning forward and down (said of dugong).

jun VTr(-mindini) to nudge, to butt. *Ex* jun+angu-ma he nudged me.

n-jundu *NNe* point, tip (of island, peninsula, etc.). *Obł* ña-yundu.

n-jungu *NNe* lower backbone; lower back. *Obł* ña-yungu. *Cf.* n-malir.

juṇḍir *NM* very small sandpiper-type birds, such as dotterels.

juṇjuṇmalimali or juṇjuṇmila *NM* darkish sandpiper-type birds with mid-sized bills, larger than juṇḍir or yiḍiḍiṇaṇa but smaller than gurwiṛgurwiṛ. (Text 41.7)

juṅgayi *N* manager (relationship of a man to his mother's clan, their ceremonies and territory).

juṅgu *Part* all right. Can be used as a question (all right), to indicate that things are fine, or to indicate a definite end to a line of thought.

juṇjuṇ *VIntr(-mindini)* to suck; to kiss. *VTr(-bayṇaḷi/-yiṇayi)* to suck on; to kiss. *VTr(-galuni)* to kiss. *Cf.* buñ, yuṇjuṇ.

-juṇu, -juṇuni, etc. *VTrInfl* See -jujuṇi.

jur *VIntr(-mindini)* to leak; (tide) to recede; (spring of water) to gush out. (Text 40.28). *VIntr(-jinji)* (small streams of rainwater) to run along ground.

-jura, -jurañi, etc. *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -ḷini.

jurgubadu *NM* Spencer's goanna *Varanus spencer*, a goanna found mainly south of Mara country.

n-jurujuru *NNe* water line (point where the sea comes up to the shore at a given moment).

juṛir *NM* great bower-bird.

juy! *Part* going. Sometimes shortened to ju!.

juyub *VTr(-jujuṇi)* to pull out (something stuck, e.g. in ground). (Text 41.15)

VTr(-ganji) to pull out. Emphasises successful pulling out in contrast to the preceding combination.

ḷanambur *NM* paperbark tree, *Melaleuca cajaputi* (e.g. in brackish swamp at Numbulwar). *Syn* gandar. *Var* yanambur.

-ḷa *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -ḷini.

ḷabalabaya *N* full. (Text 41.26)

ḷaban *NM* sea; saltwater. *Cf.* guṇḍaṇḍa.

ḷag *VIntr(-mindini)* to hear (information), to find out (by hearing). Also guwaḍa ḷag. *Ex* guwaḍa ḷag+u-ma he found out.

ḷagaḍ *VTr(-ganji)* to strip off bark from (tree); to open up (guts) of. *Rdp* ḷaga-ḷagaḍ.

ḷagurja *NM* wild cucumber, *Cucumis melo*.

ḷalu-mar *NM* (your) elder brother. *Cf.* baba, ṇuḷuṅgal.

n-ṇa-ḷalu-mar *NF* (your) elder sister. *Obł* ya-ḷalu-mar.

ḷala *VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi)* to wade in water.

ḷalaḷ *VTr(-ganji)* to break up (dam, etc.). (Text 40.5). *VTr(-jujuṇi)* to strip bark off (tree). *Cf.* ḷagaḍ, jigiḍ.

n-ṇa-ḷamar *NNe* dorsal fin (of shark). *Obł* ña-ḷamar.

ḷanguṇa *NM* magpie (pied) goose.

ḷagur *NM* corroboree. *Cf.* yunguwan.

- ɭar *VTr*(-ganji) to cut up; to butcher. *VTr*(-jinji) to pull out (grass, whiskers, etc.).
 ɭarad, ɭarag *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to slip; to fall (into hole or depression). *Rdp* ɭara-ɭarad.
 ɭaraɭara *VIntr*(-jinji) (clothing) to not fit properly.
 ɭaraɭaranjal *N* having sparse foliage, not providing much shade (tree).
 ɭarbalaɭba *NM* coastal tree with large leaves, used in making pipes, perhaps *Guettarda speciosa* (not collected).
 ɭarbiɖi *NM* diamond-scaled mullet, *Liza vaigiensis*. *Syn* warawarari.
 -ɭarbu, -ɭarbuyi, etc. *VTrInfl* See -jujuɳi.
 ɭarg *VTr*(-jujuɳi) to split (long object, e.g. tree trunk).
 ɭar-ɭar-manjar *N* anything with sharp edge or blade. From ɭar.
 ɭaw *VIntr*(-ɭini/-yurayi) to go across. (Texts 23.10, 23.12)
 ɭayin *NM* shovel spear. *Syn* jaɳani.
 ɭayinjabudubudu *NM* women's performance in gunabibi. *Syn* guraɳaɳaɳa.
 ɭib *VIntr*(-ɭini/-yurayi) to bathe, to sink into or become immersed in water. *VIntr*(-anji) to be in the water. *VTr*(-ganji) to immerse (something, someone) in water. *Rdp* ɭi-ɭib.
 ɭibulu *NM* wild cassava (saplings of which are dug up for edible yams), *Cochlospermum* sp. *Syn* jiwuru.
 ɭid *VIntr*(-mindini) Used with guwaɖa, meaning 'to be unable to hear (because of noise)'. *Ex* guwaɖa ɭid+ɳa-ma I can't hear.
 ɭil *VTr*(-jaɳi/-niɳuyi) to go across (something). (Text 40.17)
 ɭili *VIntr*(-ɭini/-yurayi) to be unsteady, to sway (e.g. in wind); (person) to tremble, shiver, shake. *VIntr*(-jinji) to sway.
 ɭimbi-li *N* (vocative) younger brother/sister! *Cf.* -nija-ɖi.
 -ɭini, -ɭindu, etc. *VIntrInfl* to go (Gr 11.31). *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* an Aux. *Pa Pot* -yurayi. *Pa Pun* -aɳa. *Fut* -jura.
 ɭinjari *NM* duck sp.
 -ɭinmaɭi, etc. *VTrInfl* transitive Aux. (Gr 11.32)
 ɭiɳid *VIntr*(-mindini) to do it (after procrastinating). *Rdp* ɭiɳi-ɭiɳid.
 ɭir *VIntr*(-jinji) to get firewood. *Cf.* waɖgar. (Text 27.2). *VTr*(-jujuɳi) to clap boomerangs, as in ɭurgun ceremony. *Cf.* birg. (Text 41.3) *Rdp* ɭir-ɭir.
 ɭiraɖuma *NM* red-tailed black cockatoo.
 ɭirga *NM* blue-tongued lizard. *Syn* jayawuru.
 ɭirgijin *N* good, expert (at hunting, fishing, or gathering food). *Ex* ɳi-ɭirgijin you are expert (hunter, etc.). *FSg* n-ɳa-ɭirgijin.
 ɭiri *VIntr*(-mindini) to have a pain.
 ɭiriliri *NM* scrub tree with thick, jagged leaves, *Bossiaea bossiaeoides*.
 ɭirjal *NM* mangrove jungle. Includes such species as baɭgan, rurun, etc.
 ɭirɳindi *NM* cicada. *Syn* ɳiriɳiri. (For A, ɭirɳindi means 'termite').
 ɭiw *VIntr*(-ɭini/-yurayi) to go crookedly, to zigzag, to turn.

(Text 23.5). *VTr*(-jujuñi) to make crooked; to cause to move crookedly or in screw-like motion (as in inserting buḍalar stick into ḡulaḡaṇ stick in fire-stick). (Text 42.12) *Rdp* !iw-!iw.

!iwalgunja *NM* type of eucalypt (bloodwood?) with large leaves. (Term obtained from A, not recognised by MR.)

!iwma!iw-min *N* going crookedly, zigzagging. From !iw.

!iyaga *NM* large mud-whelk shell (several spp.).

!ud *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to get stuck (in mud, embedded in wood, etc.). Cf. ja!g. *VIntr*(-jinji) to be stuck. Cf. ja!g. *VTr*(-jujuñi) to feel sorry for, to pity. *Rdp* !un-ud.

!ul *VIntr*(-mindini) to cry, to weep.

!ulbab *NM* young euro (girimbu).

!ulga *NM* or n-ḡa-!ulga *NNe* island.

!umar *NM* pup (young dog). Can also be applied to the young of some other animals, including the mud crab (waṛil).

!umbud *VTr*(-jañi/-niḡuyi) to have (body part) sore or swollen. Ex !umbud+ḡa-yi I have gotten a swelling.

!un-ud *V* See !ud.

!uñ *VTr*(-jañi/-niḡuyi) to coil up (rope, etc.). Cf. waḡa, mu!ij.

!uḡ *VTr*(-jañi/-niḡuyi) to swell up. Ex !uḡ+ḡa-janani I (e.g. my eye) swelled up. *Rdp* !uḡ-!uḡ.

!urg *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to go up in tree fork. *VIntr*(-jinji) to be up in tree fork. *VTr*(-jañi/-niḡuyi) to place up in tree fork. *Rdp* !urḡ-!urg.

!urgudu *N* narrow (river, road, etc.). Also !urgurgudu.

!urgun *NM* 1. log coffin.

2. funeral ceremony.

!urgurgudu *N* narrow. Also !urgudu.

M

-ma *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -mindini.

n-mabuluma *NNe* navel. *Syn* n-mala.

mad *VTr*(-jujuñi) to mix, to put (two things) together. *VTr*(-ganji) to meet, to come into contact with. *VIntr*(-mindini) (people) to meet, to come together. *Rdp* man-mad.

madamada *NM* female genital cover made from possum skin. Cf. wu!ñin.

madjur *NM* little black flying fox, *Pteropus gouldii*.

n-maḡaḡar *NNe* breastbone; chest; plastron (under shell) of turtle.

maḡbangar *NM* reef heron; white-faced heron.

maḡumaḡu *VIntr*(-mindini) (weather) to be cold. Cf. ṛa.

n-maḡumaḡu *NNe* cold, coldness.

madun *NM* 1. cold south-east wind (the prevailing wind around May).

2. flying insect *sp.* *Syn* magulmagul (both senses).

magandaḡu *NM* shellfish, like ṛagambaḡu but found mainly in rivers.

magara *NM* uncle (mother's brother) and nephew or niece.

magarimagari *NM* cowtail ray. *Syn* ḡuyḡuy, ma!ḡar.

- magay *VTr*(-ganji) to distribute (shares), to pass out. *Recip* to share. *Cf.* jaŋar, -wanani.
- magu *N* Form taken by maguŋ in some compounds.
- magulmagul *NM* 1. cold south-east wind.
2. flying insect *sp.*
Syn mađun (both senses).
- magulaŋbirima *NM* darter ('diver duck'). *Syn* garagarag.
- n-maguŋ *NNe* eye; seed (*Syn*: n-maramara); hook (of spear). May become magu in some compounds.
- maguwara *NM* net (for fishing).
- maja *NM* seagrass, algae. *Cf.* jułanai.
- majalađi *NM* yam *sp.* (climbing vine). *Syn* maŋiŋgi.
- majaŋmajaŋ or majaŋmajađ *NM* a small plant, most often *Tecticornia australasica*. Can be confused with maraŋmaraŋ, garbun.
- majaŋuwara *NM* full-grown barramundi fish (miriji).
- majarawaj or majarawaŋ *NM* eucalypt *sp.* found on hills, similar to jirŋujga.
- majiga *NM* large crayfish *sp.*
- majularima *NM* euro, hill kangaroo (uncommon word). *Syn* girimbu.
- mal *VIntr*(-łini/-yurayi) to go up. *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to go up, to get caught on top. *VIntr*(-jinji) to be (hanging) above. *VTr*(-ganji) to take up. *VTr*(-jagayagałi) to take up.
- mala *NM* cloud. *Cf.* miŋiriri. *Cf.* also following entry.
- n-mala *NNe* navel. *Syn* n-mabuluma. *Cf.* preceding entry.
- malambuwa *NM* water lily seed pod. *Syn* yałbun.
- malarg *VIntr*(-nani) to be light-coloured.
- malawara *NM* blood (used to apply ʔaman decorations). Usual word for blood: ɣuliji. (Text 24.3)
- malbamba *NM* ironwood tree, *Erythroleum chlorostachyum*. *Syn* wiłwił.
- malbu *N* old (person). *Pl* wul-malbu-malbu. *Syn* jawulba.
- malimbir *NM* large hollow log (wurwawurwala).
- maliŋ *NM* ray *sp.* (fairly big, reddish, fat tail, spotted). *Cf.* wuŋuruŋuga.
- n-malir *NNe* backbone; back (of body); dorsal fin (of fish). Derivative: ŋa-malir-njuma fat-in-the-back (applied to the catfish *Anodontiglanis dahli*, which unlike other eel-tailed catfish has fins covering most of its back). *Cf.* n-jungu.
- n-malmalwana *NNe* rising slope (hill, river bank, etc.).
- n-maluruŋgurunā *NF* female agile (sandy) wallaby (ɣargulamba).
- malwiđiwiđi *NM* brown goshawk. *Cf.* gargaŋ.
- mał- *Prf* Benefactive prefix.
- małabaŋu *NM* freshwater mussel; marine horse-mussel, *Modiolus sp.*
- n-małabaŋu *NNe* clitoris. *Syn* n-jirŋgiŋ.
- małalyi *NM* a plum tree, probably a broad-leaved *Terminalia sp.* *Cf.* maławal.
- małalaŋga *NM* tree *sp.* found on black soil plains. (Term obtained from A, not recognised by MR.)
- małamala *NM* centipede. *Syn* ɣarambili. *Cf.* małanjarbi.

- małana Part** Indicates something that is made possible.
(Text 26.1)
- małanjarbi NM** very large centipede (małamałā).
- maławal NM** a tree, *Terminalia sp.*
Can be applied to *Terminalia carpentariae*, which is common around Numbulwar (cf. walmañ), but may also refer to a *sp.* with larger leaves. Distinct from małalyi.
- maławururu NM** loggerhead turtle, *Caretta caretta* (has very big head).
- małayara NM** circumcised boy.
(Term used by the sister addressing her brother after his circumcision; the usual term is wałima.)
- małayugba NM** internal organ of turtle.
- małbi NM** (metal) harpoon point.
Cf. jiwal.
- małbiñgari N** dugong hunter (said of the one who does the harpooning).
- małgayayi N** many; every one.
(Text 32.2)
- małi-ngara N** this time. Related to -ngara 'is here'.
- małnar NM** cowtail ray. *Syn* quyquy, magari magari.
- maługundu NM** 1. snake-lizard, *Lialis burtonii*.
2. leg or arm bone of kangaroo (used in sorcery).
- małujaja N** nothing. Cf. małuy.
- małumałū N** covered with sores.
Ex ŋa-małumałū I have lots of sores. *Pl* wul-małumałū.
- małumałumar NM** intestines (of kangaroo, bullock, emu, etc., but not of turtle or dugong).
- małunuñu NM** blow-fly.
- małungariñin or małungarñi NM** quinine bush, *Petalostigma pubescens*.
- małuy N** not at all, nothing, no-one, nowhere, never. Cf. małujaja, ganagu, ŋula, and next entry.
- małuy VIntr(-łini/-yurayi)** to disappear, to dwindle, to become nothing.
- małuya N** in advanced stage of pregnancy, 'expecting'.
- mama NM** soft food (vegetables, eggs, etc.). Cf. gumbi, jagiđij, gandiri.
- mama VIntrInfl/TrInfl** See -mindini.
- mambali N** of the mambali semi-moiety. *Pl* wul-mamba-mambali.
- mambubu NM** long yam *sp.*
- mambul NM** jet of water shot up by dugong while breathing.
Cf. bambir.
- mambuławuła NM** tree-dwelling ant *sp.* (not green tree ant).
- mambumambu NM** country with many holes or depressions. *Syn* gułnurgułnur.
- mami VIntrInfl/VTrInfl** See -mindini.
- mamurg NM** baby's hair (formerly cut off from newborn baby and sent to distant areas as a gift).
- man V** See mad.
- manambula NM** wool.
- manbar NM** or n-manbar *NWe* (deep or severe) wound, gash, or cut in body. Cf. n-bubu (minor sore or cut).
- manbiřibiři NM** large, dangerous porpoise-like creature, possibly killer whale. *Syn* wundamałamałā.
- mandalałura NM** hilltop tree *sp.*
(cont.)

- called 'snappy gum' locally,
used for boomerangs. *Syn wamba*.
- mandara NM striped butterflyfish,
Selenotoca multifasciata. *Syn*
guyalira.
- mandura Part thinking that ...;
(I) think that.... (Texts 37.2,
37.4, 39.2, 41.15)
- mangaburuna NM hook boomerang.
Syn wariḍilwa.
- mangaḍa N 1. woollybutt tree,
Eucalyptus miniata. *Syn*
wungurun, yaḷiriyaḷiri.
2. hollow log or tree. *Syn*
wurwawurwala.
- mangirir N killer (of men, of
fish, etc.).
- mani Part like, similar to.
- maningiri NM armband made from
ḡilgara.
- manja NM wild passionfruit,
Passiflora foetida (introduced).
- manjag VTr(-jujuṇi) to belt, to
punch.
- manjal VIntr(-mindini) to get
soft.
- manjalmanjal NM wattle sp. use in
making spear shafts. *Syn*
garaḷaḷan. Similar to buruwanji.
- manji VIntrInfl/VTrInfl See
-mindini.
- manuga NM stone, rock; stone hill,
mountain.
- manumanu NM large ray sp., black
with long tail. Called
ḡabarayala in Nunggubuyu.
- manuṅṅarayu NM small dark ray sp.
with short tail, found among
coral.
- man VTr(-jagayagaḷi/-yagayi) to
cling to, to adhere to.
VTr(-niṅaḷi) to adhere to, to
stick to. Cf. jiṅ. VTr(-jujuṇi)
to take care of, to mind
(someone).
- maṇamaṇa NM tree with small
leaves, edible gum, *Terminalia*
canescens.
- maṇaṇar NM bees wax. *Syn* ṇaḷu.
- maṇḍar VIntr(-mindini) to
belch, to burp.
- maṇḍarara N sharp.
- maṇḍiwa NM circumcision ritual.
Called maṇḍiwala in Nunggubuyu.
- maṇḍiwaja NM vine with berries
eaten by emu, *Cassytha*
filiformis.
- maṅgalgal NM a dark, leaping
ray sp. with long tail. Called
miṇiṅṅaṅu in Nunggubuyu.
- maṇiṅgi NM yam sp. (climbing
vine). *Syn* majalaḷi.
- maṇiwi NM shrub sp. (Term
obtained from A, not recognised
by MR.)
- maṇuṅgurun NM cypress, *Callitris*
intratropica. Sometimes
confused with waguwagu.
- maṇ VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi) to walk
quickly.
- n-maṇaṅgu NNe land, mainland
(as opposed to sea). Cf.
n-ṇalaṅin.
- maṇarara NM ghost crab. Cf.
wadadawadada.
- maṇaḍaṇaḍa NM water goanna,
Varanus mertensi. *Syn* maṇar.
- maṇaḍba NM vine with semi-edible
root, *Ipomoea pes-caprae* ssp.
brasiliense. Common at
Numbulwar. *Syn* baṇbaṅgari.
- maṇagu NM banyan tree, *Ficus*
virens. Can also be applied
to *Sterculia quadrifida*, which
has black nuts in red shells
instead of small figs, but
which has aerial roots similar
to those of *Ficus virens*.
- maṇaju NM cycad palm, *Cycas* sp.
The Mara know about this tree

but it does not occur in their territory. One species occurs in Nunggubuyu country to the north, another species occurs east of Borroloola.

maṇaṇa *NM* small markings (in boomerang).

maṇar *NM* water goanna, *Varanus mertensi*. *Syn* maṇaḍanaḍa.

mangaḍ *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to go on the road, to travel. (Text 12.1). *VTr*(-jujuṇi) to make a road or path; to travel in a group (hence making a 'road' with footprints). *Cf.* next entry.

maṇgaṇ *NM* road, path.

maṇumaṇu *NM* illicit sexual affair.

mara *N* Mara. Used especially as the name of the language (n-mara *NNe*). *Cf.* maraṇbala.

marababa *NM* bar-shouldered dove. *Cf.* guṛungug.

marad *VTr*(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi) (fire) to flare up. Subject and object 3Sg.

maragaḍa *NM* calf (young bullock). *Cf.* mugawu.

n-maramara *NNe* seed. *Syn* n-magur (eye).

maranbala *N* Mara (people). *Cf.* mara.

marañmarañ *NM* roly-poly, buckbush, tumbleweed, *Salsola kali*. Some on the beach at Numbulwar, but also found inland. Easily confused with majaṇmajaṇ.

maragaḷba *NM* green tree snake, *Dendrelaphis punctulatus*.

n-maraṇuṛu *NNe* head.

mararabaṇa *NM* performance forming part of gunabibi ritual.

n-mararabaṇa *NF* female mermaid (ṇgiḷyiringiḷyiri) in gunabibi myth. *Cf.* n-guṇḍaṇgiḷi.

mararaṇgaḷba *NM* See wararaṇgaḷba.

marayuḷuyulu *NM* or n-maryuḷuyulu *NNe* water lily flower.

n-marda *NNe* feather. *Cf.* ṛaman, n-guḍguḍ.

n-mari- *NF* n-mari-mar (your) father's sister. n-mari-ṇanja (his/their) father's sister. *Cf.* n-baṇaṇa.

marinaya *N* good; nice; pretty; well-behaved. *Cf.* yumar.

maru *VTr*(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi) to leave (something) for; to offer or promise to; to show to. (Text 12.1)

maruṇiya *N* something which is reserved for or claimed by someone. *Cf.* maru.

maṛa *VTr*(-ganji) to belt, to punch hard.

maṛamaṛa *N* slow (as adverb) slowly, softly, gently. *Ex* maṛamaṛa ṇaḷ+i-may speak softly (or slowly). (Text 41.2)

maṛawuriṇa *NM* slow-acting poison (in sorcery). *Cf.* n-muṇgariṇa.

maṛawuy *N* mate, supporter.

maṛbaṛba *NM* bits or chips of wood.

maṛu *VTr*(-minani) to dream of.

maṛumaṛu *NM* bandicoot.

maṛur *NM* witchetty grub. Distinct from mbiḷmir.

mawaḷ *NM* floater used with dugong harpoon (ṛajar).

mawar *NM* ghost gum ('whitebark'), *Eucalyptus papuana*.

mawubundu *NM* little pied cormorant.

mawuluwaḍ *NM* gannet, booby (marine bird).

mawuḷṇurguḷṇur *NM* coconut.

mawuḷuḷugu *NM* a shrub with edible fruits found in monsoon scrub near the coast, probably *Glycosmis* sp.

- mawur *NM* black streaks in sky just after sunset (thought to represent ghosts). *Cf.* n-waṛaḷ, mbaḍirña.
- mawur-gayi *N* other kind. *Cf.* gayi. (Text 23.11)
- mawuruluḷu *NM* great-billed heron (common in mangroves).
- may *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -mindini.
- mayag *VTr(-ganji)* to be acquainted with (person).
- mayaluṅgu *NM* hook spear with short hooks. *Syn* wiralbiral. *Cf.* ṅargijba, ṅargidigiḍi.
- mayamaya *VTr(-ganji)* to clear or clean off surface of (e.g. to clear ground, to clean off skin of emu). *Cf.* next entry.
- n-mayamaya *NNe* open plain.
- mayaranja *NM* sandpaper-leaf fig, *Ficus opposita*. *Cf.* miṛawurumi.
- mayawajawa *NM* paddle.
- mayigaḷ *NM* large nut of pandanus (mugara).
- mayili *NM* adult male dugong (waligi).
- mayiñbagu *NM* string decoration worn as jewelry.
- mayṅu *NM* red ochre. *Cf.* mayṅu-mayṅu-ya, gilwir.
- mayṅu-mayṅu-ya *N* decorated with red ochre (mayṅu); red.
- n-baḍawaḍa (-mbaḍawaḍa) *N* old woman. *Pl* wul-mbaḍawaḍa. *Cf.* malbu, jawulba.
- mbaḍirña *NM* ghost ('devil-devil'); White man. *Cf.* munaja.
- mbagar *NM* honeycomb (honey and wax). *Cf.* ṅalñin.
- mbalarayan *NM* bark of kurrajong tree (wunṅugulun or barurbarur). Used in making string (jibar).
- mbalay *VTr(-ganji)* to be unsuccessful (in hunt, in horse race, etc.), to be unable to get.
- mbaḷṅa *NM* opening, crack, space between two large masses.
- n-baṅara (-mbaṅara) *NNe* (cloudless) sky; patch of clear sky (between clouds); open or cleared area, clearing. *Obl* ña-mbaṅara.
- n-biḷaḷ (-mbiḷaḷ) *NNe* water lily leaf. *Du* wur-mbiḷaḷ.
- mbilmur *NM* type of witchetty grub usually found in coolibahs (mudju, waḷan). Distinct from maṛur.
- n-biyawyaw (-mbiyawyaw) *NNe* floodplain (usually with ti-trees). *Obl* ña-mbiyawyaw.
- mbuja *N* hairless, without whiskers; skinny, emaciated.
- mbul *VTr(-ganji)* to load up; to bring (many people or things) together.
- mbulmaḷi, etc. *VIntrInfl* to do it (unspecified activity). (*Gr* 11.33, Texts 33.2, 41.15)
- n-buwul (-mbuwul) *NNe* semimoeity ('skin'). As *N* (mbuwul): of proper semimoeity for marriage, 'straight'. *Ex* ṅuru-mbuwul you two are 'straight' (for marriage).
- mbuyiwuyirña *NM* stomach fat.
- mi *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -mindini.
- midbirimbalya *NW* black duck. *Cf.* waḷmañ.
- miḍ *VTr(-ganji)* to level out lumps (in canoe).
- miḍalaṅḍala *N* all night.
- miḍalaṅḍalaṅ *NM* darter ('diver duck'). *Syn* garagarag (more common).
- miḍigud *VIntr(-jinji)* to sit with knees forward and feet under buttocks.
- n-miḍimal *NNe* knee. *Cf.* n-galaṅḍaḍa.
- migaḷ *NM* a rainforest shrub with edible fruits, *Ganophyllum falcatum*.
- migamiga *NM* leech.

- mijal *NM* wet season. *Cf.* gubijiji.
- mijimbaŋu *N* many, much. *Syn* jaŋi.
Cf. daŋulirña, gaŋŋirimba.
(Texts 12.1, 12.2)
- mijir *NM* small shrub used for medicine.
- mijuruŋu *NM* small eel-tailed catfish *sp.* found mainly in saltwater. *Syn* ɲaɲaɲa.
- n-milga *NNe* hip.
- milgabur *Part* (sitting) with feet together just on one side of buttocks.
- n-milgayagu *NNe* isolated area, place away from people or settlements.
- miliŋma *NM* red-shouldered parrot.
- milir *NM* wax at base of bee-hive.
- miliw *VIntr*(-mindini) (lightning) to flash. *Ex* miliw+u-ma there was lightning. *Rdp* miliw-miliw. *Syn* miŋim. *VTr*(-ganji) (cloud) to bring lightning.
- miljir *VTr*(-jaŋi/-niŋuyi) to make small or delicate decorations on (usually with paint).
- milyilyiɬa *NM* very light drizzle; fog with light drizzle. *Cf.* gubijiji, wuɬarayin.
- mim *VIntr*(-mindini) to roll one's eyes around. Can co-occur with the noun maguŋ (magu) eye. *Ex* maguŋ mim+gu-ma he rolled his eyes.
- mimbi *NM* ants (any *sp.*).
- minani, etc. *VTrInfl* to see; transitive *Aux.* *Pa Pot* -nayı. *Cf.* war. (*Gr* 11.34)
- mindini, etc. *VIntrInfl* to say or think (with accompanying quotation); to do that (with accompanying gesture or other indication); an intransitive *Aux.* (*Gr* 11.35; Texts 28.3, 35.2).
- mindiwaba *NM* baler shell, *Melo umbilicus*. Can be used as a general word for shellfish, as in 'We are looking for shellfish'.
- minbilŋi *NW* sugar glider (flying squirrel).
- miŋdilŋara *NM* cement made from ironwood or cypress trees.
- miŋguja *NM* or n-miŋguja *NNe* stinging spike (of stingray).
- miŋija *NM* a shady tree, often with large thorns, *Cathormion umbellatum*. Common at Numbulwar; some along river at Ngukurr. Distinct from next entry.
- miŋijar *NM* 1. salt.
2. a large tree *sp.* (distinct from miŋija).
- miŋim *VIntr*(-mindini) (lightning) to flash. *Syn* miliw. *Cf.* miŋiŋ.
- miŋiŋ *VIntr*(-mindini) to stick out tongue, to flick out tongue (said especially of snakes). Can be confused with miŋim, especially since lightning is sometimes described in myths as the result of snakes (gurujaɬbuŋgu) flicking out their tongues.
- n-miŋmiŋjal *NNe* eyelash, eyebrow.
- miŋmiŋjaliji *NM* type of sea-urchin with long feelers. Distinct from wuɬiyin.
- miŋ *VTr*(-jujuŋi) to be just about to kill or spear, to threaten (e.g. with spear); to follow (track, river, etc.). (Text 40.32)
- miŋayimiŋayi *NM* scrub tree *sp.* (Term obtained from A, not recognised by MR.)
- miŋimiŋi *NM* ray *sp.* *Syn* wuŋuruŋuga.
- miŋiriri *NM* light, wispy, clouds. *Cf.* mala.
- miŋandadayi *NM* early morning.
- miŋi *Part* (just) now, (just) then. Emphasises immediacy.

- minjiringi *NM* sacred food (during ritual performances).
- mirbundu *NM* very large shovelnose ray (mirṇaḍu). *Syn* ṇaṇirijayu.
- mirg *VIntr*(-jinji) to be jealous, resentful. *VTr*(-jujuṇi) to be jealous or resentful of (person), to dislike (person). *Rdp* mirṇ-mirg.
- miriji *NM* barramundi fish, *Lates calcarifer*. Young: barij. Full-grown: majaṇuwara.
- miriwili *NM* crested pigeon.
- mirṇaḍu *NM* sand-coloured shovelnose ray *sp.* Called ṇaṇij in Nunggubuyu. Very large ones: mirbundu, ṇaṇirijayu. Distinct from wuḍuyun.
- miṇawurumi *NM* tree said to be similar to mayaranja, but with inedible fruits.
- miṇiyi *NM* porpoise. *Syn* yuluyulwiji. *Cf.* manbiṇibiṇi.
- miyaṇigari *NM* a wattle, *Acacia torulosa*. Common at Numbulwar, some at Borroloola. The term muḍiḍi can also be applied to this *sp.* (among others).
- miyi *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -mindini.
- mud *VIntr*(-mindini) to become or be broken. *VIntr*(-ṇini/-yurayi) to become broken. *VTr*(-ganji) to break; to break off (piece). *VTr*(-jaṇi/-niṇuyi) to become fat (corpulent). Subject is 3Sg. *Ex* munṭangu-yi I became fat.
- muḍju *NM* river coolibah, *Eucalyptus microtheca*. *Cf.* waṇan.
- muḍiḍi *NM* thick scrub, jungle; scrub wattles such as *Acacia conspersa* (Numbulwar airstrip) and *Acacia torulosa* (properly miyaṇigari).
- muḍiyani *N* stealthily. *Ex* ṇaṇṭg-aṇi muḍiyani he killed him by stealth (e.g. speared him in the back or killed him while sleeping).
- n-muḍiyani *NNe* stealth. Attested in *Obl* ṇa-muḍiyani stealthily.
- muḍu *N* deaf; disobedient, stubborn; firm (object). *NM* marine fish, possibly a garfish (can be confused with ṇabalaṇu).
- muḍumuḍu *NM* 1. round internal organ of kangaroo, probably appendix.
2. enclosure (e.g. corral) open only at one end.
- mug *VIntr*(-mindini) to forget.
- mugara *NM* 1. tall pandanus (at Numbulwar), *Pandanus spiralis*. *Cf.* buruḷu, mayigaḷ.
2. a lumpy internal organ of turtles, possibly a secondary stomach sac. *Cf.* wilawila, mulgila.
3. barracuda (fish).
- mugawu *NM* bullock. *Syn* bulugi.
- mugur *VIntr*(-jinji) 1. to be stooped forward.
2. to be tangled up.
- mulalu *NM* sedge with edible roots, *Eleocharis dulcis*. *Syn* garabi.
- mulgila *NM* an internal organ of turtles, apparently a secondary stomach sac. *Cf.* wilawila (large stomach), mugara (another secondary stomach sac).
- n-muliriṇ *NNe* skeleton, bones (of dead man). (Text 31.2)
- muluḍungu *NM* tree *sp.* found among mangroves, with broad leaves.
- mululunjur *NM* small bird with reddish throat, dark back, said to eat butterflies.
- muluṇuwa *N* murderer (especially one who murders by sorcery).

- mulurⁱ *NM* mother's mother's brother's son; wife's mother's brother.
- mulurⁱ *NF* (vocative only) mother's mother's brother's daughter; wife's mother.
- mulwari *NM* ordinary boomerang. *Cf.* mangaburuṅa, guyabiri, waluṃbu.
- mulwarwar *NM* a plant similar to mulalu, but not eaten by humans. Said to be good food for broilgas. Applied by some speakers to *Eleocharis sphacelata*, a tall sedge (at ŋujalayⁱ billabong near Ngukurr), but generally applied to a small sedge (perhaps another *Eleocharis sp.*).
- muḷa *NM* ordinary mosquito.
- muḷij *VIntr*(-jinji) to roll up, become coiled or rolled up. *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to roll up.
- muḷuḷ *NM* tree *sp.* with edible seeds.
- mumamuma *NM* Occurs in giṇḍir ṇi-mumamuma 'You have a long penis!' (swearing).
- mun *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to bend over, to bend forward. *VIntr*(-anji) to be bent over. Note: can also be the surface form of mud.
- n-munan *NNe* abdomen section of carcass of kangaroo or bird, consisting mainly of fat.
- munana *N* White (person).
- mundud *VTr*(-bayṇali/-yiṇayi) Occurs only in swearing expressions used in fights. *Ex* gurya mundud+gu-yiṇa eat shit! (Text 40.6)
- munduru *N* in a group or flock. *Ex* munduru wala-ḷa go as a group! *Ex* munduru wa-'-wulu they (birds) sit in a flock.
- munji *VTr*(-jujuñi) to follow; to track (an animal).
- n-munḍa *NNe* vein; sinew, tendon.
- muṇḍi *NM* dog louse. *Cf.* muṇḍul.
- muṇḍul *NM* human head-lice. Eggs: biṛmbiṛ. *Cf.* muṇḍi.
- muṇinguna *NM* parrotfish or tuskfish.
- muñ *VTr*(-bayṇali/-yiṇayi) (mulletts and similar beach fish) to feed in mud or sand. Object is 3Sg.
- muñumuñu *NM* father's sister's son or equivalent relative.
- n-muñumuñu *NF* father's sister's daughter.
- muñur¹ *N* soft; fine (e.g. flour); smooth, without lumps or bumps.
- muñur² *VIntr*(-mindini) to be or become soft, etc. *VTr*(-arṇali) to make soft. *VTr*(-jujuñi) to make soft. *Cf.* preceding entry.
- n-munḡa *NNe* pubic hair (less common than ṇulumurun); quill (of porcupine).
- n-munḡariṇa *NNe* fast-acting poison (used in sorcery). *Cf.* maṇawuriṇa.
- mur *VIntr*(-nani) to be thirsty.
- murañmurañ *NM* tree *sp.* used in making necklaces.
- murarbu *NM* 1. freshwater crab. Occasionally applied to some marine crabs. *Cf.* waril, etc. 2. large dark beetles and/or cockroaches. This sense is less common than sense (1).
- murbindibindi *NM* jabiru (rare word). *Syn* garinji (common).
- murbun *NM* tree *sp.* found in hilly country, probably *Terminalia sp.* Can also be used as a synonym for maḷawal (a different *Terminalia sp.*).
- murgu *N* a few (e.g. three or four). Can take *Pl* wul-, etc.

murguđi *NM* a bone found in dugong (waligi).

murj *VTr*(-bayŋaŋi/-yiŋayi) to crunch (e.g. bone).

n-murji *NNe* hand (including fingers). mani n-murji five (like hand). *Cf.* murji-murji-ya.

murji-murji-ya *NM* scorpion (having many hands). *Cf.* maŋamaŋa (centipede).

murjiwuga *NM* hermit crab. Often found in old ŋiyaga shells. May contain murji (*cf.* n-murji) historically.

murŋmurŋ¹ *NM* bubbles.

murŋmurŋ² *VTr*(-ganji) to make bubbles.

murŋanawu *NM* freshwater mangrove, *Barringtonia acutangula*. Used as fish poison.

murulu *NM* termite (white ant).

n-murunji *NNe* elbow.

murunŋa *NM* dense scrub. *Cf.* jiŋjiŋ, muđiđi.

murunŋun *N* of the murunŋun semimoiety.

mururunŋuŋa *NM* swamphen. *Cf.* đidiŋawaba.

mururunŋu *NM* barracuda (fish). *Syn* mugara.

muŋ *VTr*(-ganji) to pull in (rope).

muŋa *VIntr*(-ŋini/-yurayi) to meet up, to come together (said, for example, of two travellers accidentally meeting in the bush). *VTr*(-ŋinmaŋi) to put (two or more things) together.

muŋamuŋa *NM* milk guts (upper intestines) of dugong. Lower intestines: waŋgar.

muŋi- *NM* father's father, (man's) son's son. *Sffs* -đi my/our, -mar your, -ŋanja his/their. Vocative muŋimuŋi.

n-muŋi- *NF* father's father's sister, (man's) son's daughter. *Sffs.* (as for muŋi-).

muwađa *NM* dugout canoe. *Cf.* ŋajin.

N

ŋamur *NM* water rat.

ŋaŋga *NM* small, fast-moving ray *sp.* found among coral, perhaps *Taeniura lymna*. Called yarba in Nunggubuyu.

N

-na *VTrInfl* See -minani.

-na- *Dem* Occurs in -na-ŋga that/there (Anaphoric), -na-ŋa that/there (Distant). *Obl* -ni-ŋga, -ni-ŋa.

-naja *VTrInfl* See -minani.

-najanaja *VIntrInfl* See -nani.

-naji, -najini *VTrInfl* See -minani.

-nani, -najinajini, etc. *VIntrInfl* intransitive *Aux*. Not to be confused with -minani (*Pa Pot* -nayi) 'to see', although certain forms of the two paradigms coincide. The *Pa Con* form -minani 'saw' has a variant -nani which can be confused with the *Pa Con* form -nani of this intransitive *Aux*. (*Gr* 11.36)

-narjaŋa- *NM* mother's mother's brother's son; wife's mother's brother.

n-ŋa-narjaŋa- *NF* mother's mother's brother's daughter; wife's mother. *Obl* ya-narjaŋa-.

-nay *VTrInfl* See -minani.

-nayi *VTrInfl* See -minani.

-nayinayi *VIntrInfl* See -nani.

-nbuni, etc. *VIntrInfl* See
-gunbuni.

ndaju- *NM* ndaju-mar (your)
younger brother. ndaju-ṇanja
(his/their) younger brother.
Obl ṇa-ndaju-mar, etc. However,
the root seems to be reanalysed
as -ḍaju- in ḍaju-ḍaju-ya
(variant ḍaju-yaju-ya) brothers
(of each other). *Cf.* !imbi-li,
-nirija, ḍaṇan.

n-daju- *NF* younger sister.
Suffixes as for ndaju- (above).
Obl ya-ndaju-.

-ngara *Dem* (is) here. *Ex*
gi-ngara here. *Ex* ṇi-ngara he is
here. *Cf.* ma!i-ngara.

-ni- *Dem* See -na-.

-ni *VIntrInfl* See -nani.

-ni-ba- *NM* sister's child,
spouse's father, etc. *Sffs* -li
(vocative), -ṛi my/our, -mar
your, -ṇanja his/their. *Obl*
ṇa-ni-ba-ṛi, etc. Word-
initially: ṇi-ba-.

-ni-ja- *NM* (man's) son, brother's
son. *Sffs* -li (vocative), -ṛi
my/our, -mar your, ga-ni-ja
his/their.

-niji *VIntrInfl* See -nani.

-niṇa *VTrInfl* See -niṇa!i,
-jagayaga!i.

-niṇa!i *VTrInfl* transitive *Aux*.
Pa Pot -niṇayi or -yagayi.
(*Gr* 11.37-38)

-niṇuy *VTrInfl* See -jañi.

-nirija *NM* (my/our) younger
brother. Word-initially:
ṇirija. *Cf.* ndaju-.

n-ṇa-nirija *NF* (my/our) younger
sister. *Cf.* n-daju-(-ndaju-).
Obl ya-nirija.

njalguyi *NM* adolescent boy. *Pl*
wul-njalguyi or wul-njalgu-
njalguyi.

njijan *NM* totem, dreaming;
totemic site. (Texts 24.3,
25.3)

njirigilil *NM* young water lily
root (gaṇaya).

njiwa *NM* charcoal. *N* bereaved
spouse (widow, widower). *Cf.*
n-ṇaru, walday. *Pl* wul-njiwa-
njiwa.

njiwal *NM* shrub *sp.* with small
fruits in early dry season.
Distinct from jiwal.

njuma *NM* (solid) fat. *Syn*
n-ṇajba. *Cf.* ṇalñin. A
reduplication njuma-njuma
(Text 10.3) is also attested
with the same meaning.

N

ṇad *VIntr*(-!ini/-yurayi) to run,
to move quickly.
VTr(-jagayaga!i) to run or
rush along with. *Rdp* ṇan-ad.

ṇaḍi *NM* brownish frogs (*Syn*
ṇanguṇangu); any frog. *Cf.*
garuḍji.

ṇaga *Part* let's go! Perhaps
ṇa-ga with lInDu prefix ṇa-.

-ṇagur *N* See -agur.

ṇajin *NM* bark canoe. *Cf.*
muwaḍa.

ṇala *N* today; nowadays.

ṇalañi *Part* nearly, almost.

ṇalaymaryi *N* soon. Perhaps
related to ṇala.

ṇalwur *NM* or n-ṇa-ṇalwur *NNe*
dirt (including sandy soil,
but not pure sand on beach).
Cf. n-guljan.

ṇamiri *NM* night, night time.

ṇan *V* See ṇad.

ṇaṇi *N* behind, later. *Cf.* next entry and ṇaṇi-yana.

ṇaṇi *VIntr*(-jinji) to come behind or later.

ṇaṇi-yana *N* behind, following.

ṇaṇi-yirña *N* additional, secondary (e.g. second 'father'). *Cf.* ñiriwan.

ṇargṇarg *NM* burdekin duck.

ṇa-'rgul, ṇa-'rgul-yu *N* See -argul (other).

ṇarjaḷa- *N* See -narjaḷa-, -narjaḷa-ṇa.

ṇaṇirijayu *NM* very large shovelnose ray (mirṇaḍu). *Syn* mirbuṇḍu.

ṇawuṇuḡu *NM* Burnett salmon, *Polydactylus sheridani*. *Cf.* ṇaḷumur (a similar *sp.*).

ṇḍilaṇ *NM* type of kurrajong tree, *Brachychiton diversifolium*. *Syn* baṇurbaṇur.

ṇḍuṇ *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to get up (from sitting or prone position); to get up and set off. *VTr*(-ganji) to get (someone) up, to cause to stand. *Cf.* mai (which can be used for nonhuman objects).

ṇi-ba- *NM* See -ni-ba-.

ṇigan *NM* water lily in shallow water of billabongs, *Nymphaea* ?violacea. Root: gaṇaya. *Cf.* yaḷbun.

ṇi-ja- *NM* See -ni-ja-.

ṇilḡ *VIntr*(-mindini) (bone or knuckle) to be snapped. *VTr*(-arṇaḷi) to snap or 'crack' knuckle or bone. *Rdp* ṇilḡ-ṇilḡ.

ṇinin *NM* double-bar finch.

ṇirija *NM* See -nirija.

ṇiririṇiri *NM* cicada (humming insect). *MR* says that cicadas begin to sing when the green

plum trees (yurmuṇu) are in flower.

ṇiriri *N* small (*Pl*). Not used in *Sg/Du*, *cf.* ṇgiyu. *F/Ne* n-ṇa-ṇiriri. Can take *Pl* wul-, but *Sg* prefixes can also be used (since the stem is already marked as *Pl*).

ṇiriyiri *N* Variant of ṇiriri (possibly a transcriptional error).

ṇiya- *Prf* the one who died at.... *Ex* ṇiya-ṇumbulwar the one who died at Numbulwar. Expressions of this sort can be used in order to avoid pronouncing the name of a dead person (*Gr* 12.9)

ṇuguṇu *NM* tamarind tree (introduced by Macassans), *Tamarindus indicus*.

ṇunga *Part* so that. Often indicates the consequence of an event just mentioned. (*Gr* 13.6)

ṇuruṇuru *NM* mist, fog. *Cf.* yubi.

Ñ

-ña *Dem* 1. this. gi-ña here. *Cf.* -ngara. (*Gr* 7.2)

2. Distant ending following stem -na/-ni-. (*Gr* 7.2)

ñaḍa-'ḍi-ña *N* having (lots of) skin. From n-ñaḍin.

n-ñaḍin *NNe* skin; tree bark.

ñaḡagul *NM* tree with large leaves along rivers or near springs, said to be common at Hodgson Downs.

n-ñaḡuguluḡu *NNe* mid-afternoon. *Cf.* yawuryawur. (Text 6.1)

ñaḷ *VTr*(-ganji) to support (someone, in a dispute or fight).

ñali *VIntr*(-mindini) to be satisfied (with food or drink), to have had enough.

ñal *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to shut (said of door, etc.). *VIntr*(-anji) (door, etc.) to be shut. *VTr*(-jujuñi) to shut; to close off (tap, etc.); to sew up.

ñalñal *NM* bloodwood with long thin nuts, *Eucalyptus polycarpa*. *Syn* jaññin.

ñamarjaña *NM* daytime, daylight.

ñambala *NM* mouth almighty fish.

-ñambuni, etc. *VTrInfl* to quarrel with, to swear at. *Cf.* ñari. (*Gr* 11.39; *Text* 40.6)

ñanañanayi *N* far away. *Cf.* ñanay. (*Text* 40.98)

ñanay *N* long way. *Ex* wari-|ini ñanay they went a long way.

ñarbañarba *N* sweet.

ñawaḍ *NM* red-backed kite (hawk).

ña-wudarma(r) *N* See n-gudarma.

ñawuḷ *N* behind, following. *Cf.* ñaṇi. (*Text* 42.3)

ñayaṛi *N* in a group. *Ex* ñayaṛi wa-'-wuḷu he sits with big group.

ñayayi *N* quietly, inoffensively. *Ex* ñayayi wa-'-wuḷu he sits quietly.

ñiba *NM* tree sap.

ñiḍ *VTr*(-ganji) to retract the foreskin of (someone). *VTr*(-arṇaḷi) (same meaning).

ñil *VTr*(-jinji) to be covered. *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to cover; to bury.

ñila *NM* quill (of porcupine). *Syn* n-muṅga.

ñilñiluna *NM* great trevally (large marine fish). *Syn* jiribuṛiwuṛi.

ñilṇ *VIntr*(-mindini) (log, etc.). to be immersed in water, to be soaking. *Cf.* gur.

ñilañila *NM* shrub sp. with thorns.

ñim *VTr*(-ganji) to stop overnight, to camp out overnight. *Cf.* yaṇa.

ñimbur *VIntr*(-mindini) 1. (fire, light, etc.) to sputter.

2. (person) to have eyes drooping, to have trouble staying awake.

ñimug *VIntr*(-mindini) to become dark. Also ṇimug.

ñimur *VIntr*(-gunbuni) (wind) to become very calm, dead still. *Cf.* ḍaj.

-ñindi *Sff* toward, going toward.

-ñingar *Sff* toward (here).

ñiñi *N* wul-ñiñi the Seven Sisters (stellar constellation).

ñiṇñiṇ *N* blunt (not sharp). The term gunja (harmless) is also frequently used in this context.

ñiriwan *N* second, additional, subsequent. *Cf.* ṇaṇi-yirña. (*Texts* 6.4, 6.6)

ñiṛi *NM* curse song (sung to magically murder someone, to bring rain, etc.).

ñiw *VTr*(-ganji) to bend, to straighten (by bending into shape).

n-ñiyin *NNe* name(d). (*Text* 21.2)

ñugur *N* sacred.

ñumaranja *NM* his/her/their sister's son. *Cf.* -ni-ba-.

n-ñumaranja *NF* his/her/their sister's daughter. *Cf.* ṇayi-wa-.

ñur *VIntr*(-mindini) to blow nose.

ñurg *VIntr*(-mindini) to say 'yes!', to assent.

ñuru *N* dirty (water). *Cf.* galagi.

N

ña *VIntr*(-mindini) (turtle) to surface, to come up to the surface. *Rdp* ña-ña. *Cf.* ñiř.

ñaba *Part* also.

ñabalañu *NM* marine garfish.
Cf. muđu.

ñabaliña or n-ñabaliña *NNe* collar fat of turtle.

ñabař *VIntr*(-mindini) to die (*cf.* ñalag); to be sick; to be motionless.

ñabařñabař *N* sick.

ña-biñiñi *NM/NF* younger brother's child! Vocative of biñi-đi.

ñadjinadji *NM* type of stone edge (used as tool for cutting or sawing wood). *Cf.* gurb-gurb.

ñadij *NM* hibiscus used for spear shafts, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

ñadugu *NM* rope. *Cf.* jibar.

ñagaguyañu *NM* freshwater snake, *Amphiesma mairii*.

ñagñag *NM* white-breasted sea-eagle. *Syn* jađbaramba, wuriyałanga.

ñaja *Part* give me! *Cf.* -wanani. *Cf.* next entry.

ñaja *VIntr*(-mindini) to ask (for something), to request. *Ex* murji ñaja+ña-ma I asked with my hands (i.e. by holding one hand out and turning it palm up, in sign language). *VTr*(-biliñali) to ask (for something) from. *Ex* ñaja+ñangu-wiliña he asked me (for something). *Cf.* preceding entry.

ñajal *NM* (water) well. *Cf.* next entry.

ñajal *VTr*(-jujuñi) to dig a well. *Cf.* ñur, also preceding entry.

ñajamu *NM* (woman's) younger sister's son.

n-ñajamu *NF* (woman's) younger sister's daughter; mother's elder sister. *Cf.* n-gađigađi.

ñajar *NM* 1. rifle.

2. a species of gecko lizard. Distinct from yaminji.

n-ñajba *NNe* (solid) fat. *Syn* njuma.

ñaji *NM* small plant (fern?). (Term obtained from A, not recognised by MR.)

ñajiliñajili *NM* old green turtle (yunduñuga).

ñal *VIntr*(-nani) (object) to be warm (not hot). *Cf.* wuñ, jađ.

ñalabura *NM* white clay (used as paint).

ñalađa *NM* cattail, *Typha sp.*

ñalanga *NM* river red gum, *Eucalyptus camaldulensis*.

n-ñalanin *NNe* inland (area some distance from the coast). *Cf.* mañangu.

ñalarbañgu *N* big penis! (swearword).

n-ñalbun *NNe* (large) bee eggs. *Cf.* gurya.

ñalg *VIntr*(-mindini) (sense unclear; see Text 42.14).

ñalgigarabi *NM* brackish (water). *Cf.* guñđađa.

ñaliga *Part* go on! Very common particle indicating encouragement. Often translatable: 'try!' (Text 42.7)

ñalmi *VIntr*(-mindini) to have one's thirst quenched.

qalmuruña *NM* female blue-tongued lizard (jayawuru).

qalñin *NM* liquid fat; grease; honey (substance).

qaluru *NM* (my/our) father. *Cf.* wabi-mar, ga-nariña.

qal *VIntr*(-mindini) to speak; to make a sound. *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) (ritual) to be in progress. *VTr*(-jañi/-niquyi) to speak to.

n-qa-lalu-mar *NF* See -lalu-mar.

qalaqala *NM* small eel-tailed catfish *sp.* *Syn* mijuruqu.

qalarqalar *NM* worm.

qalay *VTr*(-ganji) to strip off (stringybark, yulway). *Cf.* ñirir.

qaliga *NM* type of woomera. Distinct from wujula.

qalili *NM* headache. *Cf.* raw.

n-qalimur *NNe* collarbone. *Obt* ña-qalimur.

qalu¹ *NM* bees wax. *Syn* mañagar. *Cf.* next entry. (Text 12.2)

qalu² *VTr*(-jujuñi) to apply wax to (spear shaft). (Text 12.2)

qalumur *NM* salmon *sp.* with streamers shorter than those of *ñawuqugu*, probably *Eleutheronema tetradactylum* and/or *Polydactylus plebeius*.

n-qalunji *NF* female euro (girimbu).

qamba *VTr*(-jañi/-niquyi) to summon, to send for (someone). (Text 30.3)

qambij *VTr*(-mindini) to lick (something)

qambinqambi or qambinqambin a type of wild potato, very similar to duymanji.

qambinqambi *N* Occurs in ñijar

ñi-qambinqambi you have big vulva! (swearing).

qambud *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) to drown; to become submerged. *VTr*(-ganji) to drown (someone); to submerge (something). *VTr*(-arqali) to drown, to submerge (something, someone). *Rdp* qambud-qambud.

qamiriña *N* these days, nowadays. *Ex* qamiriña qa-jawulba I am old now.

n-qanibuluqa *NNe* chest section of meat and fat from dugong (waligi). *Obt* ña-qanibuluqa.

n-qa-nirija *NF* See -nirija.

n-qanja *NNe* belly. Can also indicate emotional state, as in combinations like qanja wirju+qa-ma I am unhappy (no-good belly).

qanjayana *N* pregnant. *Cf.* ruq, mäluya.

qanarg *VTr*(-ganji) to snore. Object is 3Sg. *Ex* qanarg+qa-ganjiyi I am snoring. *Rdp* qanarg-qanarg.

n-qanqal *NNe* mouth; blade (of spear, especially shovel spear).

qanqalqa *VIntr*(-mindini) to be sleepy.

n-qanqarara *NNe* jowls, flesh under chin; gills (of fish).

qanqargala *NM* supplejack tree, *Ventilago viminalis*.

qani *Part* how about it? Also qani guda.

qañaw *VIntr*(-mindini) (lightning) to flash; to stick out tongue. *Cf.* miñim, miñiq, miliw.

qangul *VIntr*(-jinji) to sit with legs crossed.

qanguqangu *NM* brown frog *sp.* *Syn* qadi. *Cf.* garudji.

- qar *VTr*(-bayṇaḷi/-yīṇayi) to smell, to sniff. *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to emit a smell.
- qara *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to look; to look around. *Cf.* baṛa.
- qarabuṇa *NM* painted sweetlips (marine fish).
- qarambili *NM* centipede. *Syn* maḷamaḷa.
- qaraṇaṇaraṇa *NM* young flowers of yalbun water lily. *Cf.* marayuḷuyūḷu.
- qarayaḷ *NM* Saratoga fish, *Scleropages jardinii*.
- qarbaḍa *NM* long edible yam *sp.*
- qarḡ *VIntr*(-anji) to be hidden. *VTr*(-ganji) to conceal (something); to steal (woman). *VTr*(-ḷinmaḷi) to conceal (something). *Ex* qarḡ+qa-ḷinmaḷi ṇimba-ni I concealed it from you. *Rdp* qarḡ-qarḡ.
- qarḡḡḡḡḡḡ *NM* hook spear with long barbs. *Syn* qarḡijba. *Cf.* mayaḷuṅgu.
- qarḡijba *NM* hook spear with long barbs. *Syn* qarḡḡḡḡḡḡ. *Cf.* mayaḷuṅgu.
- qarḡu *NM* billabong (pond). Occasionally found in Multiple reduplication: qarḡu-qarḡu.
- qarḡulamba *NM* agile (sandy) wallaby. Adult male: jidbiḷiri, giwararama. Female: malurunguruna.
- n-qari *NNe* fight, argument. *Cf.* next entry.
- qari *VTr*(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to have a fight. Object always 3Sg. *Ex* qari+willi-ji they had a fight. *VTr*(-bilingaḷi) to have a fight with (someone). *Ex* qari+ṇangu-wilinga he had a fight with me. *Cf.* n-qari (above), -ñambuni.
- qariḡal *VTr*(-ganji) to be a source of dispute for (someone). *Ex* qariḡal+wulḡ-añi it made them
- angry; it was what they were angry about. (Text 14.1)
- qariwa *Part* hopefully. *Ex* qariwa wu-ḷindi I hope he will go.
- n-qarmaḷ *NNe* armpit; pectoral fin (of fish).
- qarmaḷirña *NM* rock cod *sp.* with reddish markings. wanguwa. *Cf.* yimayiri.
- n-qaru *NF* mother of deceased, bereaved mother. *Cf.* walday, njiwa.
- qarḡ *VIntr*(-jinji) to have erect penis.
- n-qa-ṛaba *NNe* See -ṛaba.
- n-qa-ṛadbur *NNe* See -ṛadbur.
- qarṇanji *NM* grass (generic term). *Syn* wiji.
- qarawañ *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to go through trees (i.e. off the road); to take shortcut (through trees). (Text 40.6). *VTr*(-jinji) to go through trees; to take shortcut through trees. Object is 3Sg. (Text 40.8)
- n-qa-ṛimbir *NNe* See -ṛimbir.
- n-qa-ṛinaṛina *NNe* See -ṛinaṛina.
- qarḡ *VTr*(-jujuñi) to carve (e.g. marks in side of boomerang). *Rdp* qarḡ-ṇarḡ.
- qarug *NM* southern stone curlew. *Syn* guwiḷu.
- n-qa-ṛuru *NNe* See -ṛuru.
- n-qawura *NNe* turtle kidney.
- qay *VIntr*(-mindini) to be sick. *Cf.* qabaṛ.
- qayab *VIntr*(-mindini) to be quiet; to cease (doing something). *Ex* qayab+gu-mi shut up! *Rdp* qaya-qayab.

- VTr(-jujuñi) to cause (someone) to be quiet.
- ṇayigan NM or n-ṇayigan NNe bone; shell.
- ṇayi-wa- NF sister's daughter, etc. Sffs -li (vocative), -ḍi my/our, -mar your, -ṇanja his/their.
- ṇayiwur NM steel hill.
- ṇayi-ya- NF (man's) daughter, brother's daughter. Sffs -li (vocative), -ḍi my/our, -mar you. His/their n-ga-ni-ja.
- ṇga Sff Anaphoric suffix used after demonstrative root -na-/-ni-. (Gr 7.2)
- n-galin (-ṇgalin) NNe end of spear shaft to which blade is attached. Opposite (butt end): n-gurya. Obl ña-ṇgalin.
- n-galman (-ṇgalman) NNe cheek. Obl ña-ṇgalman.
- ṇgaḷuṇar NM rock waterhole.
- ṇgamar NM big rock, boulder.
- ṇgarmulmul NM immature wild banana plant (ṇuriḍin), *Leichhardtia australis*.
- ṇgaṛar NM river whistling tree, *Casuarina cunninghamiana*. Cf. waguwagu.
- ṇgawil VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi) to go through crack, crevice, or pass (between two masses). Cf. mbaḷṇa.
- n-gawil (-ṇgawil) NNe pass, gap (e.g. between two steep hills). Cf. -mbaḷṇa.
- ṇgawuja NM water lily (*Nymphaea* sp.) root corm, roughly shaped, in deep water. Cf. yaḷbun.
- ṇgawurwa NM honey bee, *Trigona* sp., which nests in the ground or among rocks (not in trees like other *Trigona* spp.).
- ṇgilinggiliṇa NM galah (bird).
- ṇgilṽyiringgilṽyiri N dreamtime beings whose travels are the basis for the gunabibi ritual. Female: guṇḍaṇḍijji. Cf. also jargun, guraṇaṇaṇaṇa.
- n-gimiñin (-ṇgimiñin) NNe circumcision ground. Obl ña-ṇgimiñin. Cf. maṇḍiwa.
- ṇgiṛu N See ṇgiyu.
- ṇgiyu N small. Used in Sg/Du. Also ṇgiyu-gaṇa. Pl ṇiriri. For human referent (child), usually ṇgiyu-ña. (Text 36.2)
- ṇgiyu-ña N See ṇgiyu. (Text 30.2).
- ṇgiyu-gaṇa N See ṇgiyu. (Texts 30.1, 36.1)
- ṇgumir NM shrub with edible white fruits, *Antidesma ghaesembilla*.
- ṇguṛiñma NM or n-guṛiñma NNe burrow (of goanna, etc.).
- n-guwur (-ṇguwur) NNe dark-coloured inner bark of tree. Obl ña-ṇguwur.
- ṇi! Part yes! (indicates assent to a request or suggestion). Cf. yi!
- n-ṇibiṇibuna NNe See n-ṇibuṇibuna.
- ṇibunani N the next day. Cf. ṇibuṇibuna. (Text 7.5)
- n-ṇibuṇibuna NNe tomorrow; tomorrow morning. Sometimes used in Obl ña-ṇibuṇibuna. Cf. miṇandadayi. Day after tomorrow ña-ṇibuṇibuna ṇa-'rgul-yu (cf. -argul). Var ṇibiṇibuna, etc.
- ṇilili NM little corella (bird).
- ṇil VTr(-biliṇaḷi) to ask (someone) for something. Ex ṇil+angu-wiliṇa he asked me (for tobacco, etc.). Syn ṇaja.
- ṇimug VIntr(-mindini) to become dark. Also ñimug.

ninjaru! *Part* yes indeed!

nirgning NM chestnut rail (bird).
Syn jaraɖadbuwa, alangarbuɖa.

nir-min *N* pale, light-coloured
(e.g. flesh of White man). Does
not apply to (pure) white colour,
cf. buralg-min.

nirwula NM sulphur-crested
cockatoo.

nir VTr(-niŋa|i) to breathe;
(dugong, etc.) to surface in
order to breathe.

n-niɖa NNe hip joint.

niyarin *N* quickly disposed of,
not requiring a long time (e.g.
intestines of carcass, which can
be quickly cooked and eaten while
the rest is slowly cooking); as
adverb (n-niyarin NNe), without
waiting. (Texts 6.8, 10.3)

nubaɖura *N* late afternoon, dusk.
Syn yawuryawur. *Cf.* ŋagulugulu.

nubari NM dart (queenfish),
Chorinemus sp.

nugu NM water (especially fresh
water). *Cf.* wabuda.

gula *Part* not; don't! Negative
particle used in future negative
(which includes negative
imperative). *Cf.* ganagu.

gulaŋaŋ NM horizontal stick in
fire-drill (has a hole into
which the vertical stick,
buɖalar, is inserted).

gulawar NM 1. any honey bee *sp.*
and its honey and wax.

2. 'short-nosed' honey bee,
Trigona sp., in contrast to
other species like ɖulbari,
ŋawurwa, and gaŋamuru. *Syn*
(sense 2): ɠulɠun, wanjimbul.

ɠuliji NM or n-ɠuliji NNe blood.

ɠuliŋ-min *N* (deep) red. Related
to ɠuliji. *Cf.* mayŋu-mayŋu-ya.

ɠulɠun NM honey bee, *Trigona sp.*

Called ŋa:nig in Nunggubuyu.
Syn ɠulawar, wanjimbul.

ɠulumidin NM large fork-tailed
catfish *sp.*, called yirɖi in
Nunggubuyu. *Cf.* ɠuru.

ɠulumurun NM pubic hair.

ɠuluɖ NM black whip snake.

ɠulumuru NM nail-tailed wallaby,
Onychogalea sp. (locally called
'left-handed wallaby').

ɠulɠal NM his/their elder
brother. *Cf.* baba.

n-ɠulɠal NF his/their elder
sister. *Cf.* n-baba.

n-ɠunanjina NNe long distance
(refers to distance covered by
a traveller, rather than the
distance between two points
considered abstractly). *Ob!*
ŋa-ɠunanjina. (Text 5.1)

ɠunbilili NM tree with edible
fruits, sometimes found in
rainforest (e.g. with miga|i)
but sometimes in hilly areas.

n-ɠundurɠundur NNe throat.

ɠunju *N* same, identical, very
similar.

ɠunumanguyur *N* further in,
further up, further down, etc.
Cf. wuningi. (Texts 26.2,
42.14, 40.20)

ɠur VTr(-jujuŋi) to dig (for
water). VTr(-jinji) to dig
(for water). VIntr(-mindini)
to make roaring or rumbling
sound (e.g. tractor).

ɠurgman NM breastbone.

ɠuridin NM wild banana,
Leichhardtia australis.
Immature: ɠgarmu|mul.

ɠurij NM Pacific (olive) Ridley
turtle, *Lepidochelys olivacea*.

ɠurindayi *N* a few days ago;
in a few days.

ɢuru NM freshwater fork-tailed catfish *sp.*, like ɢulumidin but with shorter snout, *Hexanematichthys sp.* Called ɢaɢuru in Nunggubuyu.
 ɢurubu NM or n-ɢurubu NNe ribs.
 ɢurudu NM certain eucalypts such as *Eucalyptus grandifolia*.
 ɢuruɭaɢa NM golden trevally (marine fish).
 ɢuruma N deep (water); steep (slope or bank). Cf. baɢɢar-min.
 ɢuruwilaɢila NM a trevally-like fish, like ɢuruɭaɢa but with flatter sides.
 ɢuwa NM 1. a small shrub or woody climbing vine with small inedible red and black berries, *Abrus precatorius*.
 2. recently burnt grassland. Syn wuɢawuɢa.
 ɢuwi-ri N eastward. Cf. ɢaɢu, waga-yana.
 ɢuy VIntr(-ɭini/-yurayi) to swim.
 ɢuyɢuy NM cowtail ray. Syn maɭɢar, maɢarimagari. Can also be used as a general term for small rays, as in 'I am hunting for rays'.

R

ɢa VTr(-jujuɳi) 1. to skin (animal). Cf. jigiɢ.
 2. to be cold (subject is 3Sg, object is sufferer). Ex ɢaɢaɢu-jujuɳuni I am cold.
 n-ɢa-ɢaba NNe fingernail, toenail. Obl ɳa-ɢaba. Syn n-ɢa-ɢinaɢina.
 ɢadbur NM or n-ɢa-ɢadbur NNe camp, dwelling; country.
 ɢaɢ V See ɢaɢ.
 ɢaɢambaɢu NM large shellfish *sp.* said to dive into mud when frightened.
 ɢaɢulunju NM triton (trumpet shell, *Syrinx aruanus*).
 ɢajar NM harpoon used in hunting dugong and marine turtles. Cf. maɭbi, mawaɭ, jiwaɭ.
 ɢajbar NM tall riverside paper-bark tree, narrow-leaved *Melaleuca leucadendron*. Syn guruɭuwul (more common).
 ɢal VTr(-jaɳi/-niɢuyi) to hook (spear) onto woomera. Rdp ɢal-ɢal.
 ɢala NM tick (on dog, bullock, etc.).
 ɢala-ɢala-ya N having (lots of) ticks.
 ɢalga NM paperbark coolamon (container) tied up with string. Cf. bululu.
 ɢalyi NM eel.
 ɢaman NM white emu down, used as a decoration in rituals and corroborees. Cf. baruwa, wurbur.
 ɢama-ɢama-ɳa N having (lots of) ɢaman.
 ɢambana NM form of the paperbark *Melaleuca leucadendron* with crooked trunk on stable sand dunes, as at Numbulwar. Distinct from the narrow-leaved riverbank form, guruɭuwul (or ɢajbar), found at Ngukurr.
 ɢambi N together. Ex ɢuwu-ɢambi wala-ɭa you all go together! (Text 36.3)
 ɢamulbiya NM wattle with flower spike, perhaps *Acacia difficilis*. Cf. baɭa.
 ɢamulu NM marine perch or bream *sp.*
 ɢanuga NM spotted butterflyfish, *Scatophagus argus*.
 ɢaɢ VTr(-ganji) to hit (hard),

- to kill; to make string (jibar); to perform (jargun ceremony).
Ex ɾaŋ+bala-ganji-lana they were fighting (hitting each other).
Rdp ɾaŋ-aŋ.
- ɾaŋa *NM* paperbark tree similar to jamanbara (ti-tree), the bark of which is used in making coolamons. Perhaps *Melaleuca nervosa*.
- ɾara *NM* spangled perch, *Madigania unicolor*.
- ɾaraɟara *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) (tide) to go out.
- ɾaragal *NM* mangrove sp. with reddish wood inside bark, *Bruguiera* sp. (including *Bruguiera sexangula* at Numbulwar). Can also refer to sharp sticks made from this tree, used as weapons.
- ɾarbi *NM* a wattle, *Acacia auriculaeformis* (common near jungle at Numbulwar). May also cover one or two other similar wattles.
- ɾar-min *N* Occurs in ɟijar ni-ɾar-min you have big vulva! (swearing).
- ɾaruraru *NAdj* having one or more holes (e.g. boat, clothing).
- ɾaw *VIntr*(-jinji) to have a headache. Often reduplicated: ɾaw-ɾaw. *Cf.* ɲa|i|i.
- ɾawuɟawu *NM* sandhill.
- ɾayi *NM* bird (generic term). (Texts 40.38, 41.2).
- ɾenbur *NM* paper wasp.
- ɾeywuy *NM* sand fly (tiny biting insect).
- ɾidiɾidi *NM* walking stick. *Syn* gaŋɟina.
- ɾilgara *NM* vine with leaves which are made into armbands (maningiri), *Flagellaria indica*.
- ɾimbir *NM* or n-ŋa-ɾimbir *NNe* leaf; leaves and branches, foliage.
- n-ŋa-ɾinaɾina *NNe* fingernail, toenail. *Obl* ŋa-ɾinaɾina. *Syn* n-ŋa-ɾaba.
- ɾirbaɾirba *NM* Caspian tern and similar large terns. *Cf.* jilig.
- ɾirmul *NM* skinny, thin. *FSg/Ne:* n-ɾirmul or n-ŋa-ɾirmul.
- ɾugalara *N* long; tall. *FSg/Ne:* ɾugalara or n-ŋa-ɾugalara.
- ɾugaɾuga *NM* marine creature said to be similar to trepang (ɟariba), but darker in colour.
- ɾujuru *NM* young green turtle (yunduŋuga).
- ɾulgu *NM* Occurs in giŋɟir ni-ɾulgu you have swollen penis! (swearing).
- ɾulul *NM* boil (sore). *Cf.* n-bubu.
- ɾululŋana *NM* sooty oystercatcher (bird). *Cf.* guɟaguɟayi.
- ɾuŋ *VTr*(-galuni) to be carrying (child) in womb, to be pregnant with.
- ɾuŋgal *NM* bait (small fish, etc.).
- ɾuŋguɾuŋgurji *NM* bird sp. found in mangroves.
- ɾuŋuriŋ *NM* river (whaler) shark. *Syn* jinma.
- ɾuraɾura *NM* freshwater insect found on surface of billabong, eaten by tortoises. Sometimes this term is confused with ɾuruɾuru.
- ɾurŋul *NM* or n-ɾurŋul/n-ŋa-ɾurŋul *NNe* lung.
- ɾuru *NM* or n-ŋa-ɾuru *NNe* rib section (of carcass), including fat.

ɾurun NM a mangrove, *Ceriops tagal*.

ɾurururu NM snail sp. Cf. ɾuraɾura.

ɾuy VTr(-jujuñi) to crouch down (said of harpooner, maɭbiñgari, getting ready to harpoon dugong). Object is 3Sg. Ex ɾuy+ɳa-ji I stooped forward in prow of canoe. (Text 6.6)

R

-ra Sff Suffix added to Immediate demonstratives, e.g. ɳaŋga-ya-ra that one (just there). (Gr 7.2)

-ri- Prf Prefix which forms the Obl stem (-ri-ya-) of the Immediate demonstrative root -ya-. (Gr 7.2)

-ri Sff Form taken by -ra (cf. above) when followed by bugi, as in ga-ya-ri bugi 'right there'.

W

wa- Prf Obl form of ga-, as in wa-ri-ya-yani from there.

wa VTr(-jujuñi) to cook (liver and meat from rays) by holding a burning stick (jiwuyiwulya) next to it.

-wa VTrInfl See -wanani.

wab VIntr(-jinji) to be warm. VIntr(-gunbuni) to land, to hit the ground (plane, bird, thrown object).

wabawaba NM clothing. Cf. baɾaga.

wabilimar NM large freshwater eel-tailed catfish sp., *Neosilurus ?ater*. Called aŋŋalbiya in Nunggubuyu.

wabi-mar NM (your) father. Cf. ɳaluru, ga-nariña.

wabuda NM drinking water.

Cf. ɳugu (usual word for water).

wadadawadada NM soldier crab.

wadjunɖu NM large, fairly old, dark form of the sand goanna, *Varanus gouldii* (waɖabir).

waɖabir NM sand goanna, *Varanus gouldii*. Particular forms: wadjundu, baɳmunu, giraba, baɭiri.

waɖaŋuraŋura NM large male mud crab (waɾil), *Scylla serrata*. Cf. n-wanjin (female).

waɖaŋarin NM moon. Cf. ɖaŋaɖaŋa.

waɖara VTr(-ganji) to think about; to remember.

waɖara Part hard, vigorously. Ex waɖara ɳaɭtu-mi speak loudly! Cf. ɳunumanguyur. (Text 42.14)

waɖawaɖa NM coastal tree with large leaves, used for spear shafts, *Macaranga tanarius*.

waɖgar NM fire (campfire or bush fire, except wurgmalan); firewood. (Text 27.2)

waɖiri N name of a western group of Yanyula-speaking people.

n-waɖugara NF young girl (before puberty).

waɖuwaɖu NM or n-waɖuwaɖu NNe liver.

wag VIntr(-mindini) to become black; to become dirty. Cf. wag-min.

wagaɖawagaɖa NM bull.

wag-min N black, dark; dirty. Cf. wag.

wagur N child! Vocative of -agur.

wagura NM totems of one's mother's clan. Cf. juŋgayi.

waguru NM tall pandanus, *Pandanus ?spiralis*. Syn mugara.

Cf. mayiga], burulu.

waguwagu *NM* coastal whistling tree, *Casuarina equisetifolia*. *Syn* jaɓbur. Can be confused with cypress (maɗungurun).

waja *N* wet.

waja *VIntr*(-mindini) to get wet. *VTr*(-jañi/-niɗuyi) to wet, to make (something) wet.

wajaɓ *NM* mud.

wajawaya *NM* eggs found inside female turtle (yunduɗuga).

wajawul *NM* tree *sp.*, apparently a eucalypt with dark bark at base, common in spring country.

wajgalɗu *NM* sea-wasp (red jelly-fish). *Cf.* gujirwujir.

-waji, -waju, etc. *VTrInfl* See -wanani.

wal *VIntr*(-jinji) to step, to put foot down. *VTr*(-jinji) to step on (something).

wala *VTr*(-jañi/-niɗuyi) to ask (someone), to inquire of (someone). *Cf.* ɗiɓ, ɗaja.

walandarbuɗa *NM* chestnut rail (bird). Variant of alandarbuɗa. *Syn* jaraɗadbuwa.

walangarama *N* leader; very skillful, outstanding. An interjection: 'congratulations!' (in context 'good shot!' and so forth).

n-walangarama *NNe* lowest rib. *Cf.* preceding entry.

walday *NN* father of deceased, bereaved father.

wali *NM* buffalo.

waligi *NM* dugong. Specific age-sex terms: bayawiji, gurwiji, yibiɗbiji, mayili, jawaruwaru, jawuru. The term waligi refers explicitly to dugong as opposed to marine turtles; in

expressions like 'I am hunting for dugong' we usually find the term walja (including dugong and turtles) since the hunter may end up getting a turtle instead of a dugong. (Text 42.8)

-waliɗa, etc. *VTrInfl* See -baliɗaɓi.

walmabaɗa *NM* marine fork-tailed catfish, like mijuruɗu but bigger.

walmaɗ *NM* a plum tree, *Terminalia carpentariae* (common inland from Numbulwar); wax-like resin from this tree. *Cf.* maɗawal.

walmaraba *NM* blue swimmer crab, *Portunus pelagicus*.

walulu *NM* wind; cyclone. Winds from specified directions: maɗun, bara.

walwur *VIntr*(-gunbuni) (rain) to pour down hard. *Cf.* jiɓ, gubijiji. (Text 11.3)

wal *VTr*(-ganji) to strongly desire, to crave. With n-walwaɓ desire as subject and person as object: to have an urge or impulse. *Ex* ña-walwaɓ wal+ang-añi I had an urge. *Ex* wal+ang-añi he/she (has come to) crave me. (*Pa Pun*, translating English *Pr.*) *Var* war.

walaɗ *VIntr*(-ɓini/-yurayi) (sky) to clear up, to become cloudless.

walajandama *NM* marine crocodile. *Cf.* ɗaɗajara.

walaɗ *NM* hill coolibah, *Eucalyptus tectifica*. Common at Ngukurr. River coolibah mudju.

walaɗan *NM* fish (generic term).

walbu-ri *N* downward. *Cf.* wuɓun, wiɓ-yana.

walgar NM lower intestines of dugong. Cf. muramura. Not applied to other animals.

walgara-nura NM a small stomach sac in dugong. Not the main stomach (wilawila). Related to walgar.

walguwalgu NM necklace made from fur of native cat (yinigini).

waliburu N of the Alawa language group. Syn alawa, galawa.

walij VTr(-ganji) to rub out (e.g. drawing or diagram made in sand); to wipe off (nose).

walima¹ NM circumcised boy, 'single boy'. Was also formerly applied (as n-walima NF) to a girl after the corresponding female operation. Cf. malayara.

walima² VTr(-ganji) to circumcise (boy); to make (boy) 'young man'.

walja NM dugong and marine turtles (not freshwater tortoises). Ex na-jura na-walja. I will go hunting for dugong and/or turtles. Usually refers primarily to dugong, with marginal inclusion of turtles. The term waligi refers explicitly to dugong as opposed to turtles. (Texts 3.1, 5.3, 5.4, 20.1, 27.2, 30.3)

walmañ NM duck sp. said to be very similar to midbirimbaña (black duck) but smaller. Probably grey teal.

walumbu NM 1. bullwaddy tree, *Macropteranthes kekwickii*. Found to southeast of Mara country (e.g. around Elliott), but its wood was formerly obtained in trade.
2. very large boomerang (mulwari).

n-walwal or n-warwar NNe desire, craving. Cf. wal for an example. (Cf. Text 7.1)

wamba NM 1. gum (edible hardened sap on bark of some trees, such as miyaḡiḡi).

2. tree sp., 'snappy gum'.
Syn mandaḡura.

wambaraḡa NM rock wallaby, *Petrogale* sp. Syn waṅgugu.

wambi NM humpy. From English.

wambigud NM plant with edible berries but with prickles, probably *Solanum* sp. Not seen.

wambu¹ Part no! (rejection of request).

wambu² VIntr(-mindini) to refuse, to say 'no!'.

-wanani, etc. VTrInfl to give to. Object is recipient. Ex ṅangu-wanani. He gave (it) to me. Pa Pot -wayi. (Gr 11.40; Texts 35.1, 36.2)

wangiṅar NM small grass sp. seen at Ngukurr. (Obtained from A, not recognised by MR.)

wanjimbul NM honey bee, *Trigona* sp. Syn ṅulṅun, ṅulawar.

n-wanjin NF female mud crab (waḡil). Male: waḡañurañura.

waṅa NM shaft (of spear).

waṅambira NM native cat. Syn yinigini.

waṅan VIntr(-mindini) to be lost, to be absent (said usually of a person).
VIntr(-ḡini/-yurayi) to go out of sight, to become lost (to view). VIntr(-anji) to be away, to not be here.

waṅajba NM yesterday. Cf. next entry.

waṅajba-yirña NM 1. day before yesterday.

2. last night.

waṅgirma NM male brush-tailed possum (gujaṅi).

waṅugu NM rock wallaby, *Petrogale* sp. Syn wambaraḡa.

- waŋgu *NM* black plum tree, *Vitex glabrata*.. Some at Numbulwar and Ngukurr. *Syn* gulinja.
- wañin *NM* stone spear.
- wañma¹ *N* alive.
- wañma² *VTr*(-jujuñi) to keep (someone) alive.
- waŋa *VTr*(-ganji) to coil up (rope, etc.). *Cf.* muñij, ðuñ.
- waŋgadiyin *NM* quinine bush, *Petalostigma pubescens*. *Syn* mañungariñin.
- waŋgaŋaŋin *NM* crow. *Syn* waŋgwaŋg.
- waŋga-'nga-yana *N* on the east side.
- waŋgay *VIntr*(-jinji) to be awake.
- waŋga-yana *N* from the east. *Cf.* gaŋu, ŋuwi-ri.
- waŋgiŋ or waŋgiñ *N* one; the same one.
- waŋgu-*i NM/NF* Vocative of gaŋgu-.
- waŋguwa *NM* rock cod *sp.* with reddish markings. *Syn* ŋarmañirña. *Cf.* yimayiri.
- n-waŋuḍuwa *NF* dancing woman (in circumcision ritual). *Pl* wul-waŋuḍuwa.
- war *VTr*(-ganji) to sing (open or secret ritual songs, with boomerang accompaniment; *cf.* da); to call (name). *VIntr*(-mindini) to grind (e.g. water lily seeds); to grind or sharpen (knife, etc.).
- wara *VTr*(-bilineñi) to aim at.
- wara *N* father and child.
- warabawaraba *NM* spider.
- waraja *N* on the top (inland).
- waraja-maryi *N* along/across the top (inland).
- waraja-ri *N* upward, to the top (inland, upriver).
- waraji-yana *N* from the top (inland).
- waranjal *NM* a small tree found in scrubland, *Grevillea pungens*.
- wararaji-yana *N* on the top (inland).
- wararaŋgałba *NM* pied heron (nests in mangroves). Also mararaŋgałba.
- warawarari *NM* diamond-scaled mullet, *Liza vaigiensis*. *Syn* ðarbiḍi.
- warawi *NM* spinifex grass, *Triodia sp.*
- wargałi(r) *N* westward. *Cf.* gargałi.
- wargałi-yana *N* from the west.
- wari *VIntr*(-łini/-yurayi) to go back, to come back. *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to go back. Less common than the preceding. *VTr*(-ganji) to take back, to bring back. *VTr*(-jagayagałi) to take back, to bring back. *VTr*(-jamałi) to send back.
- wari *VTrInfl* See -baruñi.
- wariḍilwa *NM* hook boomerang. *Syn* mangaburuña. *Cf.* mulwari.
- warinji *VTr*(-ganji) (cloud) to bring (rain). (Text 11.3)
- wariwariya *N* across. *Ex* wariwariya wuḥw-a put it across!
- wariya *N* poor fellow! (Text 14.1) *Part* not strictly. *Ex* wariya ŋiriŋa sort of my brother, my half-brother. (*cf.* Text 35.2)
- wariyamaga *Part* not strictly, anyway, regardless. *Cf.* wumiñi. (Text 6.1)
- wariyaŋalayawu *NM* hammerhead shark.
- warj *VTr*(-niŋałi/-yagayi) to pick up; to get (something).

warñ *V* See warj.

warngu *Part* until; right up to, all the way to. *Ex* warngu ña-ḡaḡbu-yu all the way to the (firm) shore. Similar to ḡuḡul, but more common.

-waru, -waruṅu, etc. *VTrInfl* See -baruñi.

warwaj *VTr*(-jujuñi/-ḡarbuyi) to shoo away; to slap at; to compel (to do something). *Cf.* waray. (Text 37.4)

war *VIntr*(-buyini) to be able to see; to have eyes open. *VTr*(-ganji) See waḡ.

warajara *NM* flood, floodwaters.

waraji *NM* yamstick. *Syn* bijabija.

n-waḡal *NNe* ghost, dead spirit. *Cf.* mbaḡirña, n-guriña.

waray *VTr*(-jujuñi) to compel (to do something). *Cf.* warwaj.

warḡwarḡ *NM* crow. *Syn* waṅgaṅaṅin.

wari *VTr*(-jinji) to heap up wood (as in building up fire, etc.). (Text 42.2)

waḡil *NM* large mud crab, *Scylla serrata*. Large male: waḡañurañura. Female: n-wanjin.

waḡir¹ *NM* agitated or bubbling water.

waḡir² *VIntr*(-mindini) (water) to boil, to be agitated or bubbling.

warj *VTr*(-ganji) to urinate (3Sg object); to urinate on (something, someone). *Ex* warj+gu-ganji he urinated. *Ex* warj+ṅangu-ganji he urinated on me.

warma *NM* small freshwater fork-tailed catfish *sp.* Called walmagara in Nunggubuyu.

warugu *NM* egg.

warurgu *NM* nulla nulla (fighting

club).

waruru *NM* sedge, *Cyperus sp.* (obtained from A, not recognised by MR.)

n-warwar *NNe* See n-waḡwaḡ.

wawi *NM* horse.

way! *Part* Oh dear! Indicates alarm.

way *VTr*(-jujuñi) to make rope or string (by rolling fibres on thigh). *Syn* biyir.

-way *VTrInfl* See -wanani.

wa-yana *N* from the south. *Cf.* bayi, waybu-ri.

wayar *VIntr*(-jinji) to be hungry.

wayara *N* others. Used in *PL*, not *Sg/Du*. *Cf.* gayi, -argul.

wayawayara *NM* something awful, monstrous thing. Related to wayara. (Text 40.67)

wayi¹ *Part* where is ...? *Ex* wayi ṅa-na gaṅbug where is the axe handle?

wayi² *VTr*(-jañi/-niṅuyi) to abandon, to leave aside or behind. *Syn* bad.

-wayi *VTrInfl* See -wanani.

wayigayi *N* by itself, separated; distinct (not identical). *Cf.* gayi, yaḡa. (Text 10.3)

-wayiṅga, etc. *VTrInfl* See -bawayiṅgaḡi.

wayuluṅu *NM* beach grass *sp.*

wi *VIntr*(-jinji) to vomit.

wi- *Prf Obl* of gi-. *Ex* wi-ngara-yur to here.

widiwidi *VTr*(-ganji) to carry (child, canoe, etc.) in arms. (Text 42.2)

widjalala *NM* crimson finch (inhibits pandanus trees, mugara).

wiḍaragama NM 1. rainbow. Cf.
ḡawar, bug.

2. whale.

wiḍi VTr(-ganji) to put (something)
inside. Cf. biḷi.

wiḍid VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi) to
capsize. VIntr(-anji) to be
upside-down. VTr(-jinji) to
capsize (something).

wiḍiga NM hairbelt.

wigun NM tree sp. with red fruits.

wij VIntr(-mindini) to suck honey
mixed with grass roots or tree
bark. Rdp wiñ-wij. Syn yi.

wiji NM grass (generic term for
nonwoody terrestrial plants).
Syn ḡaḡanji.

wijilal NM sedge with edible roots,
Scirpus litoralis. Some in swamp
in jungle near Numbulwar.

wilawila NM stomach (esp. as food).
Cf. wilawila-nura.

wilawila-nura NM small internal
organ near stomach (wilawila)
of dugong.

-wiliḡa VTrInfl See -biliḡaḷi.

wilwil NM whirlwind. The synonym
yuluḡari is preferred.

wil VIntr(-mindini) to become
smashed or shattered.
VTr(-jujuñi/-ḷarbuyi) to smash,
to shatter (something).
VTr(-bawayiḡali) to break
(something) with a thrown object;
to push apart (opposite sides of
dugout canoe; one's legs while
sitting, etc.). (Text 13.4).
VTr(-ganji) to tie spearhead
onto spear shaft with wax and
string.

wilmur NM wire spear (spear with
several iron prongs).

wilwil NM ironwood, *Erythroleum*
chlorostachyum. Syn malbamba.

wil-yana N from bottom.

Cf. wuḷuḡun, waḷbu-ri.

wimar NM frigate bird.

winir NM type of very light
rock. (Text 22.2)

-winḡa, etc. VTrInfl See
-biḡaḷi.

wiḡar NM grass or sedge sp.
with hollow stems, made into
necklace.

wiḡbul NM stick carried over
shoulder (e.g. to carry fish
with).

wiḡawinḡa NM sharp-bladed
grass sp., *Imperata cylindrica*.

wiḡgir NM tree sp. said to be
similar to biribiri.

wiḡilḡu NM small herb, *Gomphrena*
sp. (Term obtained from A,
not recognised by MR.)

wiḡ VTr(-ganji) to have a rest.
Subject is 3Sg, object is
rester. Ex wiḡ+ḡangu-ganji
I had a rest.

wir VIntr(-ḡunbuni) to be new
moon.

wiralbiral NM hook spear.
Syn mayaḷuḡu (more common).

wirḡ VIntr(-ḷini/-yurayi) to
jump, to jump away, to jump out.
VTr(-jujuñi) to jump over
(something).

wiri VTr(-jañi/-niḡuyi) to load,
to fill up, to put into
(container).

wirju¹ N bad.

wirju² VIntr(-mindini) to be bad.

wirju-ya N badly, improperly.
Cf. wirju.

wirñ VTr(-andayaruñi) to graze
(with thrown spear).

wir VIntr(-mindini) to whistle.
VIntr(-jinji) to be ready (cont.)

- (or eager) to go. Compound:
guwaḡa wiṛ+ḡa-jana I will
listen. (Text 3.1)
- wiṛa *NM* a species of small, biting
black ants which make nests in
sand.
- wiṛḡ *VIntr*(-mindini) to yelp.
- wiṛiñmanjar *NM* young marine
long-tom fish (baḡurga).
- wiṛj *VTr*(-jujuñi) to scrape
(wood).
- wiyulwiyul or wiyulwiyul *NM*
'grass seed', a grass whose
seeds adhere to clothing, probably
Aristida sp.
- wubu *NM* campfire, area around
fire in camp. *Cf.* waḡgar.
- wubular *NM* porcupine, echidna.
Syn jirmaga.
- wud *VIntr*(-jinji) to recline, to
lean on something.
- wuḡan *NM* small mullet sp., said
to be common in rivers during
wet season.
- wuḡawuṛa *NM* recently burnt
grassland. *Syn* ḡuwa.
- wuḡiyin *NM* sea-urchin with short
feelers. *Cf.* miñminjaliji.
- wuḡuḡan *NM* cocky-apple tree,
Planchonia careya.
- wuḡuy *VIntr*(-jinji) to shake,
to tremble.
- wuḡuyun *NM* large shovelnose ray.
Distinct from mirḡaḡu.
- wuḡnan *NM* myrtle tree, *Calytrix*
exstipulata (*C. microphylla*).
- wuḡudubargu *NM* large mullet sp.
Young: wuḡiwuḡi. Called
yibaḡuḡu in Nungubuyu.
- wuḡuḡu *NM* raft. *Syn* ḡaḡbiribiri.
- wuj *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) to become
emaciated ('poor').
- VIntr*(-mindini) to gallop
away.
- wujar *NM* riverside tree sp.
whose fruits are eaten by
tortoises.
- wujija *NM* coffin. (Term obtained
from *J*, not recognised by *MR*.)
- wujula *NM* ordinary woomera.
Cf. ḡaḡiga.
- wul *VIntr*(-mindini) to become
grey-haired. *Cf.* wul-min.
VTr(-ganji) to singe, to scorch
the surface of. *Cf.* bumbay.
VIntr(-jinji) to be too late,
to miss out, to get nothing.
VTr(-jañi/-niḡuyi) to block,
to stop. (Text 11.1)
- wulayaña *NM* head (of dugong).
Cf. n-maraḡuṛu.
- wuliḡa *NM* fan palm, *Livistona*
loriphylla. *Cf.* yawaḡama.
- wuliwuli *NM* mudskipper (tiny
mangrove fish).
- wul-min *N* grey-haired. Also
n-binja wul-min. *Cf.* gurguḡ.
- wulubuluḡa *NM* middle of the
night. Related to wuluḡa.
(Text 37.2)
- wulug *VIntr*(-jinji) to be
sleepy.
- wulugugu *NM* young shark
(yulmunji).
- wulugur *N* uncircumcised; novice
in circumcision ritual
(maḡḡiwa).
- wulumanḡaya *NM* Torres Straight
(nutmeg) pigeon.
- wuluḡa *NM* in the middle; along
the way, half-way. *Cf.*
wulubuluḡa, wuluḡa-ya,
wuluwuluḡa. (Texts 26.2, 26.3)
- wuluḡa-ya *N* partially. Ending
may be *Per* -yaḡa.
- wuluwuluḡa *NM* in the middle

- (especially, in the middle of the sea, in open sea away from the coast). Cf. wuluḡa.
(Texts 21.4, 23.5, 24.1, 38.4)
- wulwaṇḍi *NM* long-necked tortoise, *Chelodina rugosa*.
- wuḷ *VIntr*(-ḷini/-yurayi) to tell a lie; to fake, pretend.
VTr(-ganji) to lie to (someone).
VTr(-jujuṇi) to catch (fish) with hook and line.
- wuḷarayin *NM* light rain, drizzle.
- wuḷbilirinja *NM* bivalve shell sp., said to be like pearl shell (jaḡawara) but smaller. Also wuḷbilirinja.
- wuḷḡ *VTr*(-ganji) to make a humpy (bark shelter).
- wuḷin *NM* puddles, rainwater on ground. (Text 11.3)
- wuḷmijguḷmiṇ *NM* small flat wild potato sp. *Syn* wumiḷara. Similar to galaṇaṇḍa.
- wuḷṇin *NM* male genital cover made from possum skin. Cf. madamada.
- wuḷubuḷu *NM* water (still standing in billabong). Used in the context of indicating that the billabong (pond) is not yet dry.
- wuḷuḡu *N* on the bottom (coast or sea). Cf. waḷbu-ri, wiḷ-yana.
- wuḷuḡun-maryi *N* across the bottom.
- wuḷuḡu-ṇi *N* along the bottom.
- wumaṇi *Part* it doesn't matter. (Text 32.2)
- wumbul *N* what's-it? Cf. wumbuli.
- wumbuli *N* what's-it? (place).
- wumbuḷana *NM* (woman's) husband; (man's or woman's) male friend. Used in vocative.
- wumbuḷhana *NF* (man's) wife; (man's or woman's) female friend. Used in vocative.
- wumiḷara *NM* small flattish wild potato sp. *Syn* wuḷmijguḷmiṇ. Similar to galaṇaṇḍa.
- wunagaga *NM* upper part of intestines of turtle. Cf. yaḷaja.
- wunamuḍura *NM* female brush-tailed possum (gujaṇi).
- wunargarga *NM* silver gull.
- wundamaḷamaḷa *NM* large, dangerous porpoise-like animal, possibly killer whale. *Syn* manbiṛibiṛi.
- wuniṇbuniṇ *NM* sea-snake.
- wuṇiṇḡi *Part* more; in addition. (Texts 23.3, 25.2, 25.3, 36.3, 39.2)
- wuṇawuṇa *NM* large mosquito sp. Cf. muḷa.
- wuṇḍamuja *NM* kidney fat (of turtle).
- wuṇḍumaranga *NM* tree sp. said to be similar to woollybutt (wungurun), found in hilly country. (Term obtained from A, not recognised by MR.)
- wunguṇ *NM* See guṇḡuṇ.
- wuṇiwuṇi *NM* mid-sized mullet, said to be young of wugudubargu.
- wuṇjurwuṇjur *N* tree with clusters of red fruits, said to occur in stringybark/green plum forests.
- wuṇuṇḡulun *N* kurrajong tree, *Brachychiton paradoxum*.
- wuṇ *VIntr*(-nani) (person) to get hot; (sun) to be hot or bright.
- wungurun *NM* woollybutt tree, *Eucalyptus miniata*. *Syn* mangaḍa, yaḷiriyaḷiri.
- wunguy *VTr*(-ganji) to mention, to discuss (something or someone). (Text 35.2)

- wur *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to set (said of moon, sun, etc.). (Text 38.5)
VTr(-bayṇaḷi/-yṇayai) to sink, to drown (intransitive in English translation). Object is 3Sg.
Ex wur+u-yiṇa it sank/drowned.
VTr(-binṇaḷi) to sink (something).
VTr(-ganji) (tide) to come in. Subject and object are 3Sg.
Ex wur+a'-ganja tide comes in.
VTr(-jañi/-niṇuyi) to be ashamed or shy toward (someone).
Ex wur+ṇa-janani I am ashamed toward him. *VTr*(-jujuñi) to apply (paint, grease, etc.) to.
- wuradbinjama *NM* tableland, plateau.
- wuragaga *NM* sand-wasp (*Bembix* sp.), and perhaps some other similar small bees and wasps.
- wurbiṇani *NM* knife. *Cf.* gurb-gurb, etc.
- wurbur *VTr*(-ganji) to paint or decorate (especially with raman feathers). Possibly related to wur. (Text 29.2)
- wurgmalan *NM* fairly large bush fires set by Aborigines (to clear ground, to hunt kangaroos, or as signal to a far-off group). Other fires: waḍgar.
- wuriyaḷanga *NM* white-breasted sea-eagle. *Syn* ṇaḡṇaḡ, jaḍbaramba.
- wurj *VTr*(-ganji) to rip, to tear. *Cf.* badad.
- wurjaga *NM* small mullet-like fish, possibly sand mullet. Young: wuryumburyumbur.
- wurjawayawaya *NM* little black cormorant.
- wuru *NM* green tree ant, *Oecophylla virescens*.
- wurugugu *NM* flower.
- wuruja *N* two. Does not take *Du* prefix wur-, but does take *Obḷ* *Du* wiri- (wiri-wuruja). Repeated: wuruja wuruja (*Obḷ* wiri-wuruja wiri-wuruja) four. *Cf.* wuruja-gayi.
- wuruja-gayi *N* three. Contains wuruja 'two' and gayi 'other'. Does not take *Du* prefix wur-, but does take *Obḷ* *Du* wiri- (wiri-wuruja-gayi).
- wurujgu *NM* marine fish sp. said to resemble jawaḷawaḷa.
- wurumbulṇi *NM* native cat. *Syn* yinigini.
- wurunjulburunjul *NM* chest fat of turtle.
- wurwaj *VIntr*(-gunbuni) (group) to sit down together in the shade. (Text 8.5)
- wurwala *NM* cave, pit, deep hole; hole.
- wurwangij *VTr*(-ganji) to do something once to (object). *Cf.* wangij.
- wurwawurwala *NM* hollow log. *Cf.* wurwala. *Syn* mangaḍa.
- wurya *NM* marine fish, probably mangrove jack, *Lutjanus argentimaculatus*.
- wuryumburyumbur *NM* young of wurjaga fish.
- wurṇ *VTr*(-ganji) to put down.
- wurḡ *VIntr*(-mindini) to work. From English.
- wururuṇuga *NM* ray sp., like maliñ but bigger, with long thin tail. *Syn* miñimiñi.
- wuwul *N* (something or someone) behind; stern (hind part of boat).
- wuy *VTr*(-jujuñi) (wind) to blow. Object is 3Sg.
- wuyi *VIntrInfl* See -buyini.
- wuyuranga *NM* freshwater perch sp.

Y

-ya- *Dem* that; is there. *Ex*
 ɲaŋga-ya that one. *Obl* -ri-ya-.

-ya¹ *VTrInfl* See -jañi; see
 -jinji.

-ya² *VIntrInfl* See -jinji.

yab *VTr*(-ganji) to steal. *Ex*
 yab+gu-ganji ɲijaɾi-ni he stole
 it from me. *Rdp* ya-yab. *Cf.*
 ya-yab thief.

yabaja *N* Occurs in ɲiɲar ɲi-yabaja
 you have big vulva! (swearing).

yadalgunjama *NM* rainbow. *Syn*
 wiɲaraɲama.

yaɲ *VTr*(-alunguɲi) to wait for.
VTr(-jañi/-niɲuyi) to wait for.
VTr(-jujuɲi) to wait for.
VIntr(-mindini) (wound) to be
 healed.

-yagaɲi *VTrInfl* See -jagayagaɲi.

yaguɲ *VIntr*(-jinji) to be afraid,
 frightened. *Ex* yaguɲ+ɲa-juɲiyi
 ɲimba-ni I am frightened of you.
VTr(-jujuɲi) to frighten
 (someone). *Cf.* next entry.

yaguɲar *N* cowardly. *Cf.* yaguɲ.

yaj *VTr*(-jamaɲi) to throw; to
 throw away or to the side.

yaja *VTr*(-jujuɲi) to hunt for.

yalaja *NM* lower part of intestines
 of turtle. *Cf.* wunagaga.

yalala *VIntr*(-mindini) to be
 happy.

yalanu *NM* paperbark (bark from
 any of several *Melaleuca* trees).

yalara *NM* wattle used for spear
 shafts, *Acacia holosericea*.
Syn ɲuguɲuɲan, buruwaɲji. (Term
 obtained from A, not recognised
 by MR.)

yalarayan *NM* fairly mature water
 lily root (gaɲaya). *Cf.* buɲala.

-yalayi *VTrInfl* See -jalani.

yalga *N* alone. *Ex* ɲa-yalga
 I, by myself.

yalijali *NM* death adder, snake.

yaljayaljalayi *Part* quick!
 (Used to encourage harpooner
 or man with spear to throw it
 quickly.)

yalɲa-li *NM/NF* Vocative of
 ɲalɲa-, n-ɲalɲa-.

yal *VTr*(-ganji) to go past
 (something, someone).
VTr(-jujuɲi/-ɲarbuyi) to take
 or throw (something) past.
Ex yaɲ+ɲa-ɲarbu I took it past
 (e.g. I won horse race by
 taking my horse past the others).
VTr(-arɲaɲi) to throw (spear,
 etc.) past. *VTr*(-gandayaruɲi)
 to throw spear past. *Ex*
 yaɲ+ɲalg-andayari I threw spear
 past them (*PL*). *VTr*(-bayɲaɲi/
 -yiɲayi) to throw (something)
 past. (Text 25.2)
VTr(-ɲinmaɲi) to throw (spear,
 etc.) past. *Ex* yaɲ+ɲalgu-ɲinma
 I threw (it) past them (*PL*).
Ex yaɲjaɲ!

yalagaga *NM* 1. green grass
 (growing after old grass has
 been cleared off by fire).

2. long-horned grasshopper
 (uncommon sense). *Syn* gurguɲ.

yalajga *N* quickly, fast.

yalayaɲa *VIntr*(-ɲini/-yurayi)
 to be loose (not tight).
Cf. yiɲɲ.

yalbun *N* water lily in deep
 water, *Nymphaea ?gigantea*,
 and especially its seed pod.
 Called ayag in Nunggubuyu.

yalgiɲ *NM* ordinary dillybag
 (bag made from kurrajong string,
 jibar). *Cf.* gulbun, biɲɲawara.

yalɲiɲga *NM* uncircumcised (boy).
PL: (wul-)yaɲi-yaɲiɲga.

yaliriyaliri *NM* woollybutt

- tree, *Eucalyptus miniata*. *Syn* wungurun, mangađa.
- yałjał *VIntr*(-łini/-yurayi) to go past; to slip away. *Cf.* yał. (Text 23.5)
- yałumbaya *NM* grass *sp.* with edible seeds, distinct from gingira.
- yałwar *N* empty-handed (said of hunter who returns without game).
- yama, etc. *VTrInfl* See -jamałi.
- yaminji *NM* gecko lizard (several *sp.*). *Cf.* ɲajar.
- yana *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -jinji.
- yanambur *N* paperbark tree *sp.*, *Melaleuca cajaputi*. *Var* lanambur. *Syn* gandar.
- yandarunı *NM* catfish *sp.* (Obtained from A, not recognised by MR.) (Text 9.3)
- yaɲ *V* See yaɲ.
- yaɲa *VIntr*(-gunbuni) to fall asleep. *VIntr*(-jinji) to sleep; to be lying down. *VTr*(-łinmałi) to make (someone) sleep or lie down.
- yaɲa *VTrInfl/VIntrInfl* See -jinji.
- yaɲa, -yaɲani, etc. *VTrInfl* See -jałi.
- yangala *N* openly, publicly. *Ex* yangala ɲaɲ+g-ałi he killed him out in the open.
- yangala *VIntr*(-łini/-yurayi) to be out in the open (for all to see); (moon) to be shining brightly. (Text 25.3) *VTr*(-ganji) to reveal (something) to.
- yangar *N* in front, ahead. *Cf.* yangar-manja(r). (Text 42.3)
- yangar *VIntr*(-łini/-yurayi) to go in front, to go ahead. *VTr*(-ganji) to take (something) ahead.
- yangar-manja or yangar-manjar *N* previously; in the old days. *Cf.* gudar. (Text 31.1)
- yar *VTr*(-ganji) to lose (something).
- yaralał¹ *N* wounded. (Text 29.5)
- yaralał² *VTr*(-jujułi) to wound. *VTr*(-gandayarułi) to wound (by spearing).
- yaraman *NM* horse. *Syn* wawı.
- yaramba *N* dangerous, violent, 'cheeky', capable of causing injury; sharp (knife or blade). Opposite: gunja.
- yarawu *VTrInfl* See -jarawuni.
- yari, -yaru, etc. *VTrInfl* See -jarułi.
- yaɲ *VIntr*(-mindini) to split up, to go in different directions.
- yaɲ *VTr*(-ganji) to become daylight. (Text 42.9)
- yaɲ-mangiri *N* all night, until dawn. Derivative of yaɲ.
- yaɲyaɲ *VIntr*(-łini/-yurayi) (snake) to slide along.
- yaw *VIntr*(-mindini) to bail out boat or canoe. *VTr*(-jujułi) to splash water on (something, someone). *VTr*(-łinmałi) to keep (someone) out of a boat.
- yawałama *NM* fan-palm *sp.* Sometimes used as a synonym of wuliđa (*Livistona loriphylla*), sometimes applied to different species southeast of Mara country.
- yawur *VIntr*(-jinji) 1. to paint oneself with white clay (ɲalabura).
2. (sun) to set. *Cf.* yawuryyawur, wur.
- yawuryawur *N* late afternoon. *Syn* ɲubaɲura, jabi. ɲagulugulu.

- yay *VTr*(-jujuñi) to laugh (3Sg object); to laugh at.
- ya-yab *N* thief. *Cf.* yab.
- yaygi *Sff* person from
Ex nambulwar-yaygi Numbulwar man.
- yi *VIntr*(-mindini) to suck honey mixed with grass roots or bark.
Syn wij.
- yi *VTrInfl* See -jañi.
- yi! *Part* yes!
- yib *VTr*(-ganji) to conceal (something). *Cf.* narg.
- yibiñbiji *NM* young female dugong (waligi).
- yidanji *NM* large mullet *sp.*
Syn yiwaruga.
- yidiqinaña *NM* fairly small sandpiper. *Cf.* juñdir, juñjuñmalimali.
- yigal *N* inside; down, below.
Cf. wuñun, etc.
- yija *NM* game animal (especially kangaroo or wallaby).
- yijiri *N* for good, permanently.
Ex na-yijiriña-'nu I am staying (here) for good. (Text 42.16)
- yil *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) to be tired. *Cf.* bilg.
- yilayi *NM* owl *sp.* *Syn* gajaguru.
 Said to be lighter in colour than gurgur, but not always distinguished. *Cf.* jiliwiñjiliwiñ.
- yili *VIntr*(-lini/-yurayi) to go along the side. *Cf.* n-jili.
- yilijili *NM* on or along the side.
Cf. n-jili. (Text 26.2)
- yiliman *NM* wooden shield (used by Aboriginal groups to the south).
- yiliña *NM/NF* Vocative of ñiliña-, n-ñiliña- (kin term).
- yilal *VIntr*(-mindini) to be angry, to be furious or wild.
- yimar *Dem* Stem forming a kind of non-deictic anaphoric pronoun. (Gr 7.5)
- yimayiri *NM* groper fish (very large rock cod).
- yimi-yana *N* from the north.
Cf. yimbi-ri, guymi.
- yimbi-ri *N* northward. *Cf.* yimi-yana, guymi.
- yingar *N* on this side.
- yinigini *NM* native cat.
- yininjara *NM* type of fishtrap used in rivers.
- yinja *VTrInfl* See -jañi.
- yinji, -yinjiyi, etc. *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -jinji.
- yinji *NM* ridge (hill extended horizontally). Also yinjinjayeru.
- yinjini *VTrInfl* See -jañi.
- yinjinjayeru *NM* ridge. Also yinji.
- yinjiyi *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -jinji.
- yiña, etc. *VTrInfl* See -bayñañi.
- yiriñ *VTr*(-ganji) to make a heap of.
- yirig *VIntr*(-mindini) to twitch, to move (slightly, but perceptibly). *Rdp* yiriñ-yirig.
- yirigigi *NM* young brush-tailed possum (gujañi).
- yirij *VTr*(-jañi/-niñuyi) to gather, to pick up (many objects). *Cf.* warj. (Text 31.2)
- yirimal *NM* a paperbark tree said to be similar to gandar (*Melaleuca cajaputi*) and

- guru|uwul (narrow-leaved *Melaleuca leucadendron*), found mainly along rivers. Leaves said to be broader than those of guru|uwul.
- yiriŋ-yirig or yiriŋ-jirig
VIntr(-mindini) Rdp from yirig.
- yiriwiji NM a tree associated with mangroves. Applied by some speakers to *Lumnitzera racemosa* at Numbulwar.
- yir VTr(-ganji) to stand up.
(Exact sense unclear; see Text 40.98.)
- yirg VIntr(-|ini/-yurayi) (rope, etc.) to become untied.
VTr(-ganji) to untie; to uncoil (rope); to take (something) out.
Cf. ya|aya|a.
- yirgmayirg-min N untied, loose, not tight (e.g. rope).
- yiw VIntr(-|ini/-yurayi) (fire) to go out; to be concealed or covered. VTr(-ganji) to put out (fire); to conceal or cover (something). VTr(-ganji|i) to put out (fire). Rdp yiw-yiw.
- yiwangulabuju NM tree sp. found in dry country, used for fire-sticks (buḍalar). Syn garima|a.
- yiwaruga NM mullet sp. Syn yiḍanji.
- yiwur VIntr(-jinji) to twist about (e.g. whirlwind).
(Text 23.10)
- yo! Part yes! all right!
- yubi NM 1. fog, mist.
2. sweat, perspiration.
- yubundu VTr(-ganji) to attach (dugong) to side of boat and tow it along. (Text 5.2)
VTr(-jañi/-niquyi) (same meaning).
(Text 5.2)
- yud VTr(-wanani) to attach hooks to spear. Cf. ju|. (Text 12.1)
- n-yuliba NNe bushland (open forest).
- yulmunji NM large shark. Young: wulugugu. Cf. also bayama|guru.
- yuluḡari NM whirlwind.
- yuluyulwiji NM porpoise. Syn miṛiyi.
- yulway NM bark of stringybark tree (bambula); humpy (shelter made from this bark). Cf. baḍaṇ, wambi.
- yulaṇṇu NM swordfish, marlin, or similar large marine fish capable of wrecking a boat.
- yulu, -yuliyi VIntrInfl/VTrInfl
See -jinji.
- yumaŋi NM freshwater long-tom fish. Syn yuwa|ara.
- yumar N good. Cf. yumar-yi.
- yumar VIntr(-mindini) to become fixed up, well, etc.
VTr(-ganji) to fix up; to make (something) properly.
- yumar-yi N properly, well.
- yundu N See (n-)jundu.
- yunduḡuga NM green turtle, *Chelonia mydas*. The most common marine turtle. Cf. ṇajiliṇajili, baṅgiba, rujuru.
- yunduyunduwara NM dust cloud.
- yunju NM oyster.
- yunḍara N true; truthful.
- yunguḍ VIntr(-|ini/-yurayi) (smoke or dust) to rise.
(Text 39.1). Ex jiri yunguḍ+g-aṇa it (dugong) sent up a small jet (in breathing). Cf. bambir (to send up a full jet, to spout). VTr(-bayṇa|i/-yiṇayi) to smoke (tobacco).
VIntr(-jinji) (smoke) to rise.
- yunguwan NM ritual, ceremony.
Cf. laṇur.
- yunjuṇ VIntr(-mindini) to kiss.
Cf. juṇjuṇ.

yur *VIntr*(-|ini/-yurayi) to come
out (said of person, sun, etc.).
VTr(-jujuñi) to pour (liquid) on.
Ex yur+angu-ji he poured (it)
on me. *VTr*(-ganji) to take out.

-yura *VIntrInfl/VTrInfl* See -|ini.

yurga *N* in a hurry; hastily.

yurmuřu *NM* green plum,
Buchanania obovata.

yuruŋguřun *NM* small hill.
Cf. manuga, yinji.

yuwałara *NM* freshwater long-
tom fish, *Strongylura krefftii*.
Syn yumaŋi.

LEXICAL DOMAINS: FLORA-FAUNA, ETC. AND (HUMAN) BODY PARTS

INTRODUCTION

In what follows I have presented a series of lists of Mara terms in particular domains; this is then followed by a general English-Mara index covering items not put in the special domains lists. The domains included in the special lists are these:

1. Flora
2. Fish
3. Birds
4. Mammals
5. Reptiles
6. Shellfish
7. Insects
8. Crustaceans
9. Other (mainly invertebrates)
10. Human Body Parts, Internal Organs, and Bodily Substances
11. Disease, Pain, Injury

It is not claimed that all of these are native domains in the sense this term is used in amongst the ethnoclassifiers. It is intended simply as a convenient arrangement whereby readers can easily locate individual items and can also get some idea of the relationships among semantically similar items. Particularly for flora-fauna it would be difficult to find items if they were put in the general alphabetical listing since many species lack well-known English common names and since readers would in most cases not know scientific terms.

In the domains lists no scientific names are given, and often no gloss at all is provided. In cases where there is a convenient English term for a given species this is sometimes added after the item in parentheses. Because flora terms are frequently not known by local Whites, the number of flora terms for which glosses are provided is small, whereas most bird terms (for example) do have glosses. More detailed information can be obtained from the entries in the Mara-English dictionary. Indeed, the domains lists should be used as indexes to the Mara-English section, rather than as autonomous entities.

In the English-Mara Index, it is obviously necessary to provide at least a crude English gloss since the entries are ordered on the basis of alphabetical order of the English terms. However, these glosses are often misleading and readers are urged to consult the relevant Mara-English glosses for details. For example, the entry for *cut, cut down* includes eight verb-particles (not further glossed)

which range in meaning from 'to butcher' to 'to chop down'. Entries like that for *clean* include both verbs and nouns (not marked as such).

An entire chapter in the grammar is devoted to kinship terminology and this will therefore not be included in the following lists.

FLORA (naranji, wiji, dabaliya)

(a) *grasses*:

biṇḍay (*cane grass*), biṇir, ḍarin (*cane grass*), gaḷambar, garañbilili, giṅgira (*rice*), gururūl, jilibijilili, wangiṇar, warawi (*spinifex*), wayuluṇu, wiṇar, wiṇḍawinḍa, wiyulwiyl, yaḷumbaya.

(b) *vines and edible roots*:

baḷajalbaḷajal, baṅbaṅgari, ḍiṅgaḷḍiṅgaḷ, ḍuja, ḍuymanji (*potato*), gabir, galaṇaṇḍa (*potato*), garabi, gunaḷu, jalma, jargul, jaraṇal (*grape*), laḡurja (*wild cucumber*), majalaḍi, mambubu, manja (*passionfruit*), maṇḍiwaja, maṇiṅgi, maṇaḍba, mulalu, ṇambiṇṇambiḍ, ṇarbaḍa (*potato*), ṇgarmuḷmuḷ and ṇuridiṇ (*banana*), ṇuwa, riḷgara, wuḷmiḡguḷmiṇ and wuḷlara (*potato*).

(c) *other herbs*:

ḍiriṅgiḷḍiriṅgiḷ (*bush lily*), garbun, jabrari, majaṇmajaṇ, maraṇmaraṇ (*buckbush*), mulwarwar, ṇaji (?fern), ṇalaḍa (*cattail*), wambigud, wijiḷal, wiṇilṇu.

(d) *aquatic plants*:

gaṇaya (buṇala, giḷgara, njirigilil, yalarayan), jawjaw, jilaḡjilaḡ, julṇal (*sea grass*), maja (*sea grass*), malambuwa, marayuluyulu, ṇigan, ṇaraṇṇaraṇa, ṇgawuja, yaḷbun.

(e) *mangroves*:

baḷgan, buluṅgiḡa, guḍijbal, ṇaragal, ṇurun.

(f) *paperbark trees*:

galiwan, gandar, gulban, guruluwul, jamanbara, lanambur, rajbur, rambana, ranga, yanambur, yirimal.

(g) *palms, pandanus, cycads*:

burulu (*pandanus*), buruluḡburulu (*pandanus*), maṇaju (*cycad*), mawuḷṇurguḷṇur (*coconut*), mayigaḷ (*pandanus nut*), mugara (*pandanus*), waguru (*pandanus*), wuliḍa

(*fan palm*), yawaḷama (*fan palm*).

(h) *wattles (Acacia spp.)*:

baḷa, burugala, buruwaṇji, ḡugul, ḡaṅgaḷgara, ḡuguḷuḷan, garaḷalan, garmbagarmba, manjaḷmanjaḷ, muḍiḍi, ramulbiya, rabi, yalara.

(1) *other trees*:

bamaṇa, bambuja (*stringybark*), baṇar, baṇmira, baṇurbaṇur (*kurrajong*), biṇmirin, biribiri (*corkwood*), biṇiwiṇi, buḍalar, buḍuga, bulgur, bulubulu, buḷanganga, buḷalaḷa (*orange*), bunguri, burgaḷun, ḍilyar (*hakea*), ḍubal (*leichhardt tree*), ḍumbuyumbu (*sandalwood*), gaḍabura, gaḡurani, galiḡiri, gandaḷinja, gaḡiri, gulinja (*black plum*), guḷubiṇḍama, gunubul, guṇiṇara (*fig*), gurjaḍa, guyaṇ (*gutta percha*), guyiya, jaḷangara (*gutta percha*), jaṇṇin (*bloodwood*), jaṇbur (*whistling tree*), jiṇḍijiṇḍi, jinguḷiḷi (*conkerberry*), jiruṇuḡa, jiwal, jiwuru (*wild cassava*), laḷbaḷarba, liḷulu (*wild cassava*), liṇiḷiri, liwalgunja, majarawaj, malbamba (*ironwood*), malalyi (*plum*), maḷalaṇḡa, maḷawal (*plum*), maḷuṅgariṇin (*quinine bush*), maḍalura, mangaḍa, maṇamaṇa, maṇiwi, maṇuṅgurun (*cypress*), maṇagu (*fig*), mawar (*ghost gum*), mawuluḷugu, mayaranja (*fig*), miḡaḷ, miḡir, miṇija, miṇijar, miṇayimiṇayi, miṇawurumi, mudju (*coolibah*), muluḍuṅgu, muḷuḷ, muraṇmuraṇ, murḡun, njiwal, ṇḍiḷan (*kurrajong*), ṇuguṇu (*tamarind*), ṇaḷṇaḷ (*bloodwood*), ṇiḷaṇiḷa, ṇaḍij (*hibiscus*), ṇalaṅga (*river gum*), ṇaṇḍargala (*supplejack*), ṇgaṇar (*whistling tree*), ṇguṇir, ṇunbilili, ṇurudu, waḡawaḡa, waḡuwaḡu (*whistling tree*), waḡawul, walmaṇ, walaṇ (*hill coolibah*), walumbu (*bullwaddy*), waṇṇu (*black plum*), waṇḡadiyin (*quinine bush*), wiḡun, wiḷwiḷ (*ironwood*), wiṅḡir, wuḍuḍan (*cocky-apple*), wuḡnan (*myrtle*), wuḡar, wuṇḍamaranga, wuṇjurwuṇjur, wuṇuṅgulun (*kurrajong*), wuṇgurun

(woollybutt), yaliriyałiri
(woollybutt), yiriwij,
yiwangułabuju, yurmuçu (green
plum).

FISH (wałañan, bałgur)

(a) rays:

garmbagarmba, magarimagari,
maliñ, małnar, manumanu,
manungarayau, mañgalgal,
miñimiñi, mirbuñdu, mirñađu
(shovelnose), ñaंगा, ñařiriłayu,
quyquy (sometimes used as generic
term for rays), wuđuyun
(shovelnose), wuřuruñuga.

(b) sharks:

barga (sawshark), bayamałguru,
jinma (whaler), ruñuriñ,
wariyañalayawu (hammerhead),
wulugugu, yulmunji.

(c) catfish:

garjala, gidigidi, mijuruñu,
ñałañała, ñulumidin, ñuru,
wabilimar, walmabaça, warma,
yandařuñi.

(d) mullets:

đilbin, gayawawa, larbiđi,
warawarari, wuđan, wugudubargu,
wuñiwuñi, wurjaga, yiđanji,
yiwaruga.

(e) others:

ałalaala (suckerfish), bađurga
(long-tom), bałgur (rainbowfish),
barawu (batfish), bubali
(herring), bulgur (grunter),
burmbiyin (herring), burwur
(stonefish), garbi (perch),
gilibirma (trevally),
giñmulgiñmul (sleepy cod), gulduru
(bonefish), gunagała (bream),
gundir (toadfish), gualira
(butterfish), jabuđubuđu,
jawađuma (?emperor), jawaławała
(?emperor), jiriřuriwuři
(trevally), mandara (butterfish),
miriji (barramundi; cf. barij and
majañuwara), muđu (?garfish),
mugara (barracuda), muñinguna
(parrotfish), muruřungu
(barracuda), ñawuřuguru (salmon),

ñambałala (mouth almighty),
ñilñiluna (trevally), ñalumur
(salmon), ñarabuña (sweetlips),
ñarayał (Saratoga), ñarmaliřña
(rock cod), ñubari (queenfish),
ñurułanga (trevally),
ñuruwiławiła (trevally), řalyi
(eel), řamulu (perch), řanuga
(butterfish), řara (perch),
wanguwa (rock cod), wiřiñmanjar
(long-tom), wuliwuli
(mudskipper), wurujgu, wurya
(mangrove jack), wuryumburyumbur
(young wurjaga), wuyuranga
(perch), yimayiri (groper),
yułarñu (?swordfish), yumanji or
yuwałara (long-tom).

BIRDS (řayi)

(a) hawks:

điđijar, đilyag (eagle),
điwanguwangu (eagle), gargañ,
gulumbiji, jađbaramba (eagle),
juđjuđu (osprey), malwiđiwiđi,
ñawađ, ñagñag (sea eagle),
wuriyałanga (sea eagle).

(b) ducks:

jirbiyu, languna (goose),
linjari, midbirimbałya,
ñargñarg, jibiławuna, wałmañ.

(c) others:

alandarbuça (rail), balubalu
(pelican), bałgbałgururu
(mudlark), biđiri (masked
plover), binbiñdu (rainbowbird),
biriłiliyi (lorikeet), budurgu
(brołga), bugbana or bulbulgija
(pheasant), bułunbułun
(spoonbill), đalařala (egret),
điđibawaba (lotusbird),
điđilgururu (mudlark),
đubuđubu (bittern), đuwaw (koel),
gajaguru (owl), garagarag
(darter), garinji (jabiru),
garulaña (ibis), gargunja
(night heron), guđaguđayi
(oyster catcher), gułambijbi
(curlew), gułañani (babbler),
gunđama (bustard), gunđiñđi
(ibis), guralgmaninja
(kookaburra), gurgur (owl),
guruđuguruđu (butcherbird),
gurwiřgurwiř (curlew, whimbrel),

gurunug (pigeon), guwila (curlew), jadbururu (butcherbird), jambirina (bustard), jaraɖadbuwa (rail), jarawana (cuckoo-shrike), jigmalmali (owl), jiliwidjiliwid (owl), jiliwiri, jilig (tern), jinaliri and guriri (emu), jindigirijindigiri (willy wagtail), jiriɖidi (quail), jiriɖadjiɖad (willy wagtail), jiwidiwidi (emu), juɖdir (sandpiper), juɖjuɖmalimali or juɖjuɖmila (sandpiper), jurir (bowerbird), ɭiraɖuma (cockatoo), maɖbanga (heron), magulaɖbirima (darter), marababa (dove), mawubundu (cormorant), mawuluwaɖ (gannet), mawuruɭulu (heron), miɖalaɖdalaɖ (darter), miliɖma (parrot), miriwili (pigeon), murbindibindi (jabiru), mururunguna (swamphe), ninin (finch), naɖug (curlew), ngilingilinga (galah), nilili (corella), nigngirg (rail), nirwula (cockatoo), rirbaɖirba (tern), ɖululɖana (oystercatcher), ɖungurungurji, wangaɖanin (crow), wararaɖgaɭba (heron), widjalala (finch), wimar (frigate bird), wulumandaya (pigeon), wunargarga (gull), wurjawayawaya (cormorant), yidiɖinaɖa (sandpiper).

MAMMALS (yija, etc.)

(a) kangaroos and wallabies:

baɭingama (antelopine kangaroo), girimbu or majularima (euro), naɖgulamba (agile wallaby), jijug (hare wallaby), nuɭumuru (nail-tailed wallaby), wangugu or wambaraɖa (rock wallaby). (Only adult male terms given here.)

(b) other terrestrial mammals:

baɖgala (big dog), bidja or biɭgur (dingo), bulugi or mugawu (bullock), buɖbuɖud (mouse), gaɖbulaɖni (domestic cat), garwiri (dog), gawuna (cow), gilibuɭ (bull), gujaɖni (possum; cf. dictionary entry), jirmaga or wubular (echidna), maɖumaɖu (bandicoot), miɖbilɖi (sugar

glider), namur (water rat), wali (buffalo), wawi or yaraman (horse), waɖambira or wurumbulɖi or yinigini (native cat), wagaɖawagaɖa (bull).

(c) bats:

biɖbinjala (bat), guryala (flying fox), madjur (flying fox).

(d) marine mammals:

waligi (dugong; see dictionary entry), manbiɖibiɖi or wundamaɭamaɭa (?killer whale), wiɖaragama (whale), yuluyulwiji (porpoise).

REPTILES (ɖawar, etc.)

(a) crocodiles:

bajaɖi, ɖaɖajara, waɭajandama.

(b) marine turtles:

garubu, jaɖiwaɖaɖi, malawururu, nuriɖ, yunduɖuga (see dictionary entry).

(c) freshwater tortoises:

buruɖandi, jabada, wuluwaɖdi.

(d) goannas:

ɖabulu or ɖabulun, ɖawali, jaɭgiɖ, jurgubadu, naɖar or maɖaɖaɖada, waɖabir (see dictionary entry).

(e) other lizards:

ɖalɖunji or gabaɭa (frilled), gabilibili or gabilili, gaɭaɭgaɭaɭ (skink), gaɖgulugulu (two-lined), jayawuru or ɭirga (blue-tongued), maɭugundu (snake-lizard), naɖar, yaminji (gecko).

(f) snakes (ɖawar):

bandiyan (king brown), biɖiri (file), bubuɖara (black-headed python), bulurubina (mangrove snake), buyubuyu (= bubuɖara), ɖidiɖguru or gurujaɖbuɖu, (olive python), garimaɭa (taipan), gaɖjir (water python),

guṇaru (*red-bellied black snake*), jaguḍaguḍama (*python*), jaṇmijaṇmi (*file*), maraṅgaḷba (*green tree snake*), ṇaguguyaṇu (*freshwater snake*), ṇulur (*whip*), wuniṇbuniṇ (*sea snake*), yaḷijali (*death adder*).

(g) *frogs*:

ḍariḍari, gaṛuḍji, ṇaḍi, ṇaṅguṇaṅgu.

SHELLFISH

alguwalgu, buṇḍubuṇḍu (*snail*), buruḷuburuḷu (*cuttlefish shell*), ḍaṇaḍaṇa (*nautilus*), guṇjadguṇjad, guruyuyu (*clam*), jamulmulanja, jaṛamara (*pearl shell*), ḷiyaga (*mud whelk*), maganḍaṇu, maḷabaṇu (*mussel*), mindiwaba (*baler*), ṛagambaṇu, ṛagulunju, ṛuruṛuru (*snail*), wuḷbilirinja, yunju (*oyster*).

INSECTS

(a) *honey bees* (ṇulawar):

ḍulbari, gaṇamuru, ṇgawurwa, ṇulawar (in specific sense) or ṇuḷṇgun or wanjimbul.

(b) *ants*:

mambuḷawuḷa, mimbi, murulu (*termite*), wiṛa, wuru.

(c) *grubs* (*larvae*):

buṇḍubuṇḍu (*wasp gall*), buyuyu (*caterpillar*), ḍaṇaḍaṇa, galwaḷa, maṛur, mbiḷmur.

(d) *others*:

baḍbaḍa (*butterfly*), baḷabaḷaṇara (*louse*), bambal (*wasp*), bulugbulug (*louse*), burala (*march fly*), ḍajbiḍajbi (*grass-hopper*), guḷimbilguḷimbil or guḷiyalguḷiyal (*firefly*), guṇḍiḷ (*fly*), gurguḷ (*grasshopper*), guriṇa (*cricket*), ḷirṇindi (*cricket*), maḍun or magulmagul (*flying insect*), maḷunuṇu (*blowfly*), muḷa (*mosquito*), muṇḍi

(*dog louse*), muṇḍul (*head-louse*), muraṛbu (*beetle*, *cockroach*), ṇiriṇiri (*cicada*), ṛala (*tick*), ṛenbur (*paper wasp*), ṛeywuy (*sandfly*), ṛuraṛura (*water insect*), warabawaraba (*spider*), wuṇawuṇa (*mosquito*), wuragaga (*sand wasp*), yaḷagaga (*grasshopper*).

CRUSTACEANS

(a) *crayfish*:

jimbalar, majiga.

(b) *crabs*:

maṇarara, waṛil (*waḍaṇuraṇura*, *wanjin*), muraṛbu, murjiwuga, wadadawadada, walmaraba.

OTHERS (Mainly Invertebrates)

ḍariba (*trepang*), ṛugaṛuga (*like trepang*), wajgalṇu (*sea wasp*), gujirwujir (*jellyfish*), gamirinji (*starfish*), bambal (*sponge*, *coral*), miṇmiṇjaliji (*sea urchin*), wuḍiyin (*another sea urchin*), migamiga (*leech*), maḷamaḷa or ṇarambili (*centipede*), maḷanjarbi (*big centipede*), murji-murji-ya (*scorpion*), ṇaḷarṇaḷar (*worm*).

HUMAN BODY PARTS, INTERNAL ORGANS, AND BODILY SUBSTANCES

baḍbanma (*midriff*), baṇḍij (*kidney*), biḷbar (*neck*), biḷibiḷi or binja (*head hair*), bulbul (*heart*), bulabula (*shoulder*), ḍariḍari (*groin*), ḍijar (*vulva*, *swear word*), ḍula (*leg*, *thigh*), galagban (*hip*), galaṇaṇḍa (*knee cap*), galṇi (*body*), gaḷṇar (*anus*), gaṇḍa (*rear end*), gaṇgul (*calf*), giṇḍir (*penis*), guḷugal (*brain*), gumbi (*flesh*), gumbu (*urine*, *bladder*), guṇḍi (*ankle*), gurya (*excrement*, *anus*), guṛa (*semen*),

guwaḍa (*ear*), guyuru (*tooth*),
 jabiḷi (*shoulder blade*), jagar
 (*saliva*), jaguḷ (*testicle*),
 jaḷbar (*vulva*), jaḷu (*arm*),
 jamai (*wrist*), jaminjamin
 (*eyebrow*), janamba (*forehead*),
 jarbu (*foot*), jawaḇḇa (*whisker*),
 jiṛi (*nose*), jirḡgiṇ (*clitoris*),
 jiyil (*tongue*), jungu (*lower
 back*), mabuluma (*navel*), maḇaṇar
 (*chest, breastbone*), maguṛ (*eye*),
 mala (*navel*), malawara (*blood*),
 malir (*back*), maḷabaṇu
 (*clitoris*), mamurg (*baby's hair*),
 maraṇuṛu (*head*), mbuyiwuyirña
 (*stomach fat*), miḇimal (*knee*),
 milga (*hip*), miṇmiṇjal (*eyelash*),
 muṇḇa (*vein, sinew*), muṇga
 (*pubic hair*), murji (*hand*),
 murunji (*elbow*), ñadin (*skin*),
 ṇaḷimur (*collarbone*), ṇanja
 (*belly*), ṇaṇḇal (*mouth*),
 ṇaṇḇarara (*jowls*), ṇarmaḷ
 (*armpit*), ṇgaḷman (*cheek*), ṇiṛa
 (*hip joint*), ṇuliji (*blood*),
 ṇulumurun (*pubic hair*),
 ṇundurṇundur (*throat*), ṇurgman
 (*breastbone*), ṇurubu (*rib*), -ṛaba
 (*nail*), -ṛinaṛina (*nail*), ṛurñul
 (*lung*), waḇuwaḇu (*liver*),
 walaṇgarama (*lowest rib*).

For body-part terms restricted
 to plants or animals, see the
 general English-Mara Index
 ('fat', 'organs', 'flower',
 'root', 'tail', etc.; for parts
 of water lilies see domain list
 Flora (d) above).

DISEASE, PAIN, INJURY

buga (*skin infection*), bubu
 (*sore, minor wound*), burandi
 or buruṇburuṇ (*itchy rash*),
 galamaṇi (*toothache*), gaḇiṛa
 (*upset stomach, belly ache*),
 gaṛaw (*to have a sprain*),
 guḷugal (*bad cold, fever*),
 janur (*light cold*), juguṛ
 (*to have cramp*), ḷiri (*to have
 pain*), maḷumaḷu (*having sores*),
 manbar (*deep wound*), ṇabaṛ
 (*to be sick; to die*),
 ṇabaṛṇabaṛ (*sick*), ṇaḷiḷi
 (*headache*), ṇay (*to be sick*),
 ṛaw (*to have headache*),
 ṛulul (*boil*).

ENGLISH INDEX

A

across wariwariya. Cf. 'cross'
adhere jiq, maŋ
afternoon gu|marmar, jabi,
 ñagulgulu, nubaɖura, yawuryawur
aim wara
alive wañma
alone wayigayi, yalga
always gudagaya
angry qarid̥al, yi|al. Cf. 'swear',
 'fight'
annoy jawuɾi, jid
ant mound guŋur
armband maningiri
ashes bu|ŋu
ask ŋaja, ŋi|, wala
attach duɖuɖ, ju|, mad, wi|,
 yubundu, yuɖ
awake wanggay
awful wayawayara
axe galgal, galiwana

B

baby baɖaɖa
bad wirju
bag biŋɖawara, gulbun, ya|giñ
bait ruŋgal
bark (of tree) mba|arayan, ñaɖin,
 ŋuwur, yulway, yalanu
bathe |ib
beach guruŋaran
beat (heart) ɖugɖug

because bigana
belch maŋɖar
bend gañ, |iw, mun, ñiw
big balwayi, ganuganu, garagarañu
billabong (pond) ŋargu
birth ba|a, ɖud
bite gal
black See 'dark'
blind bul, gabuji
blow bu, wuy (wind), ñur (nose)
blunt gunja, ñiŋñiŋ
boat barawu. Cf. 'canoe'
boomerang mulwari (common type),
 guyabiri, mangaburuŋa,
 wariɖilwa, maŋaŋa (markings),
 wa|umbu
boss jiligari
boy -agur, njalguyi. Cf.
 'circumcised', 'uncircumcised'
break ɖuj, galg, mud, jab, |a|a|,
 murj, wi|. Cf. 'burst',
 'split'
breathe ŋiɾ, du|g or ɖurg
 (out of breath), bambir, mambul,
 yunguɖ (last three applying to
 dugong).
bubble murñmurñ, waɾir
burial ground gulurgulur
burn, singe bu, bumbay, jaɖ, jid,
 wuɖawuɾa, wul, wuñ. Cf. 'light'
burst ɖalg, ɖunggu|

bushland yuliba

C

calm (windless) jaṇḍalmin, ñimur
camp ɾadbur, gululugba, ñim
canoe balanaga, muwaḍa, ɾajin
care for maṇ
carry biḍ, bira, ḍagi, giḍa, gudid, -ganji, -jagayagaḷi, widiwiḍi
carve ɾaɾj
catch (fish) ju, wuḷ. Cf. 'fishtrap'
cave wurwala
cement miṇḍilɾara
charcoal njiwa
chase ḍay, jaj, juju, warwaj
chew jag
choke giḍ, jaḍ
chop See 'cut'
circumcised, circumcision maḷayara, waḷima, maṇḍiwa, ɾgimiñin.
clap biɾg and ḷir (boomerangs), burj (hands), ḍagḍag (tapsticks)
clean gaɾayara, gaɾj and gaɾñ-min, guḷ, jijiḷ (guts), mayamaya, waḷad
clearing mbaɾara. Cf. 'clean', 'plain'
clothing wabawaba, madamada, ḷaraḷara, wuḷñin
cloud mala, miñiriri, ɾuruɾuru, ḍimaḷḍimaḷ, guɾumbirimbiɾi, yunduyunduwara
coals guɾguɾ
coffin ḷurgun, wujiḷa
coil ḷuñ, muḷij, waɾa
cold jalug, maḍumaḍu, maḍun, maguḷmaguḷ, ɾa

colours biḷir-min, buralg-min, gilwir-min, malarg, mayɾu-mayɾu-ya, ɾir-min, ɾuliñ-min
come gabu (imperative only). Cf. 'go'.
come (go) out bañaj, ḍar, gajag (tooth, etc.), baw, ɾa, yur, ɾaraḍara
cook ḍaḍ, ḍiwan, gar, wa. Cf. 'burn'
coolamon biribiri, bululu, ɾalga
copulate ḍir, maɾumaɾu
corroboree ḷaɾur. Cf. 'ritual'
country ɾadbur
cover ñil, yiw
crack (verb) gaḷg, ɾilg
creep, crawl buḍ, gil
crooked gundug, gundugundug, ḷiwmaḷiw-min. Cf. 'bend'
cross ḷaw, ḷiḷ
cry ḷuḷ
cure bud
curse (by magic) gig ñiri. Cf. swear
cut, cut down ḍuj, gal, gir, gurb, jab, jadba, jangu, ḷar

D

dam ḍalala, jaḍ
damper janguyaḷa. Cf. 'food'
dance gar, waɾuḍuwa. Cf. 'ritual'
dark, black, dim guḷ, ñimug or ɾimug, wag and wag-min
dawn yaɾ. Cf. 'morning'
day biḷiji, guɾaru, ñamarjaɾaɾa.

Cf. 'dawn'

deaf muḍu

decoration gamagama, garadada,
maningiri, mayiñbagu, ɾaman,
waɭguwaɭgu. *Cf.* 'paint'

deep baḡdar-min, baḡdar-ñiɾiñiɾi,
ɲuruma

defecate -baruñi

didjeridu guɭuruŋ

die biŋ, ɖalag, jaguḍ, ɲabaɾ

dig ɲur, ɲajal

dirty galagi, ñuɾu

do ɭiŋid, -mindini, -mbuɭmaɭi

dream maɾu

dreaming (totem) njijan, wagura

drink guɭ

drip jiḍ

droop, stoop guɭguɭguɭ, jal,
jumur, jumbud, mugur, mun,
ñimbur, ɾuy

drown ɲambud, wur

dry bul, bunji

E

east gaŋu

eat -jaɭi, jagiḍij, jalbij,
mundud, muñ

edge (stone) gurb-gurb, ɲadjinadji

egg waɾugu, biɾmbir (louse),
ɲalbun (bee), wajawaya (turtle)

extinguish bulŋgun, yiw

F

fall ɖalag, ɖiwan, ɭarad,
gului

far jujuŋanba, ñañay,
ñanañanayi, ɲunanjina

fart ɖir

fast yaɭajga, yurga,
yaljayaljalayi, ɲad

fat galŋ-alŋi-ya, njuma, ɲajba.
Specific types of animal fat:
munan, ɲabaɭiŋa, ɲalñin (bees)
ɲanibuluŋa, ɾuru,
wurunjulburunjul

feather marda, baruwa, ɾaman,
burguburgu, guḍguḍ

feed bil, bir, ɖul

female janawa

few murgu

fight ɲari, -ñambuni. *Cf.*
'throw', 'hit'.

fin -ɭamar

find ɖud

finish bal, biŋ, guda, maɭuy

fire waḍgar, wurgmalan, wubu.
Relevant verbs: ɖay, marad,
ñimug. *Cf.* 'burn', 'light',
'extinguish', 'hot'.

fire-stick buɖalar, ɲulaŋaŋ,
buju. *Cf.* 'torch'.

first bulanba (first wife), jalji.

fishtrap yininjara

flat baɾar

flee ɖay, guɾuy

flip guɾid, wiḍid

float bul

floater mawaɭ

flock, group munduçu, ñayaçi

flood waɾajara

flower wurugugu, marayuɭuyulu
(waterlily)

fly ɖiw

foam jagaɾ

fog yubi

foliage ɭaraɭaranjal

follow munji, miñ

food gandiri, gumbi, jagiɖij,
jalbij, mama, miɲiringi

forget mug

frighten ɖurum, yaguɭ

full, fill bir, birib, jalug,
ɭabaɭabaya, ñali

fur jiwi

G

generous gunujuru

ghost mbaɖirña, mawur, guriña

girl -agur, baɾar, gamiñ-mar,
waɖugaɾa

give -wanani, jaɱar, magay, maru

go -ɭini/-yurayi/-aɱa, juy!,
mangaɖ. Cf. 'walk'.

go around baɭa, gudiɱa

go back wari

go down bad, ɖaɱ, jub, wur

go in biɭi, ɖirwu

go past yaɭ, yaɭjaɭ

go through ɱaɱawañ

go up mal, ɱɖun, bij (sun), bulg
(tide), ɭurg (into tree), ɱa,
yunguɖ.

good yumar, marɱaya, guɾñil,
ɭirgijin, walangarama,
jawayigaɖiɭ

greedy buɖir-min

grey hair gurguɭ, gurguɭ-min, wul

grind war

grow gal

gum wamba

gut (verb) ɖa, jijij, ɭagaɖ.
Cf. 'organs'

H

hail gurugu

hairbelt wiɖiga

handle gaɱbug

hang biriçi, ɭurg, mal

happy yalala, yumar

hard, vigorously waɖaɱa. Cf. 'strong'

harmful, cheeky yaramba

harmless gunja, ñayayi

harpoon ɱajar (noun), jaw (verb).
Accessories: maɭbi, mawaɭ

hat balmaɱa, gulabajara

have, keep -galuni

head for -baliɱaɭi

headdress guɖaɱi, gumuɱɖuɱu

heal yaɖ

heap biɖ, waɱi, yiriɖ

hear guwaɖa, ɭag, ɭid

heavy bulg-min, gulg and
gulg-min

hide ɖar, ɱarg, yib

hill manuga, rawudawu, malmalwana,
nayiwur, yinji and yinjinjayeru,
yurungurun

hit jun, ran, manjag, maça. Cf.
'clap'

hold dil, dub, jabi

hole wurwala, galnar, gululgulul,
mambumambu, gulnurgulnur,
raruraru, nguñiñma (burrow)

hollow log wurwawurwala, mangaça,
malimbir

honey mbagar, galñin. Cf. domains
list Insects (a) for species.
Cf. also 'wax', 'egg'

hook giđaj, řal, magur, gařurbi

hot jađ, wuñ, řal, jir, wab,
guñaru, đamar, buñunuru

humpy bađan, wambi, wuľg

hungry wayar

hunt gumba, jangay, -jarawuni,
maľbiñgari, yaja

I

island ľuľga

itch burandi, burunburun

J

jealous mirg

jump wirg, baday, bađab, đirwu,
guřuy

jungle, scrub jirjir, ľirjal,
muđiđi, murunğa

K

kill řan, -bawayingaľi, mangirir,
mulunğa

knife wurbiñani

know jalya, guñun (not know),
mayag

L

lame jařud

land đadbu, mañangu, řalanin,
řadbur, wab (verb)

later bađa, galñi, řaņi

laugh yay

leaf mbiľal, řimbir

leak jur

lean (verb) wud. Cf. 'droop'

leave bad, wayi

left-hand balajagu

lick biľay, řambij

lie (untruth) wuľ

lie down biđbiđ, guľanaw

light (fire, brightness) balg,
bu, điđij

lightning miliw, miñim, řañaw

lightweight bulbuldu

line (queue) dil, đududbari

load mbul, wiri

log guñđagařa. Cf. 'hollow log'

long řugalara

long time gayari

look See 'see'

loose yaľayaľa, yirg

lose wañan, yar

M

make jaɾag, ɾaŋ, yumar, way,
biyir

male baɭya

man gaɾiyi-mar

manager juŋgayi

many biɖ, ɖaŋulirña, gaɾñirimba,
jaɾi, maɭgayayi, mijimbaŋu

married (man) gayayuña,
giri-giriya-ya

mark bal, maŋaŋa

mate maɾawuy, wumbuɭana,
wumbuɭana

maybe jabay

meat gumbi, jalbij

meet mad, muɾa

mention wunguy

middle wuluŋa, wulubuluŋa,
wuluwuluŋa

milk guñan

Milky Way gimaju

moon ɖaŋaɖaŋa, waɖaŋarin,
guɖuguɖuñin, wir

more wuningi

morning ŋibuŋibuna (ŋibuŋibuna),
ɖagarara, miŋandadayi, gawab

mould baɾaj, ɖag, ɖaj

move ɖilug, yirig. Cf. 'shift'

mud wajaɭg

N

name ñiyin

narrow ɭurgudu (ɭurgurgudu)

near ɖigay

nest jangar

net maguwara, ju

night ŋamiri, miɖalaŋɖala,
wulubuluŋa

north guyma

novice gulawudi, wulugur

now miŋi, ŋamiriña. Cf. 'today'

nulla nulla waɾurgu

O

ochre mayŋu

old gudar, jawulba, malbu,
mbaɖawaɖa, gabuji

one waŋgiɭ (waŋgiñ)

opening mbaɭna, ŋgawil

organs (bodily) a) of turtles:
maɭayugba, mugara, mulgila,
ŋawura, wunagaga, yalaja.
b) of dugong: muɾamuɾa, waɭgar,
waɭgara-nura, wilawila-nura.
c) other animals: maɭumaɭumar,
muɖumuɖu, wilawila. For human
internal organs see domains
list Human Body Parts.

orphan garwa (magu garwa)

other gayi, -argul, wayara,
mawur-gayi

P

paddle jaɭab, mayawajawa

paint gilwir, mayŋu, ŋalabura.
Verbs: wur, wurbur, miljir

paperbark yalanu

pick up, get warj, ɭir, guɾu,
gaɾj, yirij

pieces ɖuñul, maɾbaɾba

plain (terrain) mayamaya,

mbiyawyaw, wuradbinjama
 platform ba!aba!a, galagala
 point (verb) guy
 poison guṛ, maṛawuriṇa, mungariṇa
 poke jaw, jid
 policeman guṇḍaṇḍa
 poor fellow! ga!ugu, ga!uguṇara,
 wariya
 pound bal
 pregnant buṇḍubuṇḍu, nanjayama,
 ma!uya, ruṇ
 pull ḍilg, jaṛ, muṛ
 pull out, pluck ḍid, ḍub, juyub,
 !ar
 push ju!ulu
 put, put in bi!i, wiri, wiḍi,
 wuṛ, bir. Cf. 'load'.
 put across ḍurgungu

Q

quiet ñayayi, ṇayab

R

raft gaṇbiribiri, wuguṇu
 rain Verbs: ji!, jur, walwur,
 warinji. Nouns: gubijiji,
 dilidili, wu!in, wu!arayin,
 milyilyi!a
 rainbow bug, ḍawar, wiḍaragama
 red gu!iñ-min, mayṇu-mayṇu-ya
 relative -bara
 remove, take away biya (fat),
 ḍi (lice), ga! (from fire),
 gi!g (take away from), wa!ij
 (erase)

repeat biriḍ
 reserved, claimed maruñiya,
 maru
 ripe, cooked gabul
 revenge jamba
 rifle najar
 ritual yunguan, !aṇur. Specific
 rituals: gunabibi, jargun,
 guraṇaṇaṇa, maṇḍiwa, !urgun,
 !ayinjabudubudu, mararabaṇa
 river balba, gulma
 road mangan
 roll mu!ij, mim. Cf. 'coil'
 root ḍaṇul
 rope ṇaḍugu, bayibayi, guliṇa,
 biyir, way. Cf. 'string'
 rough gidmagid-min, gingirigingiri,
 ja!ababa
 rotten burñal, jib, garwa
 run ḍay, ṇad

S

sacred ñugur, miṇiringi
 sail bul, bulwul, jumbala
 salt miṇijar
 saltwater, sea !aban
 salty guṇḍaṇḍa, ṇalgigarabi
 same ṇunju. Cf. 'one'
 sand, dirt gujan, ṇalwur,
 ṛawuḍawu
 sap ñiba
 say -mindini, -jañi/-niṇuyi,
 ñurg, wambu
 scar burgun

scrape wirj

scratch -arŋaŋi

seasons mijal (wet), guŋaru (hot).
Other terms used in part as
season names are 'rain'
(gubijiji) and certain 'winds'
(maḍun, etc.).

see, look -minani/-nayi, war,
baŋa, ḍirir, jal, ŋara

seed magur, maramara.

semimoiety mbuwul. Specific
semimoieties: muruŋun, mambali,
guyal, buḍal.

send ḍul

separate yarŋ, wayigayi

set (sun, etc.) wur, yawur

set (fire) See 'light'

sex maŋumaŋu, ŋar. Cf. 'copulate'

shade, shadow guladu

shake baḍabaḍa, giya, ḍinḍin,
gulaŋ, ji, jili, wuḍuy

sharp maḍarara, jaw-jaw-manjar,
lar-lar-manjar

shell maḍaŋar, ŋayigan

shield yiliman

shift bir

shore ḍaḍbu

short jamurga, jawug, jawuŋbuŋ

shout gaw

show jil, maru

shut ñaŋ

shy wur

side jili, yili, yilijili,
lawlaw, yingar

sift gaḍaj

sing ḍaŋ, ḍul, gig, war, ñiri

sit -anji, ḍaj, gul, gunjil,
miḍigud, miŋgabur, ŋaŋgul,
wurwaj

skeleton muliriñ

sky guḍduru, mbaŋara, waŋad

sleep yaŋa, ñim, bur, ŋaḍḍaŋa,
wiŋ, wulug

slice ḍañ

slide yaŋyaŋ

slow bul, maŋamaŋa

small ŋgiyu, ŋiriri

smell ŋar

smoke guŋuŋu, guŋumbirimbi,
yuŋguḍ

smooth gurb, miḍ, muñur

sneak bal, jidab. Cf. 'creep'

sneeze jiri

snore ŋaŋarg

soak gur, ñilŋ. Cf. 'bathe'

soft muñur, manjal, maŋamaŋa

sore, wound bubu, manbar

south bayi

speak, speech ḍaway, ŋaŋ,
-mindini, -jañi/-niŋuyi

spear Verbs: -gandayaruñi, ḍub,
jalg, jaw, wirñ. Noun: ḍuŋal.
Specific types: mayaŋuŋu,
ŋargidiḍi or ŋargijba, wañin,
muriñ, wiŋmur, jabuŋarin,
jaŋani, layin, wiralbiral.
Parts: ŋgalin, gurya, waŋa.

spit guyug, jug

splash yaw

split baŋ, laŋ

spring (water) jilbi

sprout dug

squeeze burj, ɖaj

stab jalg, jaw

stand bay, gimay, gud

star gamirinji, baɾibaɾi (comet)
buɲbulibuɲbuli (cluster of
stars), gimaju (Milky Way),
ñiñi (Seven Sisters),
buraɭaburaɭa or guraɭagura
(morning/evening star).

steal yab

step (tread) wal

stick See 'wood', 'yamstick'

stick out miɲiq (tongue)

stinger (of ray) miɲguja

stone manuga, biyaɭa or gulji,
winir, buɾuɲga, ɲgamar. Stone
implements: cf. 'edge', 'axe'.

stop burbur, gul, wul. Cf. 'finish'

straight ɖunbur, ɖunbur-min,
jarb, ñiw

string jibar, biyir, way. Cf. 'rope'

strip off (skin) bugaɖ, jigiɖ,
ɭagaɖ, ɲaɭay, ɾa

strong galgalgaɾa

stuck, stranded ɖaɾ, jaɭg, ɭud

suck buñ, juɲjuɲ, wij, yi

sugarleaf gaɲbana

sun guɲaru

swag baɾaga

swallow jab, juɭ

swear -ñambuni. Swearing
expressions are listed under the
following entries in the
dictionary: ɲalarbangu, mundud,
giɲɖir, and ɖijar.

sweat yubi, ɖaɖ

sweet ñarbañarba

swell bulg, ɭumbud, ɭuɲ

swim ɲuy

T

tail jaɾijbur (of dugong), jigur

take See 'carry', 'pick up',
'remove'

tangle mugur

taste balgiñ, -jalani

tear (verb) badad, wurj

thin, skinny ɾirmul, mbuja, wuj

think mandura, waɖara

thirsty mur, ɲalmi

thorn jalg-jalg-manjar

throw -bawayiɲaɭi, ɖiw, ɖub
(spear), yaj, yaɭ. Cf. also
'spear'.

thunder, roar bululu or gululu,
ɲur

tickle guju

tide bambiɭiwar, bib, bulg,
ɾaraɖara, wur

tie ɖad, ɖira

tight ɖaɖaɖ, ɖilg

tip jundu, maɭbi

tired yil

tobacco jambagu

today ɲala

together ɾambi

tomorrow ɲibuɲibuna

torch buɖabuɖa, jiwuyiwulya

true yuɲɖara

turn See 'bend'

twist, twister See 'whirlwind'

two wuruja

U

uncircumcised wulugur, yaŋiŋga

until duḍul, warngu

up garaja, waraja

urinate warj, gumbu

V

vomit wi

W

wade laja

wait -alunguli, yaḍ, -guluguluwuni

walk jalaja, mañ

walking stick gaṇḍiṇa, riḍiriḍi

want bur, wa! and wa!wa!, ŋariwa

warrior galga

wash gula!. Cf. 'clean'

water nugu, ḍiliḍili, wulin, jurujuru, wabuda, warir, wuḷubulu. Cf. 'rain', 'well', 'spring', 'billabong', 'river'.

waves (water) ḍum, jalababa

wax mananar, ṇalu, milir, jalamindi (in ear), walman. Cf. 'cement'

weak bilg, bilg-min

well (water) najal, ṇgaluṇar

west gargaḷa

wet mijal, waja

whirlwind yuluṇari, wilwil.
Verbs: yiwur, bubij

whistle wir

white, pale bilir and bilir-min, buralg and buralg-min, malarg, ṇir-min

White (European) munanṇa, mbaḍirṇa

wide bilin, bil-min

widow, bereaved person njiwa, ṇaru, walday

wind walulu, bara (NW), magulmagul and maḍun (SE), jaṇḍalmi (calm place). Verbs: wuy, ṇimur, ḍaj

windbreak biriwulwul, ḍalala

woman giriya, janawa

wood, stick, log ḍabaliya, buriburi, ḍalaḍala, ḍalinja, ḍilḍil, ḍuguḍugu, jirijiri, maḇbarba, waḍgar, guṇḍagara, wiṇbul

wool manambula

woomera (spearthrower) ṇaliga, wujula

word See 'speak'

wounded yaraḷaḷa

wrap ḍab

Y

yamstick bijabija, waraji, gayani

yesterday waṇḍajba

young lumar. Cf. 'small'

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